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ENCYCLOPAEDIC DICTIONARY OF PHOENICIAN CULTURE

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HISTORICAL CHARACTERS



EDPC

Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Phoenician Culture

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Edited by

ANDREA ERCOLANI and PAOLO XELLA

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LEUVEN – PARIS – BRISTOL, CT

2018



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A catalogue record for this book is available from the Library of Congress.

ISBN 978-90-429-3680-5

eISBN 978-90-429-3681-2

D/2018/0602/110

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PRESENTATION

The *DECF-EDPC* Project(s)

1. PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Phoenician Culture* (acronym: *EDPC*) is a series in the form of an encyclopaedia with the structure of a dictionary. The present volume, on historical characters, is the first in the series to be published. Two further volumes on religious life, *Deities and Mythical Characters* and *Cult and Ritual* respectively, are in preparation. Additional volumes will follow, dealing with language and written sources, both direct and indirect; on social, economic and political life; on the archaeological sites and toponyms of the Levant and of the central and western Mediterranean.

The overall purpose of the work – which comprises about 2,000 entries written by circa 200 contributors from 20 different countries – is to provide a complete and up-to-date account of our knowledge of the culture of the Phoenicians (understood in a wide sense, see *infra*) and to present it to the academic community by means of subdivision into themed sets, in the form of lemmata and cross-references.

The arrangement of the data into lemmata – considered as signposts to accumulating knowledge – allows the information to be presented analytically and make it easily accessible through a system of internal and external references. The cross-references are a means of completing the information conveyed by every single lemma: they are elements of a wide network available to the reader to suggest to her or him specific routes towards acquiring deeper knowledge on various levels.

As can be deduced from what has been set out so far, the structure and organization of this work have been planned meticulously. However, in some sense, it is still a work in progress: this will entail addenda, corrigenda and a further series of indexes from time to time, which will eventually be concluded with an overall general analytical index. As a result, it is clear that the best use of the *EDPC* will only come about through the complete work as a whole. That said, however, each volume is independent and useful as an autonomous reference book.

As will be explained in more detail below, this series of volumes is in fact the outcome of the original project called *DECF* (the acronym in Italian for: *Dizionario Enciclopedico della Civiltà Fenicia*). This research project was promoted in 2008 by the *Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche* [= *CNR*] (“Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà Italiane e del Mediterraneo Antico” [= *ISCIMA*] of Rome, which has since become the “Istituto di Studi sul Mediterraneo Antico”), with which were associated later (2010) the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* [= *CSIC*] (“Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales” of Madrid) and, subsequently (2015), the *Eberhard-Karls-Universität Tübingen* (Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät: “Abteilung Biblische Einleitung und Zeitgeschichte”). Since 2015, in conjunction with the editorial branch of the Project in Rome, another branch has been set up in Tübingen which has already contributed considerably to the various phases of the work and continues to do so.

Already in the first phases of the original Italian project, two objectives had been proposed: the progressive publication of the items online and a print version of the texts in several volumes.

However, under the new acronym *EDPC*, the project has undergone new developments and the present series represents the ideal continuation, now considerably revised and increased, of the online edition (already partially published on the website: www.decf-cnr.org). In fact, the publication in the shape of printed volumes differs from the online edition, both in content and in form. In terms of content, in the online edition the entries are published simply in alphabetical sequence whereas in the printed edition the subject matter is organized into individual sets of lemmata arranged by themes, each lemma updated and reworked in order to be integrated into its volume and into the whole series. In terms of form, whereas the electronic edition accepts contributions in several languages (English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese and Spanish) the printed edition is exclusively in English.

The *EDPC* is intended to be an in-depth and up-to-date standard reference work for Phoenician studies, by including, wherever possible, innovations and improvements in terms of research and methodology. More specifically, the intent is to provide a new and historically reliable description of the Phoenicians and of their culture, as identified and defined in the following section. In an attempt at avoiding (or removing) modern chronological and geographical barriers, the approach is intended to be long-term, in order to follow in the best way possible the historical events of this civilization, paying the utmost attention to its many and various interactions with other cultures. Although, as will be evident, we have not abandoned traditional terminology, particularly the use of the terms ‘Phoenician(s)’, ‘Phoenicia’ and ‘Punic(s)’ – we shall try to make them more intelligible and effective by means of clear chronological, geographical and linguistic parameters, always aware of the limitations in the conventional use of such definitions.

The planning and the practical implementation of this work have had (and to some extent will continue to have) a long gestation period. Its present design is basically due to the invaluable efforts of an internal team as well as to the collaboration and support of research institutes and of individual scholars in various countries.

Here we thank especially all those who have collaborated on our project, in its various phases and formats, doing their utmost to achieve its aims. It would be impossible to mention them all individually, but a rapid count of the names of the members of the Academic Committee and of all the authors present in this or in other volumes, would represent a primary nucleus of those friends and colleagues (to which, of course, others should be added), for the help and advice they have given us over the course of the last 10 years.

Right from the start, Wilfred G. E. Watson, a long-standing friend and colleague, has collaborated on the project and has accepted becoming involved as Associate Editor, taking on, among other things, the considerably important task of providing and/or revising the English version of the texts. It is not easy to express our debt of gratitude to him in this respect.

Besides the Spanish and German institutions already mentioned, whose synergy with the Italian *CNR* is faithfully reflected in the triad of chief-editors of this project, we are greatly obliged to the publishing house *Essedue Edizioni* of Verona and its director, Dr Roberto Pistoso, for the constant assistance he has generously given us.

Generally speaking, our project has met with great enthusiasm and wide support: as regards the *CNR*, we mention especially Dr Paola Santoro, Director of the *ISCIMA* during the initial period of the project and thereafter (2009-2013), as well as the Directors of the “Dipartimento Scienze Umane e Sociali – Patrimonio Culturale”, namely, Prof. Riccardo Pozzo and his successor, Prof. Gilberto Corbellini.

To be frank, it must be added that alongside the absolute majority of Institutions at once approving and sympathetic and the overwhelming number of colleagues who made themselves available and provided invaluable support, our project has also encountered difficulties of various kinds: economic, logistical, and others. Certain attitudes of academic policy (and of a few individuals), at a very delicate stage of the work, seemed particularly disappointing, but not completely unexpected in a widespread tendency that does not favour the human sciences in general and specialist areas such as ours in particular. Even so, we can affirm that the obstacles we have encountered have instead played a positive role as a stimulus, helping to increase our conviction and determination in continuing our planned programme of work.

2. ‘PHOENICIANS’ AND ‘PUNICS’: DO WE REALLY KNOW WHAT WE ARE TALKING ABOUT?

It would seem to be taken for granted that in a work such as the present, one would be absolutely clear on the subject it is dealing with, defined as ‘Phoenician culture’ (the second term has been considered as preferable to *civilization* because it is more ‘innocent’ and fits in better with modern concepts).

However, in this particular case, the utmost clarity is required. In fact, we are faced with a question that is not merely about terminology but is pregnant with historical and cultural meaning and right now is central to a wide debate on so-called Phoenician identity and even as to whether the Phoenicians themselves can be defined¹. Before setting out our own position in the simplest possible terms, we would like to propose

¹ E.g. see recently Quinn, J. C. and Vella, N. (eds) (2014) *The Punic Mediterranean. Identities and identification from Phoenician settlement to Roman rule*. British School at Rome Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Morstadt, B. (2015) *Die*

some methodological premisses, both general and specific, which may help to make the problem less dramatic (than may appear).

The fundamental point here is, indeed, the problem of definition. We should be aware of the purely conventional nature of any definition, once science discarded the Aristotelian axiom that for a definition to be valid it should grasp the *ontological essence* of what is being defined. In fact, a definition is only the (completely arbitrary) synthesis of *one* theory and of *one* method. Its validity and efficacy are valued exclusively at the heuristic level, i.e. from the quality and quantity of the results obtainable by using it.

It follows, then, that in our case, the question to be asked is not: “Who were the Phoenicians?” – which would presuppose their ontological existence – but: “What do we mean by the term ‘Phoenicians’?”. In this way, the question is shifted, correctly, to the level of definitions. We can decide to retain the term, if it proves to be effective, or to abandon it, if the results are unsatisfactory.

Moving on to a less theoretical level, it is necessary to stress that the neither “Phoenicians” nor the “Punics” ever used that term for themselves. Both terms are *etic* and not *emic*, they are not ‘self-denominations’ but ‘hetero-denominations’, coined externally and used by outsiders (including we moderns). Anthropological studies have taught us a great deal on these dynamics and our studies cannot ignore them. On this whole question, the bibliography includes several significant discussions by various scholars², and at least three basic points can be considered as established:

1. “Phoenician” is a term coined and used in Greek, without any internal correspondent; those we conventionally call ‘Phoenicians’ never did create this collective term for themselves, reflecting an awareness of being an ethnic unit. Instead, they used ethnonyms linked to the various cities to which they belonged (e.g. Sidonians from Sidon, Tyrians from Tyre, Arwadites from Arwad etc.).
2. ‘Punic’ is the Latin equivalent of ‘Phoenician’.
3. Neither ‘Canaan’ nor ‘Canaanites’ refers to ethnic and national entities; these terms do not identify either Phoenicia or the Phoenicians, but denote a very large geographical area of the Syro-Palestinian region which, during the Late Bronze Age, constituted one of the three districts in the territory subject to Egyptian control.

In a short but incisive article written some years ago, here considered as a reference point for further reflection, S. Moscati tackled the problem of terminology (‘Phoenician’ or ‘Punic’ or ‘Carthaginian’), rehearsing the origin of the terms and attempting to eliminate their ambiguities³. He noted that, on the one hand, “fenicio” “(...) può essere legittimamente usato per l’intera civiltà in oggetto, sia nelle sue manifestazioni orientali sia in quelle occidentali” (p. 4), a position that is fully accepted here. However Moscati then added that, by introducing the use of the term ‘Punic’, ‘Phoenician’ could be restricted to denote “la fase delle colonie in Occidente che precede l’affermazione di Cartagine” (p. 5), and so restricting ‘Punic’ to what came after in time. This would then be a chronological delimitation acting as a watershed for both terms. In other words, the term ‘Phoenician’ should be used not only for the East but also for evidence *that precedes the foundation of the Carthaginian ‘empire’*. The term ‘Punic’, instead, would denote all the evidence from the whole of the Western territories after those events (i.e. the birth of Carthage etc.).

Phönizier. Geschichte einer rätselhaften Kultur. Darmstadt: Philipp von Zabern; Quinn, J. (2017) *In search of the Phoenicians.* Miriam S. Balmuth Lectures in Ancient History and Archaeology. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

² See, e.g.: Garbini, G. (1983) Chi erano i Fenici? In: *APC* 1, 27-33; Baurain, C. (1986) *Portées chronologique et géographique du terme “Phénicien”*. In: *StPhoen* 4, 7-28; Moscati, S. (1994) *Chi furono i Fenici*. Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale; Röllig, W. (1995) Phoenician and the Phoenicians in the context of the Ancient Near East. In: Moscati, S. (ed.) *I Fenici ieri oggi domani: ricerche, scoperte, progetti*. Rome: CNR, 203-214; Xella, P. (1995) Ugarit et les Phéniciens. Identité culturelle et rapports historiques. In: Dietrich, M. and Loretz, O. (eds) *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung.* ALASP 7. Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 239-266; Prag, J. R. W. (2014) Phoinix and Poenus: usage in antiquity. In: Quinn, J. C. and Vella, N. (eds) *The Punic Mediterranean: identities and identification from Phoenician settlement to Roman rule.* British School at Rome Studies. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11-23; Xella, P. (2014) “Origini” e “identità”. Riflessioni sul caso dei Fenici. In: *MEFRA*, 126-2 (<http://journals.openedition.org/mefra/2278>); Ercolani, A. (2016) Phoinikes: storia di un etnonimo. In: Garbati, G. and Pedrazzi, T. (eds.) *Transformations and Crisis in the Mediterranean. ‘Identity’ and Interculturality in the Levant and Phoenician West during the 8th-5th Centuries BCE. Proceedings of the International Conference held in Rome, CNR, May 8-9 2013.* Suppl. to *RSF* 42 [2014]. Rome: CNR, 171-182.

³ Moscati, S. (1988) ‘Fenicio’ o ‘punico’ o ‘cartaginese’. In: *RSF*, 13, 3-13.

Quite clearly, as Moscati himself was well aware, this approach does not remove every inner contradiction. To fix the birth of the Carthaginian state as a chronological criterion to distinguish what is defined as ‘Phoenician’ from what is defined as ‘Punic’ in the West, takes no account of ‘Phoenician’ evidence and cultural contributions, i.e. as originating in the Levant, to be found in the Central-Western Mediterranean even after that date. Therefore, consistent use of the term ‘Phoenician’ should include everything that does not belong to Carthage *demonstrably* (which is not always easy). This is what Moscati finally concludes, pointing out cases taken from the archaeology of Sardinia, Sicily and North Africa, examples that could easily be multiplied.

Therefore, the term ‘Punic’ is more equivocal than useful. It is ambiguous and often overlaps with ‘Carthaginian’, and as ‘Carthaginian’ it can also be called ‘Punic’ (but not everything that is ‘Western’ can be called ‘Punic’). Note, for example, to quote Moscati’s very words, that “Cartagine inizia la sua vicenda in piena fase fenicia, e ad essa appartiene di diritto”, which then becomes an independent component (i.e. ‘Carthaginian’ or even ‘Punic’).

In the light of all these considerations, the term ‘Punic’ – if we do not wish to eliminate it completely, to avoid any confusion at the historical level (in terms of language it has to remain) – should be used sparingly and based on clear and consistent criteria. ‘Phoenicians’ and ‘Phoenician’ have almost become terms that are practically indispensable in research and there is no particular need to abolish or replace them, on condition that we remain aware that their use is exclusively heuristic. The term that, instead, should be unhesitatingly eliminated is ‘Phoenician-Punic’, which is too ambiguous and its use serves no actual purpose.

In the whole ‘Phoenician’ question, the real and fairly trustworthy ‘scarlet thread’ to follow, at least as a first step, is the one represented by language. The area in which the Phoenician language – at least the language transmitted by the linear alphabet documented by the inscription of Ahirom king of Byblos (ca 1000 BCE?) – spread in the East goes from the coast of current Syria to the Southern coast of Palestine, reaching at least the region of Mount Carmel. However, there are inscriptions in Phoenician found more to the South and towards the hinterland, and elsewhere in the Levant: therefore also Cyprus, the Aegean and South-Eastern Anatolia, from the 9th to 7th cent. BCE, where Phoenician was used as the official language of prestige (the Karatepe inscription is the longest one known in Phoenician). In the so-called Mediterranean diaspora, this language followed the Levantine travellers and it is always Phoenician in general.

However, in the second half of the 6th cent. BCE, a script appears in the West that is slightly different from the tradition of the motherland: a specific dialect, connected with Carthage but whose origins still remain uncertain, becomes evident in the written language. This is what is usually defined as ‘Punic’. As for Neo-Punic, the term refers only to a type of cursive script already used in Phoenicia, probably for texts written in ink (for example, the ostraca from Sidon and from Elephantine⁴). The whole of this evidence is dated between the 11th/10th cent. BCE and the 2nd/3rd cent. CE.

The considerable growth in research on Phoenician culture of the East and West, especially in recent decades, has led to a significant increase in the information available. Studies have intensified and new conditions of research have been created which have led to the reconsideration and re-evaluation of materials, problems and historical processes.

In spite of all this, it is clear that the constant increase in data has not always been adequately matched by an adjustment to the methods of research in the various branches of the discipline. There are several reasons for this state of affairs. The principal ones include the following: the peculiar nature of Phoenician culture; the actual history of such studies; the lack of tools that could be on par with those available in, for example, studies on the classical world.

⁴ Sznycer, M. (1978) L’emploi des termes ‘phénicien,’ ‘punique,’ ‘néopunique’ (problèmes de méthodologie). In: Fronzaroli, P. (ed.) *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale di linguistica camito-semitica: Firenze, 16-19 aprile 1974*. Quaderni di Semitistica 5. Florence, 261–268; and especially Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. (2011) On the beginnings of the Punic scripts. In: *Vicino e Medio Oriente*, 15, 119–132.

First of all, it seems that the very nature (apparently elusive) of Phoenician culture makes any approach to it complex, requiring for its study multidisciplinary abilities that are not easy to acquire and to master. It is a culture that is prevalently ‘transversal’ in the history of the ancient Mediterranean, due to its composite ancient Near Eastern origins, its reformulation in local circumstances and its interaction with various substrate and adstrate cultures.

Secondly, it is necessary to look at the actual history of such studies. It is certainly true that it was S. Moscati, in the mid-1960’s, who gave this sector of studies (which until then had been overshadowed or even non-existent) its autonomy. It was then that the real ‘discovery’ of the Phoenicians came about and the distinctive parameters of their culture were proposed.

Previously, the Phoenicians were barely visible or autonomous in official studies, where Orientalists and Semitists (especially biblical scholars) considered the set of Phoenician inscriptions, for example, vaguely and unsystematically. As for classical scholars, with a few exceptions, their main interest was the relations between Rome and Carthage, whereas other considerable and valuable information on Phoenician culture of the East and West, transmitted by Greek and Latin writers, mostly escaped attention or was not even known. In the past, even archaeological data were quite limited, either due to the geopolitical situation in the Levant, which had generally prevented representative excavations, or to the limitations on Mediterranean undertakings of any size.

Constrained between Scylla and Charybdis, the two ‘rocks’ which Maurice Sznycer often mentioned as representing the state of studies (one biblical and the other classical)⁵, for too long the Phoenicians and the Carthaginians have almost been a ‘shadow culture’, evaluated in a transitory way or worse, in some cases, more from preconceived political ideologies than with objective scientific criteria.

With these premisses, Moscati – also in the context of a specific academic strategy – decided to make the Phoenicians a specific object of research, with the intention of investigating all their cultural expressions. For this purpose, in 1969 he created a specific research institute (the “Centro di studio per la Civiltà fenicia e punica”, which then became the “Istituto per la Civiltà fenicia e punica” in 1983). Given how much the Phoenician peoples moved around in the Mediterranean, this holistic and systematic approach made it possible to re-appraise or even sometimes to discover a whole series of fascinating cultural interactions which, from one shore of *mare nostrum* to the other, had taken place after their contact with various local peoples.

In spite of so much that is positive, the operation of ‘discovering’ and ‘relaunching’ the Phoenicians was conditioned by the impelling need to identify a subject for study that up till then had been intangible⁶. The delimitations proposed were somewhat too sharp and inflexible, both in terms of geography – the coast of Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, approximately from Tell Suqas to Acco, with occasional incursions into neighbouring areas – and of chronology (conventional but not unduly) – the Iron Age to 332 BCE, the year Alexander the Great captured Tyre. However, the parameters indicated for recognizing the so-called Phoenician identity were more difficult: besides language, the Phoenicians – who had ‘emerged’ as autonomous in the first millennium BCE – would have been identifiable as a people on the basis of a shared name and a national consciousness.

Previously we discussed both the problem of name and the alleged national identity, contradicted by the prevailing partiality of the Phoenician cities, marked at times by sharp contrasts and political strategies that were rarely coordinated. As for a supposed Phoenician ‘nation’ ‘emerging’ in the 1st millennium BCE, significant features of continuity between Phoenician culture in the Iron Age and its previous manifestations in the Late Bronze Age are increasingly detectable.

By adopting a different and perhaps more balanced approach, it was not so much the Phoenicians emerging as the surrounding situation that changed. They have come to our attention not only through an internal process – although there were certainly changes at several levels – but due to the decline of a political model (the city-state) along with or replaced by a different model, the national state. From this point of view, most prominent

⁵ Sznycer, M. (1978) L’expansion phénico-punique dans la Méditerranée occidentale, problèmes et méthodes. In: *Actes du Deuxième Congrès international d’étude des cultures de la Méditerranée occidentale*, II. Algiers, 12-20.

⁶ Xella, P. (2007) Sabatino Moscati e gli studi fenici: prima e dopo. In: *RSF*, 35, 123-127.

are the Aramaean states (principally Damascus), the Palestinian states (Israel and Judah), and the Transjordanian states (Ammon, Edom, Moab). Instead, the Phoenicians together with the Philistines represent the ‘old’ model. The Eastern Phoenicians, with their minuscule city-states, are instead heirs to the Syro-Palestinian kingdoms of the Late Bronze Age. To some extent they preserve their institutions, religious organizations and the structure of the pantheon. Indeed, the Phoenicians represent continuity with the past and if they seem to give the impression of novelty, that is mostly due to the changed context of that region.

In the light of all these considerations, therefore, it is necessary to give the boundaries some nuances rather than fixing them too precisely. The Phoenicians should be considered above all as the promoters of interactions with various substrates and adstrates, rather than as a people bearing a monolithic culture, closed in on itself.

Their culture as a whole is ‘original’, in some senses, but also strongly multiracial and syncretic, given their very considerable expansion around the Mediterranean. There are very few societies, no matter how small, in the Mediterranean area, with which the Phoenicians (and the Carthaginians) did not interact over the centuries.

The attempt to reconstruct these events and these processes, to document our knowledge of them by involving the whole academic community seems to us to be a way of helping to preserve a very significant segment of those “*Mémoires de la Méditerranée*”, so dear to Fernand Braudel and to us all.

3. FROM *DECF* TO *EDPC*: A BRIEF HISTORY

As already mentioned, the *EDPC* is the final product of a journey of research with a long history, which has gone through various phases and had various names. It is a brainchild that has experienced several modifications in the course of its design and its practical implementation has had a complicated gestation. The present result has been achieved thanks to the internal team, with various members over time, and thanks to the support of external scholars and of several research institutes.

The origins of the project go back to 2008, when what was the “Istituto di Studi sulle Civiltà Italiane e del Mediterraneo Antico” (*ISCIMA*) of the *CNR* comprised two independent sections, one dedicated to Etruscan-Italic studies and the other to Phoenician.

In order to coordinate the various activities being carried out by the researchers in this last section – archaeology, history, epigraphy and philology – Paolo Xella (at that time the Director of the *ISCIMA*) devised a line of research with the title “Mediterraneo Fenicio”. However, right from the start, this was not intended to be a simple collection of individual lines of research. While fully respecting the contribution made by individual scholars within the *CNR*, each following their own research programmes, the possibility was envisaged of combining these joint endeavours towards a specific objective, which would be an academic overall gain resulting from this collective effort.

Very soon, this objective took on a much more definite form and became a reality as a project to combine all that was known about the culture of the Phoenicians in the East and West, with up-to-date information and, as far as possible, using original methodology. The idea was to produce a sort of manual or handy encyclopaedia, containing a series of essays on general topics, varying in length, to be published in one or two volumes. Although limited in number, in fact the researchers at the Institute – assisted by other qualified external collaborators already working there (Sandro Filippo Bondì, Giuseppe Garbati, Valentina Melchiorri and José Ángel Zamora López) – ensured a sufficiently wide spectrum of expertise in various disciplines, and the objective proposed, however demanding, did not seem to be over-ambitious.

In order to make this proposal a reality, as well as marking a break with the previous phase of reorganization and coordination of internal research projects, in 2009 the project called *Dizionario Enciclopedico della Civiltà Fenicia* (*DECF*) was born and made official.

As a result, a new phase began, marked by greater clarity and the awareness that a general theoretical re-evaluation was absolutely necessary. This period of reflection gave rise to a range of significant consequences, also at the level of organizing strategy.

It was decided to set up an Organizing Committee, headed by Paolo Xella and comprising Vincenzo Bellelli, Sandro Filippo Bondì, Massimo Botto, Giuseppina Capriotti Vittozzi, Andrea Ercolani, Giuseppe Garbati,

Lorenza-Ilia Manfredi, Valentina Melchiorri, Federico Mazza, Tatiana Pedrazzi, Sergio Ribichini and Paola Santoro. A series of meetings took place, focusing on a range of organizational and academic issues with extensive deliberations and discussions.

At the same time, however, a smaller working group was set up as the Scientific Editorial Committee, which really had to act as the beating heart of the project. This committee was entrusted with working on the set of lemmata and the proposed methods, with keeping up contacts and with tackling a whole series of academic and organizational problems. In its first phase, the members of the Committee were Andrea Ercolani, Giuseppe Garbati, Valentina Melchiorri and José Ángel Zamora López, joined shortly afterwards by Tatiana Pedrazzi, together with Marcello Bellisario as advisor for graphics and technical aspects generally.

Over time, for various reasons, there were several changes in the editorial committee: some were no longer members while others became full members. These new members, who joined at various times, are (in chronological order), Giuseppe Minunno, Francesca Guarneri and Vincenzo Bellelli. At a later stage a second operational level was set up, collaborating as external editors, which currently includes Dagmar Kühn, Umberto Livadiotti, Marta Lotta, Susanne Maier, Ilaria Orri and Tatiana Pedrazzi, each having a different role.

For the editors especially, the years 2009-2010 in particular marked a period of intensive work, since there were very many complex questions to consider. These ranged from the very *raison d'être* of the project and its remit, to the organization of the editorial team; from the choice of which technical media to adopt to how to present the results to the academic community.

One of the first and very important decisions to be made was to associate José Ángel Zamora López as co-editor of the project and as a result, to set up collaboration with the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (CSIC), “Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales”, of Madrid: this relationship was formalized very quickly in a bilateral agreement between the two research institutes and was to last 5 years.

Another very significant step was the decision to set up an international academic committee which included, besides some members of the Organizing Committee, eminent colleagues and friends of various nationalities. At present, the International Advisory Scientific Board, built up gradually, includes Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo (Rome), Ana Margarida Arruda (Lisbon), María Eugenia Aubet (Barcelona), María Belén Deamos (Sevilla), Sandro Filippo Bondi (Viterbo), Annie Caubet (Paris), Izak Cornelius (Stellenbosch), Roald Docter (Gent), Mhamed Hassine Fantar (Tunis), Nota Kourou (Athens), Lorenza-Ilia Manfredi (Rome), María Cruz Marín Ceballos (Seville), Valérie Matoïan (Lyon-Paris), Josephine C. Quinn (Oxford), Wolfgang Röhl (Tübingen), Hélène Sader (Beirut), Thomas Schäfer (Tübingen), Paola Santoro (Rome), Nicholas Vella (La Valletta), Peter van Dommelen (Providence) and Marguerite Yon (Lyon).

Our reflections had made us well aware that the project itself was not exactly original but responded to a need felt by the international academic community. Archaeological and historical research on Phoenician culture, which over the last few decades had developed very considerably, continues to produce a significant amount of information: this often remained unpublished or was not easily accessible.

It is true that there are already some works conceived with more or less the same intentions. Above all, the very useful *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique* edited by Edward Lipiński⁷ – to which our project is greatly indebted – although it was edited back at the end of the 1980's and, consequently, would have needed to be brought up to date and expanded. With a different approach, there is also the *Manuel de la civilisation phénicienne et punique* edited by Véronique Krings⁸. In addition, at the level of popularisation, there is the *Dizionario della civiltà fenicia*⁹, as well as a series of works which were not meant to be all encompassing but undeniably useful, such as the two volumes edited by Juan Pablo Vita and José Ángel Zamora López on research projects in Phoenician studies¹⁰, or, again, the research on the *Hombre fenicio*, also edited

⁷ Lipiński, E. (ed.) (1992) *Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique*. Turnhout: Brepols.

⁸ Krings, V. (ed.) (1995) *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*. HdO 20. Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill.

⁹ Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. et al. (1992) *Dizionario della civiltà fenicia*. Rome: Gremese.

¹⁰ Vita, J. P. and Zamora López, J. Á. (eds) (2006) *Nuevas perspectivas I: la investigación fenicia y púnica*. Zaragoza: Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo; idd. (2008) *Nuevas Perspectivas II: la arqueología fenicia y púnica en la Península Ibérica*. CAM 18. Barcelona: Universitat Pompeu Fabra.

by Zamora¹¹. Other valuable summaries could be mentioned, but none of them filled a significant gap: the continuing lack of suitable tools for study in this area. The written sources, both direct (epigraphy)¹² and indirect (classical writers, ancient Near Eastern sources)¹³ were not (and for the most part, even today still are not) available in complete and reliable compendia, while the data and results from various research projects were not always easily accessible. Briefly: there was a huge amount of data that was continually being added to, which struggled to be included effectively in the set of documents available. Therefore, it was clear that there was a need for reliable communication, widely interdisciplinary in nature, that could make available to anyone interested an extensive and up-to-date overview of accumulating knowledge.

Although the road to be followed was not completely new, this project had some novel points in its favour, in terms of method and organizational strategy, making it a very different instrument and certainly more than a simple update on documentation and bibliography.

Above all, we started off convinced of the need for a more global approach to the Phoenicians, removing or minimizing the chronological and geographical pseudo-barriers that a certain line of research had imposed in the past (see *supra*).

In second place, we have done our utmost to identify, in the extremely vast and complex panorama of evidence, the widest and most complete gamma of topics worthy of being lemmata. Some of these entries have a special role, due to the importance, breadth and complexity of the information they conveyed, requiring additionally a more extensive introduction concerning methodology. These are the so-called macro-lemmata (more on which below).

Another innovative aspect was the decision to complete the basic set of lemmata with a close-knit net of cross-references that, far from being merely simple and automatic, would serve to open or suggest to the user various (additional) routes for consultation and research.

Finally, but no less importantly, come the method and conditions of work.

We were fortunate in having an efficient team whose members cooperated in harmony and very effectively. It was also possible to work closely with most of the external authors – up to then quite limited in number – resulting in a wide and profitable circulation of ideas, but principally allowing greater uniformity of approach.

To summarize, we then went on to identify macro-themes, entries and cross-references, by deciding to subdivide, provisionally, the repertoire acquired in this way – then still in progress – into four large groupings: Historical Characters¹⁴, Deities and Mythical Character¹⁵, Archaeological Sites and Toponyms¹⁶, with an additional section called General Entries. This last category took in all the remaining entries, which concerned various aspects of economic, political, social and religious life. Here the material has been arranged in the form of sections on written sources, both direct and indirect, and on various aspects of economic, political and social life.

What had once been research by the Institute, even though extended to other collaborators, now becomes a project that is widely international in scope, involving a large number of scholars with various areas of expertise. These are not only specialists in Phoenician studies but also prehistorians, classical scholars, orient-
alists and historians of the ancient world, in order to broaden our perspectives and be able to rely on the best qualified abilities.

¹¹ Zamora López, J. Á. (ed.) (2003) *El hombre fenicio: estudios y materiales*. Rome: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Escuela Española de Historia y Arqueología en Roma.

¹² See Xella, P. and Zamora, J. Á. (2007) The Phoenician Data Bank: The International Project *Corpus Inscriptionum Phoenicarum necnon Punicarum*. In: *UF*, 39, 773-790; *ibid.*, *Phoenician digital epigraphy: the state of the art*. i.p. As for our project, see Zamora López, J. Á. (2011) Il trattamento delle fonti documentarie sulla civiltà fenicia nel *DECF*. In: *SEL*, 28, 121-124.

¹³ For classical sources, the volume Mazza, F., Ribichini, S. and Xella, P. (1988) *Fonti classiche per la civiltà fenicia e punica I: Fonti letterarie greche dalle origini alla fine dell'età classica*. CSF 27. Rome: CNR, unfortunately not followed by further such collections. For the *EDPC*, see Ercolani, A. (2010) Lemmatizzare gli autori classici: considerazioni preliminari. In: *SEL*, 27, 93-95.

¹⁴ This repertoire forms the basis of the present volume.

¹⁵ This repertoire – together with the material on ritual and cult contained in the section “General entries” – will be the basis of the next volumes to appear, on religious life.

¹⁶ The toponyms (except for some included in this volume in a specific form) will be included in the volumes on archaeology: see particularly Melchiorri, V. (2010) Il repertorio dei toponimi. In: *SEL*, 27, 71-76.

The publication strategy also undergoes changes. While not abandoning the idea of traditional publishing in printed form – which in any case requires lengthy periods and a more complicating publishing plan – it is decided to make at least the first results of our work available quite rapidly by means of publication online. For this to happen, a dedicated IT platform is planned and a website is created with the collaboration of the IT consultant Giulio Credazzi: here the lemmata start to be published, in the language chosen by each author, as the texts gradually reach us and are approved by the referees.

In this period, with the full support of the Institute, periodic meetings and workshops are arranged for invited scholars, which would have very positive outcomes for establishing the current state of research, and for tackling and discussing general and specific problems.

In particular, the workshop held in Rome between November 25th and 26th, 2010 was fundamental in finalizing the set of lemmata and identifying possible authors for the various entries. The following were invited to take part in that workshop: Ana Margarida Arruda, María Eugenia Aubet, Roald Docter, María Cruz Marín Ceballos, Herbert Niehr, Hélène Sader and Nicholas Vella, as well as the group of Italian scholars from the CNR or elsewhere¹⁷. There was a second workshop, also in Rome, between December 12th and 13th, 2011, attended by a large number of Italian and foreign scholars, including María Eugenia Aubet, Babette Bechtold, Annie Caubet, Davide Ciafaloni, Nota Kourou, Francisco Nuñez Calvo and Marguerite Yon as guests¹⁸. A third meeting was hosted by the University of Seville from the 13th to the 14th of December, in 2012, thanks to the collaboration of María Cruz Marín Ceballos and María Belén, and was an opportunity to come to a fruitful exchange of ideas with our Spanish colleagues, especially on the entries concerning the Iberian Peninsula.

The year 2015 marks a fundamental moment in the history of the project, in terms of structure and of strategy. The CNR and the CSIC, as sponsors and supporters, have been augmented by the University of Tübingen, Katholisch-Theologische Fakultät, Abteilung Biblische Einleitung und Zeitgeschichte, in the person of Herbert Niehr, Director of the Abteilung, who was co-opted as the third chief-editor. Thanks to his collaboration and his support, a second editorial centre was established in Tübingen, coordinated by Valentina Melchiorri, which makes for a more balanced division of the editorial work as well as providing new stimuli.

At the strategic level, it was decided to proceed with the paper publication of the lemmata, which – as explained above – merge into a series of themed volumes corresponding to the sections already identified in the complete set of entries (cf. *supra*). At this stage, various considerations lead us to opt for one publication in a single language, namely English, and an agreement is made with the publisher, Paul Peeters, who enthusiastically takes on the publication of the whole set of volumes, under the title of *EDPC*, of which the present volume is the first to appear.

The academic management, the Editorial Board and all the collaborators, in agreement with the members of the Academic Committee, wish to renew right now their commitment to continuing the project until publication is complete, hoping for a positive welcome by the academic community and by all others who use it. As it is a work that to some extent is still in progress, perhaps there may be some imperfections and corrections *en route*, for which we ask indulgence from this moment, yet again and always guaranteeing our utmost commitment to what we have always held to be a right and proper service to the progress of these studies.

4. TECHNICAL NOTES

As has been mentioned already, the information provided in the *EDPC* is arranged in a series of lemmata and cross-references. Each has its own internal hierarchy, based on content and on form.

¹⁷ The results of the workshop were published in *SEL*, 27, 2010, 61-107, with articles by S. F. Bondi, A. Ercolani, G. Garbati, F. Mazza, V. Melchiorri, T. Pedrazzi, S. Ribichini, P. Xella and J. Á. Zamora López.

¹⁸ The results of the workshop were published in *SEL*, 28, 2011, 97-132, with articles by S. F. Bondi, A. Ercolani, G. Garbati, F. Mazza, V. Melchiorri, T. Pedrazzi, P. Xella, M. Yon and J. Á. Zamora López. In addition, a paper by the scientific editorial board was presented at the 8th international congress of Phoenician studies held in Carbonia and S. Antioco in 2012 (October, 21th - 26th).

As regards the lemmata, one type is the ordinary lemma, written by one or more authors¹⁹, and provided with a selective bibliography and, in certain cases, illustrations linked directly or indirectly (general maps or specific chronological tables or genealogies etc.).

In addition, there are several ‘macro-lemmata’, known as keyword clusters or radial lemmata in encyclopaedia jargon, since they focus on wide-ranging general topics, primary sources for radiating cross-references to other related or subsidiary lemmata²⁰. The purpose of such entries is to provide an overall presentation of our knowledge of particular topics. They guide users of the *EDPC* along branch lines to deeper but complementary knowledge by creating a comprehensible network of information. In the macro-lemmata, the description given is completed by an interpretation that arranges the material in its proper setting²¹. Examples of macro-lemmata, to be found in volumes yet to be published, are *Funerary World*, *Cult Places* and *Arts and Handicrafts*.

The main cross-reference is the standard reference – which refers concisely to other lemmata for information or for another cross-reference. In some cases, a cross-reference is not restricted to this pattern but has an additional short or very brief explanation that helps to set it in context, e.g.:

Clitomachus Gk Κλειτόμαχος, assumed name of the Carthag. philosopher →Hasdrubal (13).

In terms of graphics, note that any cross-references are visually highlighted as follows (here we mention examples taken from the present volume, which are valid also for all subsequent volumes):

- Cross-references to entries in the volume are marked by the use of SMALL CAPS (e.g. AHIROM).
- Cross-references to entries to be published in other volumes are marked with an asterisk (e.g. *Carthage) and are indicated (only) when this is considered useful to provide the reader with further potential information.
- An arrow preceding a cross-reference of any kind (e.g. →AHIROM; →*Carthage) indicates that, according to the editors, the lemma(ta) in question should be considered as essential by the reader for completing the information.
- Note also that a cross-reference of any kind (small capitals or asterisk), is indicated only the first time the lemma in question occurs in an entry. In the case of entries that are particularly long and divided into sub-lemmata (e.g. “Hannibal”, which includes up to 35 characters with that name), however, it was judged useful to repeat the cross reference in special cases, both to assist the reader and to avoid any possible ambiguity.

Rome and Tübingen, May 2018

PAOLO XELLA – JOSÉ ÁNGEL ZAMORA LÓPEZ – HERBERT NIEHR

¹⁹ Note also that uncredited lemmata without subdivisions are by the editors of the respective volumes.

²⁰ Garbati, G. (2010) Aspetti e problemi delle c.d. macrovoci: “Luoghi di culto” e “Mondo funerario”. In: *SEL*, 27, 85-87; Pedrazzi, T. (2010) Problemi di definizione e strutturazione delle macrovoci “Arte e artigianato” e “Iconografia e iconologia”. In: *SEL*, 27, 89-91; Garbati, G. and Pedrazzi, T. (2011) La struttura ‘ibrida’ del DECF e i percorsi di ricostruzione delle informazioni. In: *SEL*, 28, 107-113; Melchiorri, V. (2011) Macrovoci: strutturazione e percorsi tematici. In: *SEL*, 28, 115-120.

²¹ See Mazza, F. (2010) Alcune riflessioni sul metodo e sulla struttura. In: *SEL*, 27, 105-107.

INTRODUCTION

Historical Characters

1. The present volume, dedicated to historical characters, is the first in a series of themed volumes, all closely interrelated, on various aspects of Phoenician culture.

As part of a collection, each volume must be considered and made use of as belonging to a set: in one sense independent but at the same time inseparable from the others both in respect of the amount of information included and for the network of cross-references linking the various lemmata. The cross-references – which play a very important role in the organization of this work – refer both to lemmata contained in this first volume, and to others that are to be published in the following volumes (see *infra*).

We have shown the considerable difficulties in trying to establish a univocal and historically based definition of the terms ‘Phoenician’ and ‘Punic’, as well as delimiting exactly the region inhabited by the ‘Phoenicians’, including in it with chronological and geographical consistency the vast Mediterranean regions that underwent so-called Phoenician ‘expansion’ or ‘colonization’. Therefore, given the elusive nature of the object under study and the conventional nature of our definitions, such difficulties emerge once again automatically for a ‘history’ of the Phoenicians in their motherland or – with the exception of Carthage, but always to a limited extent – in the world of Phoenician expansion. This is so true that we can completely agree with the statement by G. Bunnens, “Une histoire événementielle de la Phénicie est impossible à écrire”¹. Furthermore, any possible ‘history’ of the Phoenicians could not in any case be considered autonomously, since it is part of an enormous complex of episodes and events that concern the various coasts of the ancient Mediterranean in a span of time between the end of the Bronze Age and the first centuries of the Christian era: an extremely wide context, that includes several ‘histories’ and cultural indicators in a very large number of regions, and involves other ethnic groups, societies, traditions and characters.

Of course, this does not imply that it has not been or is possible to focus research on specific regions, cities, periods, but this can only come about through sectorial approaches, i.e. with limited objectives. Carthage is a considerable exception, for which excellent studies are available now.

However, even a history of the African metropolis had to and must take into account its very uneven, incomplete and partial documentation, which is difficult to control and continually requires to be set in context. To difficulties of this kind must be added – and with very significant consequences – those due to the quantity and quality of the sources available for reconstructing at least in part, a history of the Phoenicians.

Unlike research that can make direct use of archaeological data, in this instance we are dealing almost exclusively with written sources, the only ones that allow the precise identification of individuals and related information to be collected acceptably. That said, it should also be remembered that the direct sources are restricted to facts from inscriptions that are mostly laconic and have little variety. Even so, here – and in the work as a whole – constant and preferential attention is paid to them. However, mostly we are dealing with indirect and external evidence which also provides very limited information. The cuneiform documentation from Mesopotamia represents an indispensable source for the Levant. It is anything but systematic, though, and is conditioned by the typology peculiar to the texts, throwing some light only on certain periods and regions and largely reflecting political and military events, even if not without significant social and economic implications. The Egyptian documents, instead, are very limited in terms of number and chronology. The information on Byblos, up to the end of the II millennium, is certainly relevant, but of course is limited to a period that almost excludes the Iron Age. The other two sets of sources – the Old Testament and Greek and Latin writers – are of fundamental importance, but both require to be decodified at several levels, implying different approaches and methods of evaluation. The biblical documentation in particular can certainly be used as

¹ Bunnens, G. (1995) L’histoire événementielle *partim* Orient. In: Krings, V. (ed.) (1995) *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*. HdO 20. Leiden/New York/Köln: Brill, 222.

a source for writing history (especially for some of it), and in some cases is even a small mine of information of all kinds. Nevertheless, it has to be handled with care, since at least three decisive aspects have to be taken into account: its nature as a heterogeneous collection of documents; its complex history and redactional dating; its preconceived ideological intent.

2. In any case, an encyclopaedic dictionary cannot be a systematic history manual, even if we allow (but do not accept) such a task to be feasible for the Phoenician world. Instead, it is a specialist compendium of historical and historically documented individuals. It is the most complete possible, arranged alphabetically and organized using criteria that aim to be consistent, while allowing a degree of arbitrariness in some cases. Like the thematic volumes to follow, this volume is a reference work, in this case based on a piecemeal reconstruction of the whole of ‘Phoenician’ history (understood, it is worth repeating, in the widest meaning of the term) through its various protagonists at every level.

As for the time-frame adopted here, the chronological limits have not been restricted to the I millennium BCE. For the Levant they have been extended to the end of the Late Bronze Age, an historical period in which ‘Phoenician’ cities such as Arwad, Byblos, Sidon or Tyre were flourishing and active. In fact, recent studies have progressively brought to light a substantial cultural and to some extent also linguistic continuity in these cities before and after 1000 BCE, strongly suggesting the avoidance of artificial barriers and the projection into the past of modern borders that did not exist three millennia ago. For that reason, kings, governors, officials, influential citizens and other dignitaries of various types – chiefly revolving around the (royal) courts – mentioned in the letters from El-Amarna or in the texts from Ugarit, have gained the right to belong to the list, in spite of their early date. The inclusion of this material – which is very significant socially and politically, as well as in respect of language – makes a contribution by extending the evidence from the Levant in these fairly dark centuries and, for Phoenician studies, objectively speaking is both relevant and new.

The ‘history’ which is about to be reconstructed through the network of indexed lemmata is not exclusively a series of facts but a completely rounded history, which includes and places on the same level military facts, political decisions, and social and cultural aspects generally speaking. It is a history modelled on the *Annales*, which considers events and their unfolding as a whole in the medium and long term, the *longue durée*, adopting the approach of Fernand Braudel.

For this very reason, in respect of the I millennium BCE, a whole series of characters have been identified who either directly or indirectly, can be considered as belonging to the ‘Phoenician’ cultural universe, for each of whom there is an independent lemma. They are historical figures who can be documented historically and – at various levels – have played a leading (or supporting) role in various events and situations, both in the East and in the West. These situations range from court circles to great battles, from social, political and commercial life to the sphere of the cult, and even provide evidence for other ordinary aspects of daily life.

Where the evidence has allowed, we have presented so many personal names that it may perhaps look like a roll call or register. They are mostly characters who may appear to be minor, specially collected from actual inscriptional material with no presumption of completeness. Even so, they help to shape or construct an historical and social model that otherwise would remain unknown to us. Behind that choice there is a specific desire to go beyond a purely historical dictionary, in order to allow the reader, who comes across a name, to make use of a certain type of information and then expand it. This is not a case of honest-to-goodness prosopography – which would not have been out of place in such a reference work – but of additional information possibly of uneven value, which in any case is valuable inasmuch as it helps to define more closely the historical picture in a wide sense.

Mentioned specifically in inscriptional sources, cited in cuneiform texts from Syria, Mesopotamia, Anatolia or the Aegean world, or else mentioned by authoritative Greek and Latin writers, characters such as queens and kings, princesses and princes (especially in the Levant, including Cyprus) enter the picture. But also lesser characters with political, military or religious functions (even if our categories can be considerably misleading): scribes, administrators, wealthy patrons and faithful who stood out by the splendour of their works or the richness of their offerings to the gods.

In the Western Mediterranean, Carthage in particular claims our attention, with its illustrious and noble families, some famous Suffetes, several military commanders on land and sea, high priests and priestesses and other officials of all kinds.

Thus far we have been concerned with characters who belong directly to this culture through birth or, more rarely, by a process of achievement. In a way, they form the mainstay of the compendium. For the later period, instead, based on the principle of *ius loci*, we have included philosophers, cult officials and scientists permeated with classical culture but also native to Phoenician towns and with definite roots in the atavistic culture, even if it is difficult to determine its extent.

Alongside all these characters, others have been included who form a group that while not completely homogeneous, has been considered necessary or even indispensable in providing the reader with a more complete historical picture. Specifically, it comprises foreign kings and characters (from Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Anatolia) who at various levels interacted with the Phoenicians and their universe, sometimes absorbing its culture and language, or in other cases playing a significant role in terms of politics and war. It must be remembered that for colossal figures in ancient history such as “Alexander the Great”, the information in that particular lemma is deliberately restricted to his relationships with Phoenicia, especially with Tyre. Similarly, concise versions related to the leitmotif running through the catalogue are proposed for other ‘external’ characters who would have merited very different treatment in an encyclopaedia of the traditional kind.

In the West, the “Numidians” are right in the foreground, with their two kingdoms, “Masaesylii” and “Massylii”, and other African peoples that often were integrated into Carthaginian culture and, indeed to some extent were its standard-bearers and inheritors,

Also as part of the intention of including as much collateral historical information as possible, it was not possible to omit “Rome” (presented as a separate lemma, together with “Latins”) and its procession of characters who interacted with the Phoenicians of the West, i.e. the Punics, as they called them, in both war and peace. Lemmata focusing on the great rival families (“Barcids”, “Magonids”, at Carthage; “Scipions” at Rome etc.) allow us, for example, to verify, in the *longue durée* and from a specific viewpoint, the complex social and political relations between Rome and Carthage, Romans and Carthaginians.

A not insignificant amount of information has been included in this compendium, especially in the form of ethnonyms, the presence of which has been considered essential since historically some interaction occurred between the respective geographical, social and cultural milieus and those in which the Phoenician peoples were involved.

For the East we have, in alphabetical order: “Ammonites”, “Aramaeans”, “Assyrians”, “Babylonians”, “Canaanites”, “Edomites”, “Etheocyptiots”, “Fenekhu”, “Hittites”, “Hurrians” (these last two to complete the historical and cultural image of Anatolia), “Hyksos”, “Kittim”, “Luwians”, “Moabites”, “Mycenaeans”, “Nabataeans”, “Persians”, “Philistines”, “Sea-Peoples”. The Hebrew world is present as “Judah” and “Israel”, lemmata that are preferable to ethnonyms such as “Hebrews” or “Jews”, which are not always clearly defined and have too many connotations in modern historiography. For the West, besides the Numidians mentioned above, we have: “Afri”, “Berbers”, “Elymians”, “Etruscans”, “Gaetuli”, “Garamantes”, “Libyo-Phoenicians”, “Masaesylii”, “Massylii”, “Mauri”, “Nuragics”; in addition, for the Iberian Peninsula, “Iberians”, “Tartessians”, and “Turdetanians”.

Note also that there are two more lemmata, on “Phoenicians” and “Punics” respectively: these are concise, largely for methodological reasons, inserted for clarity of definition.

Still in respect of the series of ethnonyms, it must be remembered that in almost all these cases the lemmata in question are discussed further and in more detail from a specific viewpoint in the volumes dealing with archaeological sites. In other words, the ethnonyms inserted here present a panoramic discussion, an overall vision that isolates and emphasizes historical data, which in the archaeological sections will be discussed more at length and from a different perspective.

Alongside the category of ‘historical characters’ in the strict sense, it has been considered useful to provide, as lemmata, some monographic discussions summarizing relevant individual topics, periods or events: “Punic Wars”, “Dynasties”, “Eparchy”, “Mercenaries” and “Treaties”. These selections have been considered

necessary as providing the most complete and cohesive information on far-reaching events. For Carthaginian history in particular, we have tried to create associated groupings by means of entries such as “Barcids” and “Magonids”, besides those evidently pertinent such as those just mentioned.

Illustrations have only been included for certain entries, with no claim to be exhaustive or systematic, and are intended to accompany and assist the reading of the text. In addition, some general maps have been added at the end of the volume. The toponyms on the various geographical maps have been made uniform as far as possible. In some cases, however, the need to reconcile the original ancient (Phoenician, Greek, Latin or other) nomenclature with modern English names has inevitably led to some compromises.

It is also worth mentioning an additional clarification regarding the presence in this compendium of a series of characters whose historicity is at least doubtful, when they are not merely literary creations. A good example is the series of characters mentioned in the *Punica* by Silius Italicus, who become of interest inasmuch as they are presented as historical figures and who in name, membership, or contextualization provide scraps of information which in our view cannot be completely ignored. In some specific cases, for example for “Gala”, irrespective of the more than dubious historicity of this person and related events, the testimony provided by Silius Italicus is very important for its underlying ideology, which makes one doubt that it is a simple *topos* that can always be ascribed to alleged anti-Carthaginian propaganda.

Also noteworthy is the case of some protagonists in *Poenulus* by Plautus, a work that – aside from its extraordinary significance in respect of language, due to the insertions of paragraphs written in a distinctive syllabic Punic – sometimes goes beyond stereotyped phrases, evidently an important attempt at actually portraying real people, presented as belonging to Carthaginian culture.

Only a few characters on the margins between myth and history are included, since material of this kind will be discussed in the relevant volume. However, they are presented as ‘historical’ figures from a certain ancient tradition and what matters is precisely this specific point of view of ancient writers, not our modern concept of what is historical. In certain cases, it has been unavoidable to adopt an emic rather than an etic approach.

3. Finally, some technical information on the structure of this volume and how to consult it are indispensable for using it to the full.

In principle, the lemmata are set out in four sections, not evident in their layout but potentially in the following sequence:

- linguistic and documentary information (occurrences of personal names, etymology, possible parallels in other languages);
- information of a biographical or general historical nature;
- list of ancient sources, usually exhaustive but sometimes selective;
- an up-to-date bibliography, mostly summarized for understandable reasons, given the nature of this reference work, which uses a series of abbreviations that are explained in the corresponding lists. In this respect, while up-to-date, less recent but still fundamental works have not been excluded. Exceptions have been made, in respect of the space allowed for bibliographical data, for some lemmata that concern particularly wide and complex topics, for example, entries such as “Assyrians”, “Etruscans” or “Rome”. Here it has seemed appropriate to collect a much longer bibliography, in a few cases arranged by topic; in other cases an author has been allowed to discuss and cite works within a lemma.

For all the sigla not included in the lists of Abbreviations, the following compendia have been followed:

- General Abbreviations: Roberts, J. (ed.) (2007) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Greek writers: Liddell, H. G., Scott, R., Jones, H. S. and McKenzie, R. (1968) *Greek-English Lexicon*, with a Revised Supplement. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Latin writers: Glare, P. G. W. (ed.) (2012²) *Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Note that where several characters have the same name, they are presented with a progressively increasing number within the lemma and, where possible, in chronological sequence.

Regarding etymological and linguistic information, the following applies. In the spellings of proper names and toponyms, both here and in the entire set of volumes, where there is an established equivalent, that form has been adopted. In other cases, when it was necessary to choose from the most commonly used transcriptions, the criterion has been to use what is most available. Deviations from what was stated above will be obvious and will be justified by reading the individual lemmata, because, while trying to remain scientific and uniform, absolute rules have not always been followed in transcription and transliteration.

A special case is presented by the names of persons occurring in inscriptions in Phoenician and in other Hamito-Semitic languages, for which transliterations were required. While aware of the various problems, we have opted for the technical transliteration that seems most plausible, in respect of proven or presumed phonetic rules. This has not always been possible and in some cases an absolutely rigid criterion has not been applied, for example in representing consonants (e.g. the lemma “Baalhanon” is the conventional transliteration of *bʿlḥnn*, as against *baʿlḥanon* which is phonologically more correct, also ignoring the quantities of the vowels restored).

More generally, for the vocalizations of proper names, the most usual reconstruction has been followed, normally based on transcriptions in other scripts or suggested by parallels in other Semitic languages. There are quite a few cases in which the original consonantal form needs to be interpreted and may give rise to a range of vocalizations and transcriptions: for example, *špṭbʿl* could be represented as either “Shipitbaal” or “Shapatbaal” (the form adopted here); in all these cases, besides always giving the original Phoenician form in the lemmata, the discarded form has been included as a reference to the one adopted. Another example is provided by the name of the king of Byblos (*ʿḥrm*), which has been represented as “Ahirom” (instead of “Ahiram”) because that was the presumed vocalization of the personal name.

Some further apparent inconsistencies need to be justified.

The name of the god *mlqrt* was probably pronounced *milqart*, a form we have adopted in every instance where this divine name forms part of a proper name (e.g. Abd[i]milqart, Phoen. *ʿbdmlqrt*). However, following a very long-standing convention, this divine name usually appears as Melqart, so we have decided to follow it. A similar, but not identical example is the case of Astarte; here, custom has imposed the Greek form, where instead *ʿštrt* was pronounced *ʿashtart* in Phoenician, a form we have adopted only when this divine name is part of a proper name (such as Abd[i]ashtart, Phoen. *ʿbdʿštrt*; note that the presence of the connecting -i- is not evident in every case).

To summarize: rigid spelling rules have not been applied, while providing the elements for understanding and reconstructing the original forms of the names without too much difficulty. As for Akkadian and Hittite, only in some cases has it been considered absolutely necessary to retain exact transliterations of letters such as /h/ or /š/, otherwise written as /h/ and /sh/ respectively.

Lastly, we openly acknowledge our debt to earlier reference works, in particular to the excellent studies by Werner Huss and Klaus Geus in respect of all the events and individuals in the history of Carthage.

Rome, June 2018

ANDREA ERCOLANI – PAOLO XELLA

ABBREVIATIONS

1. GENERAL*

a. = author	etc. = etcetera
AK = Ancient Kingdom	Etr. = Etruscan
Akk. = Akkadian	ex. = example
Anat. = Anatolian	f./ff. = following
(A)NE = (Ancient) Near East	fem. = feminine gender
app. = appendix	fig./figs = figure(s)
Arab. = Arabic	fr. = fragment
Aram. = Aramaic	fn. = footnote
art. = article	Gk = Greek
Ass. = Assyrian	h. = height
Att. = Attic	ha. = hectare(s)
Bab. = Babylonian	Hebr. = Hebrew
BA = Bronze Age	Hellenist. = Hellenistic
BCE = Before Christian/Common Era	Hitt. = Hittite
Berb. = Berber	IA = Iron Age
bibliog. = bibliography	i.a. = <i>inter alia</i>
ca = <i>circa</i> , about, approximately	<i>ibid.</i> = <i>ibidem</i> , in the same work
Carthag. = Carthaginian	<i>id.</i> , <i>iid.</i> = <i>idem</i> , <i>iidem</i>
CE = Christian/Common Era	i.e. = <i>id est</i> , that is to say
cent. = century	IE = Indo-European
cf. = <i>confer</i>	i.p. = in press
ch. = chapter	impf. = imperfect
class. = classic	kg = kilogram(s)
cm = centimetre(s)	km = kilometre(s)
c.m. = cubic metre(s)	l. = length
col./cols = column(s)	Lat. = Latin
comm. = commentary	LBA = Late Bronze Age
Cypr. = Cyprian/Cypriot	LC = Late Cycladic
diam. = diameter	LH = Late Helladic
diss. = dissertation	Lib. = Libyan
DN(N) = divine name(s)	lin. = line(s)
dyn. = dynasty	lit. = literally
E = East	m = metre(s)
east. = eastern	masc. = masculine gender
ed./eds = editor(s)	max. = maximum
<i>ead.</i> = <i>eadem</i>	MBA = Middle Bronze Age
e.g. = <i>exempli gratia</i>	Medit. = Mediterranean
Egypt. = Egyptian	Mesop. = Mesopotamian
Engl. = English	mill. = millennium
esp. = especially	min. = minimum
<i>et al.</i> = <i>et alii</i>	MK = Middle Kingdom

* For abbreviations not included here see: <http://public.oed.com/how-to-use-the-oed/abbreviations/> (Oxford English Dictionary).

Mycen. = Mycenaean	ps. = pseudo
N = North	Pun. = Punic
no./nos = number(s)	repr. = reprint, reprinted
NB = nota bene	Rev. = Reverse
NE = North-East	Rom. = Roman
Neoass. = Neo-Assyrian	S = South
Neobab. = Neo-Babylonian	S.-Arab. = South-Arabic
Neopun. = Neo-Punic	sc. = <i>scilicet</i>
NK = New Kingdom	SE = South-East
north. = northern	Sem. = Semitic
Nur. = Nuragic	sing. = singular
NT = New Testament	s.m. = square meter(s)
Numid. = Numidic	south. = southern
NW = North-West	Sum. = Sumerian
Obv. = Obverse	Suppl. = Supplement
OK = Old Kingdom	s.v. = <i>sub voce</i>
Or. = Oriental	SW = South-West
OT = Old Testament	Syr. = Syrian
Palest. = Palestinian	TN(N) = toponym(s)
<i>passim</i> = throughout	trans. = translation, translator, translated by
Pers. = Persian	Ug. = Ugaritic
pf. = perfect	vid. = <i>vide</i> , 'see'
Phoen. = Phoenician	vol. = volume
Pl./Pls = Plate(s)	vs. = verse <i>or</i> versus
plur. = plural	W = West
PN(N) = personal name(s)	w. = width
pron. = pronoun	west. = western

2. GREEK AND LATIN SOURCES

Ael. = Aelianus	Arr. = Arrianus
NA = <i>De natura animalium</i>	An. = <i>Anabasis</i>
VH = <i>Varia historia</i>	Ind. = <i>Indica</i>
Alex. = Alexis Comicus (ed. R. Kassel and C. Austin)	Athen. = Athenaeus
Ampel. = Lucius Ampelius	Avien. = R. Festus Avienus
Anaximen. = Anaximenes	Or. Mar. = <i>Ora Maritima</i>
Antioch. = Antiochus (<i>FGrHist</i>)	Aug. = Augustinus
AP = <i>Anthologia Palatina</i>	CD = <i>De civitate Dei</i>
App. = Appianus	[Aur. Vict.] = Pseudo-Aurelius Victor
BC = <i>Bella civilia</i>	Vir. Ill. = <i>De viris illustribus</i>
Hann. = Ἀννιβαλική	Caes. = C. Julius Caesar
Hisp. = Ἰβηρική	Civ. = <i>De bello civili</i>
Ital. = Ἰταλική	Gall. = <i>De bello gallico</i>
Mac. = Μακεδονική	[Caes.] = C. Julius Caesar (Pseudo-Caesar)
Pun. = Λιβυκή	BAfr. = <i>Bellum Africum</i>
Sic. = Σικελική	BAlex. = <i>Bellum Alexandrinum</i>
Syr. = Συριακή	Cic. = M. Tullius Cicero
Arist. = Aristoteles	Acad. = <i>Academicae quaestiones</i>
Pol. = <i>Politica</i>	Balb. = <i>Pro Balbo</i>

- Brut.* = Brutus
De amic. = *De amicitia*
Div. = *De divinatione*
Fin. = *De finibus bonorum et malorum*
Vat. = *In Vatinius*
Leg. Agr. = *De lege agraria*
Nat. D. = *De natura Deorum*
Off. = *De officiis*
Orat. = *De oratore*
Rep. = *De re publica*
Sen. = *De senectute*
Tusc. = *Tusculanae disputationes*
Verr. = *In Verrem*
Clem. Al. = Clemens Alexandrinus
Strom. = *Stromata*
Clitarch. = Clitarchus (*FGrHist*)
Coel. = L. Coelius Antipater
Curt. = Q. Curtius Rufus
Historia Alexandri Magni
Dam. = Damascius Philosophus
D. Chr. = Dio Chrysostomus
Or. = *Orationes*
Dio Cass. = Dio Cassius
Diod. = Diodorus Siculus
Diog. Laert. = Diogenes Laertius
Dion. Halic. = Dionysius Halicarnassensis
Enn. = Q. Ennius
Ann. = *Annales*
Eun. = Eunapius (*FGrHist*)
Eutr. = Eutropius
Fab. Pict. = Fabius Pictor
Fest. = Sex. Pompeius Festus
Brev. = *Breviarium*
Flor. = L. (vel P.) Annaeus Florus
Epit. = *Epitome*
Fron. = Sex. Iulius Frontinus
Str. = *Stratagemata*
Galen. = Galenus
De praecognit. = *De praecognitionibus*
Gell. = A. Gellius
Hdt. = Herodotus
Hecat. = Hecataeus Milesius (*FGrHist*)
Hellanic. = Hellanicus (*FGrHist*)
Hist. Aug. = *Historiae Augustae Scriptores*
Hom. = Homerus
Il. = *Ilias*
Od. = *Odysea*
Hor. = Q. Horatius Flaccus
Carm. = *Carmina*
Iamb. = Iamblichus
VP = *De vita Pythagorica*
Isid. = Isidorus Hispalensis
De vir. ill. = *De viris illustribus*
Etym. = *Etymologiae*
Isoc. = Isocrates
Antid. = *Antidosis*
Ep. = *Epistulae*
Evagor. = *Evagoras*
Nicocl. = *Ad Nicoclem*
Joseph. = T. Flavius Josephus
AJ = *Antiquitates Judaicae*
Ap. = *Contra Apionem*
BJ = *Bellum Judaicum*
Vit. = *Vita*
Jul. Obs. = Julius Obsequens
Just. = M. Junianus Justinus
Lib. = Libanius
Ep. = *Epistulae*
Or. = *Orationes*
Liv. = T. Livius
Perioch. = *Periochae*
Luc. = Lucianus
Im. = *Imagines*
Lyc. = Lycophron
Macr. = Macrobius
Sat. = *Saturnalia*
Mart. = M. Valerius Martialis
Epigr. = *Epigrammata*
Max. Tyr. = Maximus Tyrius
Mel. = Meleager Epigrammaticus
Men. Eph. = Menander Ephesius (*FGrHist*)
Nep. = Cornelius Nepos
Ham. = *Hamilcar*
Hann. = *Hannibal*
Iphicr. = *Iphicrates*
Tim. = *Timoleon*
Oros. = Paulus Orosius
Ov. = P. Ovidius Naso
Fast. = *Fasti*
Paus. = Pausanias Periegetas
Ph. Bybl. = Philo Byblius
Philist. = Philistus Historicus (*FGrHist*)
Philostr. = Philostratus Sophista
VS = *Vitae Sophistarum*
Phot. = Photius
Bibl. = *Bibliotheca*
Pl. = Plato
Plaut. = Plautus
Poen. = *Poenulus*
Plb. = Polybius

- Plin. = C. Plinius Secundus
 Nat. = *Naturalis historia*
 Plot. = Plotinus
 Plut. = Plutarchus
 Aem. = *Aemilius Paulus*
 Alex. = *Alexander*
 Ant. = *Antonius*
 Caes. = *Caesar*
 Cam. = *Camillus*
 Cat. Ma., Mi. = *Cato Maior, Minor*
 C. Gr. = *Caius Gracchus*
 De Stoic. re. = *De Stoicorum repugnantiiis*
 Dio
 Fab. = *Fabius Maximus*
 Flam. = *Flamininus*
 Luc. = *Lucullus*
 Mar. = *Marius*
 Marc. = *Marcellus*
 Moral. = *Moralia*
 Pomp. = *Pompeius*
 Pyrrh. = *Pyrrhus*
 Sull. = *Sulla*
 T. Gr. = *Tiberius Gracchus*
 Tim. = *Timoleon*
 Polyaen. = Polyaenus
 Strat. = *Stratagemata*
 Pomp. Trog. = Pompeius Trogus
 Prol. = *Prologi*
 Porph. = Porphyrius Tyrius Philosophus
 Abst. = *De abstinencia*
 Ptol. = Ptolemaeus Mathematicus
 Geogr. = *Geographia*
 Quint. = Quintilianus
 Inst. = *Institutio oratoria*
 Sal. = C. Sallustius Crispus
 Jug. = *Bellum Jugurthinum*
schol. = *scholia*
 [Scyl.] = Scylax (Pseudo-Scylax)
 Sen. = L. Annaeus Seneca
 Ep. = *Epistulae*
 Serv. = Servius Onoratus
 A. = *In Vergilii Aeneidos libros*
 G. = *In Vergilii Georgica*
 Sil. = Silius Italicus
 Pun. = *Punica*
 Socr. = Socrates Scholasticus
 Hist. Eccles. = *Historia Ecclesiastica*
 Solin. = C. Julius Solinus
 St. Byz. = Stephanus Byzantius
 Stob. = Joannes Stobaeus
 Flor. = Ἀνθολόγιον
 Str. = Strabo
 Suet. = C. Suetonius Tranquillus
 Caes. = *Caius Julius Caesar*
 Suid. = Suidas Lexicographus
 Tac. = P. Cornelius Tacitus
 Ann. = *Annales*
 Tert. = Tertullianus
 De Anim. = *De testimonio animae*
 Theopomp. = Theopompus (*FGrHist*)
 Theophr. = Theophrastus
 HP = *Historia plantarum*
 Thuc. = Thucydides
 Ulp. = Domitius Ulpianus
 Dig. = *Digestum*
 Val. Ant. = Valerius Antias
 Val. Max. = Valerius Maximus
 Varr. = M. Terentius Varro
 RR = *Res rusticae*
 Veget. = P. Flavius Vegetius Renatus
 Vell. = C. Velleius Paterculus
 Verg. = P. Vergilius Maro
 A. = *Aeneis*
 G. = *Georgica*
 Vitruv. = Vitruvius
 Xen. = Xenophon
 Hell. = *Hellenica*
 Zonar. = Zonaras Lexicographus

3. BIBLICAL BOOKS

1. Old Testament (OT)

Amos	Amos	Dan	Daniel
Bar	Baruch	Deut	Deuteronomy
1 Chr	1 Chronicles	Esd	Esdras
2 Chr	2 Chronicles	Esth	Esther
Ctc	Canticles	Exod	Exodus

Ezek	Ezekiel	Mal	Malachi
Gen	Genesis	Mic	Micah
Hab	Habakkuk	Nah	Nahum
Hag	Haggai	Neh	Nehemiah
Hos	Hosea	Num	Numbers
Isa	Isaiah	Obad	Obadiah
Jdt	Judith	Prov	Proverbs
Jer	Jeremiah	Ps	Psalms
Job	Job	Ruth	Ruth
Joel	Joel	1 Sam	1 Samuel
Jonah	Jonah	2 Sam	2 Samuel
Josh	Joshua	Sir	Ben Sira/Ecclesiasticus
Judg	Judges	Song	Song of Solomon
1-2 Kgs	1-2 Kings	Tob	Tobit
Lam	Lamentations	Wisd	Wisdom
Lev	Leviticus	Zech	Zechariah
1-4 Mac	1-4 Maccabees	Zeph	Zephaniah

2. New Testament (NT)

Mt	Matthew	Jas	James
Mk	Mark	Jude	Jude
Lk	Luke	1-2 Pet	1-2 Peter
Joh	John	Phil	Philippians
Acts	The Acts of the Apostles	Philemon	Philemon
Apoc	Apocalypse	Rev	Revelation
Col	Colossians	Rom	Romans
1-2 Cor	1-2 Corinthians	1-2 Thes	1-2 Thessalonians
Eph	Ephesians	1-2 Tim	1-2 Timothy
Gal	Galatians	Titus	Titus
Heb	Hebrews		

4. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES (BOOKS, JOURNALS, SERIES ETC.)

A

ABS	Archaeology and Biblical Studies. Atlanta: Brill.
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament. Studien zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion Ägyptens und des Alten Testaments. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
AE	Année Épigraphique. Paris.
AEA	Archivo Español de Arqueología. Madrid.
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung. Vienna.
AfRo 1	Mastino, A. (ed.) (1984) <i>L'Africa romana</i> I. Atti del I Convegno di studio, Sassari, 16-17 dicembre 1983. Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi.
AfRo 2	Mastino, A. (ed.) (1985) <i>L'Africa romana</i> II. Atti del II Convegno di studio, Sassari, 14-16 dicembre 1984. Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi.

- AfRo 3 Mastino, A. (ed.) (1986) *L'Africa romana* III. *La documentazione epigrafica e la storia delle province romane del Maghreb*. Atti del III Convegno di studio, Sassari, 13-15 dicembre 1985. Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi.
- AfRo 4 Mastino, A. (ed.) (1987) *L'Africa romana* IV. *L'epigrafia e la storia delle province romane del Maghreb*. Atti del IV Convegno di studio, Sassari, 12-14 dicembre 1986. Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi.
- AfRo 5 Mastino, A. (ed.) (1988) *L'Africa romana* V. *L'epigrafia e la storia delle province romane del Maghreb*. Atti del V Convegno di studio, Sassari, 11-13 dicembre 1987. Sassari: Università degli Studi di Sassari, Dipartimento di Storia.
- AfRo 6 Mastino, A. (ed.) (1989) *L'Africa romana* VI. *Il Nord Africa e la Sardegna in età tardo-antica*. Atti del VI Convegno di studio, Sassari, 16-18 dicembre 1988. Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi.
- AfRo 7 Mastino, A. (ed.) (1990) *L'Africa romana* VII. *Sopravvivenze puniche e persistenze indigene nel Nord Africa ed in Sardegna in età romana*. Atti del VII Convegno di studio, Sassari, 15-17 dicembre 1989. Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi.
- AfRo 8 Mastino, A. (ed.) (1991) *L'Africa romana* VIII. *Economia e società nel Nord Africa ed in Sardegna in età imperiale: continuità e trasformazioni*. Atti dell'VIII Convegno di studio, Cagliari, 14-16 dicembre 1990. Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi.
- AfRo 9 Mastino, A. (ed.) (1992) *L'Africa romana* IX. *Nuove scoperte epigrafiche nel Nord Africa ed in Sardegna*. Atti del IX Convegno di studio, Nuoro, 13-15 dicembre 1991. Sassari: Edizioni Gallizzi.
- AfRo 10 Mastino, A. and Ruggeri, P. (eds) (1994) *L'Africa romana* X. *Civitas. L'organizzazione dello spazio urbano nel Nord Africa ed in Sardegna*. Atti del X Convegno di Studio, Oristano, 11-13 dicembre 1992. Sassari: Editrice Archivio Fotografico Sardo.
- AfRo 11 Khanoussi, M., Ruggeri, P. and Vismara, C. (eds) (1996) *L'Africa romana* XI. *La scienza e le tecniche nelle province romane del Nord Africa e nel Mediterraneo*. Atti dell'XI Convegno di studio, Cartagine, 15-18 dicembre 1994. Sassari: Editrice il Torchietto – Ozieri.
- AfRo 12 Khanoussi, M., Ruggeri, P. and Vismara, C. (eds) (1998) *L'Africa romana* XII. *L'organizzazione dello spazio rurale nelle province del Nord Africa e nella Sardegna*. Atti del XII Convegno di studio, Olbia, 12-15 dicembre 1996. Sassari: EDS, Editrice Democratica Sarda.
- AfRo 13 Khanoussi, M., Ruggeri, P. and Vismara, C. (eds) (2000) *L'Africa romana* XIII. *Geografi, viaggiatori, militari nel Maghreb: alle origini dell'archeologia nel Nord Africa*. Atti del XIII Convegno di studio, Djerba, 10-13 dicembre 1998. Rome: Carocci.
- AfRo 14 Khanoussi, M., Ruggeri, P. and Vismara, C. (eds) (2002) *L'Africa romana* XIV. *Lo spazio marittimo del Mediterraneo occidentale: geografia storica ed economica*. Atti del XIV Convegno internazionale, Sassari, 7-10 dicembre 2000. Rome: Carocci.
- AfRo 15 Khanoussi, M., Ruggeri, P. and Vismara, C. (eds) (2004) *L'Africa romana* XV. *Ai confini dell'impero: contatti, scambi, conflitti*. Atti del XV Convegno di studio, Tozeur, 11-15 dicembre 2002. Rome: Carocci.
- AfRo 16 Akerraz, A. et al. (ed.) (2006) *L'Africa romana* XVI. *Mobilità delle persone e dei popoli, dinamiche migratorie, emigrazioni ed immigrazioni nelle province occidentali dell'Impero romano*. Atti del XVI Convegno di studio, Rabat, 15-19 dicembre 2004. Rome: Carocci.
- AfRo 17 González, J. and Ruggeri, P. (eds) (2009) *L'Africa romana* XVII. *Le ricchezze dell'Africa. Risorse, produzioni, scambi*. Atti del XVII Convegno di studio, Sevilla, 14-17 dicembre 2006. Rome: Carocci.

- AfRo 18 Milanese, M., Ruggeri, P. and Vismara, C. (eds) (2010) *L'Africa romana XVIII. I luoghi e le forme dei mestieri e della produzione nelle province africane*. Atti del XVIII Convegno di studio, Olbia, 11-14 dicembre 2008. Rome: Carocci.
- AfRo 19 Cocco, M. B., Gavini, A. and Ibba, A. (eds) (2012) *L'Africa Romana XIX. Trasformazione dei paesaggi del potere nell'Africa settentrionale fino alla fine del mondo antico*. Atti del XIX Convegno di studio, Sassari, 16-19 dicembre 2010. Rome: Carocci.
- AfRo 20 Ruggeri, P. (ed.) (2015) *L'Africa romana XX. Momenti di continuità e rottura: bilancio di trent'anni di convegni L'Africa romana*. Atti del XX Convegno di studio, Alghero, 26-29 settembre 2013. Rome: Carocci.
- AION *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale di Napoli*.
- AIONArchStAnt *Annali di archeologia e storia antica*. Naples.
- AJA *American Journal of Archaeology*. Boston.
- AJAH *American Journal of Ancient History*. Harvard (MA).
- AJBA *The Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology*. Sidney.
- AJPh *American Journal of Philology*. Baltimore.
- AK *Antike Kunst*. Basel.
- ALASP(M) *Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas (und Mesopotamiens)*. Münster.
- AIT Wiseman, D. J. (1953) *The Alalakh Tablets*. British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara Occasional Publication 2. London.
- AnOr *Analecta Orientalia*. Rome.
- AncSoc *Ancient Society*. Leuven: Peeters.
- ANEP Pritchard, J. B. (ed.) (1954) *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- ANES(S) *Ancient Near Eastern Studies (Supplement)*. Melbourne (formerly: *Abr-Nahrain*).
- AnnFaina *Annali della Fondazione per il Museo Claudio Faina*. Orvieto.
- ANRW Temporini, H. and Haase, W. (eds) (1972ff.) *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt. Geschichte und Kultur Roms in Spiegel der neueren Forschung*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- AnSt *Anatolian Studies*. Ankara.
- AntAfr *Antiquités Africaines*. Aix-en-Provence.
- AntCl *L'Antiquité classique*. Liège.
- AO *Antiquités Orientales* (Musée du Louvre). Paris.
- AOAT *Alter Orient und Altes Testament*. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn and Münster.
- AoF *Altorientalische Forschungen*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- APC *Acts of the International Congress of Phoenician and Punic Studies*, as follows:
- 1 *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici* (Roma, 5-10 novembre 1979). Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. 1983.
- 2 *Atti del II Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici* (Roma, 9-14 novembre 1987). Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche. 1991.
- 3 Fantar, M. H. and Ghaki, M. (eds) *Actes du III^e Congrès International des Études Phéniciennes et Puniques* (Tunis, 11-16 novembre 1991). Tunis: Institut National du Patrimoine. 1995.
- 4 Aubet Semmler, M. E. and Barthélemy, M. (eds) *Actas del IV Congreso Internacional de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos* (Cádiz, 2-6 octubre 1995). Cádiz: Universidad de Cádiz. 2000.
- 5 Spanò Giammellaro, A. (ed.) *Atti del V Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici* (Marsala-Palermo, 2-8 ottobre 2000). Palermo: Università degli Studi di Palermo, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia. 2005.

- 6 Arruda, A. M. (ed.) (2013) *Actas do VI Congresso internacional de Estudos Fenícios e Púnicos, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 25 Setembro a 1 Outubro de 2005*. Lisbon: Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa. 2013.
- ARAB Luckenbill, D. D. (1927) *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia I-II*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- ArchCl *Archeologia Classica*. Rome.
- ArchDelt *Archaiologikon Deltion*. Athens.
- ArOr *Archiv Orientální*. Prague.
- Art phénicien Caubet, A., Gubel, E. and Fontan, E. (eds) (2002) *Art phénicien. La sculpture de tradition phénicienne*. Paris: Réunion des Musées Nationaux.
- ASAA *Annuario della Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni in Oriente*. Athens.
- ATD ER Das Alte Testament Deutsch. Ergänzungsreihe. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- AuOr *Aula Orientalis*. Barcelona.
- AuOr(S) *Aula Orientalis (Supplementa)*. Barcelona.
- AUSS *Andrews University Seminary Studies*. Berrien Springs (MI).
- AW *Ancient World. A Scholarly Journal for the Study of Antiquity*.

B

- BAAL *BAAL: Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises*. Beirut.
- BAC see *BCTH*.
- B(a)M *Baghdader Mitteilungen*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Baghdad.
- BAR (IS) British Archaeological Reports International Series. Oxford.
- BASOR *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*. Jerusalem and Washington.
- BCH *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*. Athens.
- BCTH *Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux historiques et scientifiques*. Paris.
- BdÉ Bibliothèque d'Étude. Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale. Cairo.
- BES Teixidor, J. (1986) *Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique 1964-1980*. Paris: Geuthner.
- BICS *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*.
- BM Objects in the British Museum. London.
- BMB *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*.
- BNP *Brill's New Pauly* Antiquity volumes edited by: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider. English Edition by: Christine F. Salazar. Classical Tradition volumes edited by: Manfred Landfester, English Edition by: Francis G. Gentry.
- Bonnet, C. (1988) Bonnet, C. (1988) *Melqart. Cultes et mythes de l'Héraclès tyrien en Méditerranée*. Studia Phoenicia 8. Namur/Leuven: Peeters.
- Bonnet, C. (1996) Bonnet, C. (1996) *Astarté. Dossier documentaire et perspective historiques*. CSF 37. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- BSA *The Annual of the British School at Athens*.
- BTAVO Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients. Beihefte. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- BTS Beiruter Texte und Studien. Orient-Institut Beirut/Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag.
- BZAW Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. Berlin: de Gruyter.

C

- CAH *The Cambridge Ancient History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- CAT see *KTU* (2).
- CB *Cahiers de Byrsa*. Tunis and Paris.
- CB/OTS Coniectanea Biblica. Old Testament Series.
- CCEC *Cahiers du Centre d'études chypriotes*. Paris.

CEFR	Collection de l'École Française de Rome.
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
CHLI	Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions. Berlin: de Gruyter.
<i>ChrÉg</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> . Bruxelles.
<i>CIE</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum</i> .
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .
<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> .
CISA	Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia Antica. Milan.
<i>ClPhil</i>	<i>Classical Philology</i> . Chicago.
<i>C(l)Q</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i> . Cambridge.
<i>C(l)W</i>	<i>Classical World</i> . Baltimore.
<i>CRAI(BL)</i>	<i>Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres</i> . Paris.
CRB	Cahiers de la <i>Revue Biblique</i> . Jerusalem.
CSF	Collezione di Studi Fenici. Rome.
CTH	Catalog der Texte der Hethiter, in Fortführung der Arbeit von Laroche, E. (1971) <i>Catalogue des textes Hittites</i> . Paris: Klincksieck, bearbeitet von S. Košak und G. G. W. Müller.
CUOS	Collection "L'Orient ancien illustré". Paris: A. Maisonneuve.

D

<i>Da Pyrgi a Mozia</i>	Amadasi Guzzo, M. G., Liverani, M. and Matthiae, P. (eds) (2002) <i>Da Pyrgi a Mozia. Studi sull'archeologia del Mediterraneo in memoria di Antonia Ciasca</i> . Quaderni di Vicino Oriente. Rome: Università La Sapienza.
DCF	Amadasi Guzzo, M. G., Bonnet, C., Cecchini, S. M. and Xella, P. (1992) <i>Dizionario della civiltà fenicia</i> . Rome: Gremese.
DCPP	Lipiński, E. (ed.) (1992) <i>Dictionnaire de la civilisation phénicienne et punique</i> . Turnhout: Brepols.
DdA	<i>Dialoghi di Archeologia</i> . Rome.
DDD ²	van der Toorn, K., Becking, B. and van der Horst, P. W. (eds) (1999 ² : 2nd extensively rev. edition). <i>Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible</i> . Leiden/Boston: Brill.
DHA	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i> . Besançon.
DNP(S)	Cancik, H., Schneider, H. and Landfester, M. (eds) <i>Der Neue Pauly (Supplemente)</i> . Online: Brill.
DNWSI	Hoftijzer, J. and Jongeling, K. (1995) <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> , I-II. HdO 21. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
DRS	Cohen, D. et al. (1970ff.) <i>Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques ou attestées dans les langues sémitiques</i> . Paris/La Haye: Peeters.

E

EA	El-Amarna Tablets. According to the edition of J. A. Knudtzon (1908-1915) <i>Die el-Amarna Tafeln</i> . Leipzig: Hinrichs. Repr. 1964. Aalen: Zeller. Continued in Rainey, A. F. (1978) <i>El Amarna Tablets 359-379</i> . 2nd rev. ed. AOAT 8. Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker.
EBNS	Études bibliques. Nouvelle série. Paris: Gabalda.
EBR	Helmer, Ch., McKenzie, S. L., Römer, Th. Ch., Schröter, J., Walfish, B. D. and Ziolkowski, E. (eds) (2009ff.) <i>Encyclopaedia of the Bible and Its Reception</i> . Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

<i>EH</i>	Berthier, A. and Charlier, R. (1952-1955) <i>Le sanctuaire d'El-Hofra à Constantine</i> . Paris: Arts et Métiers graphiques.
<i>EpAn</i>	<i>Epigraphica Anatolica</i> . Köln.
<i>EPRO</i>	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain. Leiden/Boston: Brill (currently became "Religions in the Graeco-Roman World": RGRW).
<i>ErIs</i>	<i>Eretz-Israel</i> . Israel Exploration Society.
<i>ESE I-III</i>	Lidzbarski, M. (1902-1915) <i>Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik</i> , I-III. Giessen: Töpelmann.
<i>EV</i>	<i>Enciclopedia Virgiliana</i> (1991ff.). Rome: Istituto dell'Enciclopedia Italiana.
<i>EVO</i>	<i>Egitto e Vicino Oriente</i> . Pisa.

F

<i>FAT</i>	Forschungen zum Alten Testament. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
<i>Fenici, Catalogo</i>	Moscatti, S. (ed.) (1988) <i>I Fenici</i> . Catalogo della Mostra di Venezia, Palazzo Grassi. Milan: Bompiani.
<i>FGrHist</i>	Jacoby, F. (1923-1958; 1994 repr.) <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> , I-IIIc. Berlin/Leiden: Weidmann and Brill.
<i>FRLANT</i>	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

G

<i>GAT</i>	Grundrisse zum Alten Testament. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
Geus, K. (1994)	Geus, K. (1994) <i>Prosopographie der literarisch bezeugten Karthager</i> . OLA 59. Leuven: Peeters.
<i>GIF</i>	<i>Giornale Italiano di Filologia</i> . Perugia.
<i>GNS</i>	<i>Gazette Numismatique Suisse</i> : see <i>SM</i> (<i>Schweizer Münzblätter</i>).
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman & Byzantine Studies</i> . Durham (NC).
<i>G&R</i>	<i>Greece and Rome</i> . Cambridge (MA).

H

<i>HAAN</i>	Gsell, S. (1913-1928) <i>Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du Nord</i> , I-VIII. Paris: Hachette et cie.
<i>HdO</i>	Handbuch der Orientalistik. Leiden/Boston: Brill.
<i>HEO</i>	Hautes études orientales. Paris/Geneva: Droz.
<i>HNPI</i>	Jongeling, K. (2008) <i>Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions</i> . Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
Huss, W. (1985)	Huss, W. (1985) <i>Geschichte der Karthager</i> . Munich: Beck.

I

<i>ICO</i>	Guzzo Amadasi, M. G. (1967) <i>Le iscrizioni fenicie e puniche delle colonie in Occidente</i> . SS 28. Rome: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente.
<i>ICS</i>	Masson, O. (1961; 1983 ²) <i>Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques</i> . Paris: Éditions de Boccard.
<i>ID</i>	Dürnbach, F. et al. (1926ff.) <i>Inscriptions de Délos</i> . Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion/Éditions de Boccard.

<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i> . Jerusalem.
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (1873ff.).
<i>IK</i>	Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. and Karageorghis, V. (1977) <i>Fouilles de Kition</i> . Vol. 3. <i>Inscriptions phéniciennes</i> . Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
<i>ILAlg</i>	Gsell, S. and Pflaum, H. G. (1922-1957) <i>Inscriptions latines d'Algérie</i> , I-II/1. Paris 1922-1957; II/2, Algiers 1976: H. Champion.
<i>ILS</i>	Dessau, H. (1892) <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> . Berlin: Weidmann.
<i>Inscr. It.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i> (1931/1932ff.).
<i>IPT</i>	Levi della Vida, G. and Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. (1987) <i>Iscrizioni puniche della Tripolitania (1927-1967)</i> . Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider.
<i>IRT</i>	Reynolds, J. and Ward-Perkins, J. B. <i>The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania</i> . Rome/London: King's College London.

J

<i>JAH</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient History/Vestnik drevnei istorii</i> . Moscow: Izd-vo Nauka.
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of the Columbia University</i> . New York.
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i> . American Oriental Society.
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i> . Baghdad School of the American Schools of Oriental Research.
<i>JdS</i>	<i>Journal des Savants</i> . Paris: De Boccard.
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> . London: Egypt Exploration Society.
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i> . Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies: Cambridge University Press.
<i>JMedA</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i> . Nicosia: Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute.
<i>JMedS</i>	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Studies</i> . Msida Malta: University of Malta.
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations.
<i>JRA</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i> . Editorial Committee of the Journal of Roman Archaeology: Cambridge University Press.
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i> . Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies: Cambridge University Press.
<i>JSHRZ (NF)</i>	<i>Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit (Neue Folge)</i> . Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
<i>JSOT (SS)</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament (Supplementary Series)</i> . Sheffield: SAGE Publishing.
<i>JSS</i>	<i>Journal of Semitic Studies</i> . Manchester: Oxford University Press.
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> . Toronto: Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities.

K

<i>KAI</i>	Donner, H. and Röllig, W. (1962-2002) <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> , I-III. 1962-1964, 1966-1969. Bd. 1. 5., erweiterte und überarbeitete Auflage, 2002. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
Krings, V. (1995)	Krings, V. (ed.) (1995) <i>La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de Recherche</i> . HdO 20. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

- KTU* Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. and Sanmartín, J. (1976) *Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit*. AOAT 24/1. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag/Butzon & Bercker.
- KTU (2)* Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. and Sanmartín, J. (1995) *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other Places* (KTU: Second, enlarged edition). ALASP 8. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.

L

- LÄ(g)* Helck, W. and Otto, E. (eds) (1972-1986) *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- LAOS* Leipziger Altorientalische Studien. Leipzig: Harrassowitz.
- Le Bas – Waddington* Le Bas, Ph. and Waddington, W. H. (1870) *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*. Paris: Firmin-Didot.
- LEC* *Les études classiques*. Namur: Société des études classiques.
- LHB/OTS* The Library of Hebrew Bible. Old Testament Studies. Sheffield Academic Press *et al.*
- Liban, l'autre rive* *Liban, l'autre rive: Exposition présentée à l'Institut du Monde Arabe du 27 octobre au 2 mai 1999*. Paris: Flammarion. 1998.
- Lipiński, E. (1995)* Lipiński, E. (1995) *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique*. OLA 64 = StPhoen 14. Leuven: Peeters.
- LPE* Jongeling, K. and Kerr, R. M. (2005) *Late Punic Epigraphy*. Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.

M

- MAL* Monumenti antichi. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
- MDAIK* *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* (until 1944: *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Instituts für Ägyptische Altertumskunde in Kairo*. Berlin/Wiesbaden, from 1970: Mainz).
- MEFRA* *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome*.
- MH* *Museum Helveticum*. Schweizerische Vereinigung für Altertumswissenschaft / Association suisse pour l'étude de l'Antiquité.
- MM* *Madriener Mitteilungen*. Deutsches Archäologisches Institut. Abteilung Madrid.
- Mus* *Le Muséon*. Leuven: Peeters.
- MUSJ* *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph*. Beirut, Université Saint-Joseph: Imprimerie Catholique.

N

- NAN* Jongeling, K. (1994) *North-African Names from Latin Sources*. Leiden.
- NC* *The Numismatic Chronicle*. London: Royal Numismatic Society.
- NNPI* Jongeling, K. (1984) *Names in Neo-Punic Inscriptions*. Groningen: Faculty of Arts, University of Groningen.
- NP* Signature of Neo-Punic inscriptions based on the numbering of P. Schröder (*Die phönizische Sprache*. Halle 1869, 63-72) and Z. S. Harris (*A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*. New Haven 1936, 160f.).

O

- OA* *Oriens Antiquus*.
- OBO* *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*. Fribourg/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i> . Leuven: Peeters.
OLP	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica</i> . Leuven: Peeters.
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter.
Or (NS)	<i>Orientalia</i> (Nova Series). Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
ORA	<i>Oriental Religions in Antiquity</i> . Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck.
OxfJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i> .

P

PBSA	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i> .
PdP	<i>La parola del passato</i> . Naples: Olschki.
Phoinikes BSHRDN	Bernardini, P., D'Oriano, R. and Spanu, P. G. (eds) (1997) <i>Phoinikes BSHRDN. I Fenici in Sardegna</i> . Oristano/Cagliari: Edizioni Studi e Ricerche.
Picard, C. (1954)	Picard, C. (1954) <i>Catalogue du Musée Alaoui. Nouvelle Série (collections puniques)</i> . T. I. Tunis: Institut des Hautes Études de Tunis.
PNA 1/I	Radner, K. (ed.) <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> . Volume 1, Part I: A. 1998. Winona Lake: University of Helsinki Press/Eisenbrauns.
PNA 1/II	Radner, K. (ed.) <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> . Volume 1, Part II: B-G. 1999. Winona Lake: University of Helsinki Press/Eisenbrauns.
PNA 2/I	Baker, H. D. <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> . Volume 2, Part I: H-K. 2000. Winona Lake: University of Helsinki Press/Eisenbrauns.
PNA 2/II	Baker, H. D. <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> . Volume 2, Part II: L-N. 2001. Winona Lake: University of Helsinki Press/Eisenbrauns.
PNA 3/I	Baker, H. D. <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> . Volume 3, Part I: P-Ş. 2002. Winona Lake: University of Helsinki Press/Eisenbrauns.
PNA 3/II	Baker, H. D. <i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i> . Volume 3, Part II: Š-Z. 2011. Winona Lake: University of Helsinki Press/Eisenbrauns.
PL	Migne, J.-P. (1844-1855) <i>Patrologia Latina</i> . Paris: Garnier.
PNPPI	Benz, F. L. (1972) <i>Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions</i> . Rome: Biblical Institute Press.
PPG ³	Friedrich, J. and Röllig, W. (1999) <i>Phönizisch-punische Grammatik</i> . 3. Auflage, neu bearbeitet von Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo unter Mitarbeit von Werner R. Mayer. AnOr 55. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
POCA	Proceedings of the Postgraduate Cypriot Archaeology Conference.
POxy	Oxyrhynchus Papyri.
PRyl	Rylands Papyri.

Q

QUCCI	<i>Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura classica</i> .
QuSem	Quaderni di Semitistica. Florence.
QSS	see QuSem.

R

RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie orientale</i> .
RArch	<i>Revue Archéologique</i> .
RAL	<i>Rendiconti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei</i> . Rome.
RAO	Clermont-Ganneau, C. (1885-1921) <i>Recueil d'archéologie orientale</i> , I-VIII. Paris: Ernest Leroux.

<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue biblique.</i>
<i>RBPhH</i>	<i>Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire.</i>
<i>RDAC</i>	<i>Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus.</i> Nicosia.
<i>RE</i>	Pauly, A., Wissowa, G. <i>et al.</i> (eds) (1894-1980) <i>Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.</i> Stuttgart/Munich: Alfred Druckenmüller.
<i>REA</i>	<i>Revue des études anciennes.</i>
<i>REG</i>	<i>Revue des études grecques.</i>
<i>REL</i>	<i>Revue des études latines.</i>
<i>REPPAL</i>	<i>Revue des Études Phéniciennes-Puniques et des Antiquités Libyques.</i> Tunis.
<i>RÉS</i>	Chabot, J.-B., Clermont-Ganneau, C. <i>et al.</i> (eds) (1905-1968) <i>Répertoire d'épigraphie sémitique.</i> Paris: de Boccard.
<i>RFIC</i>	<i>Rivista di filologia e istruzione classica.</i>
<i>RGRW</i>	see EPRO.
<i>RGTC 7/1</i>	Bagg, A. M. (2007) <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der neuassyrischen Zeit. Teil I.: Die Levante.</i> Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 7/1. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
<i>RGTC 8</i>	Zadok, R. (1985) <i>Geographical names according to New- and Late-Babylonian texts.</i> Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 8. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
<i>RGTC 12/2</i>	Belmonte Marín, J. A. (2001) <i>Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Texte aus Syrien im 2. Jht. v. Chr.</i> Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes 12/2. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
<i>RhM</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.</i>
<i>RIL</i>	Chabot, J.-B. (1940-1941) <i>Recueil des Inscriptions Libyques.</i> Paris: Imprimerie Nationale.
<i>RIMA 1</i>	Grayson, A. K. (1987) <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)</i> = The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods, 1. Toronto/ Buffalo/London: University of Toronto.
<i>RIMA 2</i>	Grayson, A. K. (1991) <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC. 1. (1114-859 BC)</i> = The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods, 2. Toronto/ Buffalo/London: University of Toronto.
<i>RIMA 3</i>	Grayson, A. K. (1996) <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC. 2. (858-745 BC)</i> = The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Assyrian Periods, 3. Toronto/ Buffalo/London: University of Toronto.
<i>RIN</i>	<i>Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e scienze affini.</i> Milan.
<i>RINAP 1</i>	Yamada, S. and Tadmor, H. (2011) <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (774-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria</i> = The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, 1. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
<i>RINAP 3/I-II</i>	Grayson, A. K. and Novotny, J. (2012-2014). <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704–681 BC), Part 1 – Part 2</i> = The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, 3/1-3/2. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
<i>RINAP 4</i>	Leichty, E. (2011) <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669)</i> = The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, 4. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns.
<i>RINAP 5/I</i>	Novotny, J. and Jeffers, J. (2018) forthcoming, <i>The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668-631 BC), Aššur-etel-ilāni (630-627 BC), and Šin-šarra-iškun (626-612 BC), Kings of Assyria</i> , Part 1 = The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period, 5/1. Winona Lake; Eisenbrauns (quoted by kind permission of the Editors).
<i>RivScPreist</i>	<i>Rivista di scienze preistoriche.</i>
<i>RIA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie.</i> 1922-2018. Berlin: de Gruyter.
<i>RN</i>	<i>Revue numismatique.</i>

<i>RPARA</i>	<i>Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia.</i>
<i>RS</i>	Ras Shamra.
<i>RSA</i>	<i>Rivista storica dell'antichità.</i>
<i>RSF</i>	<i>Rivista di studi fenici.</i> Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
<i>RSN</i>	<i>Revue Suisse de Numismatique/Schweizer numismatische Rundschau.</i>
<i>RSO</i>	<i>Rivista degli studi orientali.</i> Rome: Università la Sapienza.
<i>RSOu</i>	Ras Shamra-Ougarit. Paris.
<i>RSR</i>	<i>Revue de sciences religieuses.</i> Strasbourg.
S	
<i>SAA 2</i>	Parpola, S. and Watanabe, K. (1988) <i>Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths</i> = State Archives of Assyria, 2. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press.
<i>SAA 4</i>	Starr, I. (1990) <i>Queries to the Sungod: Divination and Politics in Sargonid Assyria</i> = State Archives of Assyria, 4. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press.
<i>SAA 16</i>	Luukko, M. and Van Buylaere, G. (2002) <i>The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon</i> = State Archives of Assyria, 16. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press.
<i>SAA 19</i>	Luukko, M. (2012) <i>The Correspondence of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II from Calah/Nimrud</i> = State Archives of Assyria, 19. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press.
<i>SAACT 10</i>	Novotny, J. (2014) <i>Selected Royal Inscription of Assurbanipal</i> = State Archives of Assyria Cuneiform Texts, 16. Helsinki: University of Helsinki Press.
<i>SAK</i>	Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur. Hamburg.
<i>SB</i>	Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten.
<i>ScAnt</i>	<i>Scienze dell'Antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia.</i> Rome: Università La Sapienza.
<i>SCCNH</i>	Studies in the Culture and Civilization of Nuzi and the Hurrians.
<i>SCEBA</i>	<i>Sardinia Corsica et Baleares Antiquae.</i> Pisa/Rome: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali.
<i>SCI</i>	<i>Scripta classica israelica.</i> Israel Society for the Promotion of Classical Studies. Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University.
<i>SEAP</i>	<i>Studi di egittologia e di antichità puniche.</i> Pisa: Giardini.
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.</i> Leiden/Boston: Brill. 1923ff.
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico.</i> Verona: Essedue Edizioni.
<i>SemClass</i>	<i>Semitica et Classica.</i> Association Semitica et Classica. Turnhout: Brepols.
<i>SH(C)ANE</i>	Studies in the history (and culture) of the ancient Near East.
<i>SM</i>	<i>Schweizer Münzblätter</i> (= <i>Gazette numismatique suisse; Gazzetta numismatica svizzera</i>).
<i>SMEA</i>	<i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici.</i> Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
<i>SMSR</i>	<i>Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni.</i> Rome: Morcelliana.
<i>SPC</i>	Szyncer, M. and Bertrand, F. (1987) <i>Les stèles puniques de Constantine.</i> Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des musées nationaux.
<i>SS</i>	Studi Semitici. Rome: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente.
<i>StBoT</i>	Studien zu den Boghazköy-Texten.
<i>StEtr</i>	<i>Studi Etruschi.</i> Florence.
<i>StMagr</i>	<i>Studi Magrebini.</i> Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale.
<i>StOr</i>	<i>Studia Orientalia.</i> Helsinki.
<i>StPhoen 1-2</i>	Gubel, E., Lipiński, E. and Servais-Soyez, B. (eds) (1983) <i>I. Redt Tyrus/Sauvons Tyr; II. Histoire phénicienne/Fenicische geschiedenis.</i> Studia Phoenicia 1-2. Leuven: Peeters.

- StPhoen 3 Gubel, E. and Lipiński, E. (eds) (1985) *Phoenicia and its Neighbours*. Studia Phoenicia 3. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 4 Bonnet, C., Lipiński, E. and Marchetti, P. (eds) (1986) *Religio Phoenicia*. Studia Phoenicia 4. Leuven/Namur: Peeters.
- StPhoen 5 Lipiński, E. (ed.) (1987) *Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the First Millennium B.C.* Studia Phoenicia 5. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 6 Lipiński, E. (ed.) (1988) *Carthago*. Studia Phoenicia 6. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 7 Gubel, E. (1987) *Phoenician Furniture*. Studia Phoenicia 7. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 8 See Bonnet, C. (1988).
- StPhoen 9 Hackens, T. and Moucharte, G. (eds) (1992) *Numismatique et histoire économique phéniciennes et puniques*. Studia Phoenicia 9. Leuven/Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- StPhoen 10 Devijver, H. and Lipiński, E. (eds) (1989) *Punic Wars*. Studia Phoenicia 10. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 11 Lipiński, E. (ed.) (1991) *Phoenicia and the Bible*. Studia Phoenicia 11. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 12 Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1991) *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*. Studia Phoenicia 12 = OLA 46. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 13 See Geus, K. (1994).
- StPhoen 14 See Lipiński, E. (1995).
- StPhoen 16 Geus, K. and Zimmermann, K. (eds) (2002) *Punica – Libyca – Ptolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Huss zum 65. Geburtstag dargebracht von Schülern, Freunden und Kollegen*. Studia Phoenicia 16. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 17 Niehr, H. (2003) *Ba'alšamem. Studien zu Herkunft, Geschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte eines phönizischen Gottes*. Studia Phoenicia 17. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 18 Lipiński, E. (2004) *Itineraria Phoenicia*. Studia Phoenicia 18. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 19 Lipiński, E. (2009) *Resheph. A Syro-Canaanite Deity*. Studia Phoenicia 19. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 20 Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2009) *The Coinage of the Phoenician city of Tyre in the Persian Period (5th - 4th Century BCE)*. Studia Phoenicia 20. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 21 Lipiński, E. (2015) *Peuples de la Mer, Phéniciens, Puniques. Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire méditerranéenne*. Studia Phoenicia 21. Leuven: Peeters.
- StPhoen 22 Abou-Abdallah, M. (2018) *L'histoire du Royaume de Byblos à l'âge du Fer, 1080-333*. Studia Phoenicia 22. Leuven: Peeters.
- Studi Moscati* Acquaro, E. (ed.) (1996) *Alle soglie della classicità. Il Mediterraneo tra tradizione e innovazione. Studi in onore di Sabatino Moscati, I-III*. Rome/Pisa: Istituti editoriali e poligrafici internazionali.
- SVA Schriften zur Vorderasiatischen Archäologie. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Syll³ Dittenberger, W. (1915-1924) *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*. Leipzig: Hirzel.

T

- TA Tel-Aviv.
- TAPhA *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*.
- Trans *Transeuphratène*.
- TSSI III Gibson, J. C. L. (1982) *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions III. Phoenician Inscriptions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- TUAT Kaiser, O. et al. (eds) (1982-1995) *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.
- TUAT NF Janowski, B. and Wilhelm, G. (eds) (2004ff.) [Begründet von O. Kaiser] *Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments. Neue Folge*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.

U

- UeA* Dunand, M. and Duru, R. (1962) *Oumm El-'Amed. Une ville de l'époque hellénistique aux échelles de Tyr*, I-II. Études et Documents d'Archéologie IV. République Libanaise, Direction Générale des Antiquités. Paris: Adrien Maisonneuve.
- UF* *Ugarit-Forschungen*. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- UISK* Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sprach- und Kulturwissenschaft. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.

V

- VO* *Vicino Oriente*. Rome: Università La Sapienza.
- VT* *Vetus Testamentum*. Leiden/Boston: Brill.

W

- WBC* *World Biblical Commentary*.
- WO* *Die Welt des Orients*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.
- WZKM* *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*. University of Vienna.

Y

- YNER* Yale Near Eastern Researches.

Z

- ZA (NF)* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie (Neue Folge)*.
- ZÄS* *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- ZAW* *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*. Berlin/New York: de Gruyter.
- ZDPV* *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- ZPE* *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*. Bonn: Rudolf Habelt Verlag.

ABARIS

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 10,134. The name probably derives from the Sem. root 'br, "to be strong / brave".

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 34; Geus, K. (1994), 205.

P. XELLA

ABBAR

Phoen. 'br (not attested in the inscriptions); Gk Ἀββαρος; Lat. *Abalus*.

According to Josephus (*Ap.* 1,157), A. was a high priest (→*Priesthood) and held the office of *dikastes* ("judge" or Suffete [→*Suffetes]) in *Tyre for three months, in 563/562 BCE. Both in the Lat. translation of *Contra Apionem* and in the version by Eusebius, his name is written as *Abalus* which seems closer to an original Phoen. PN such as *Abibaal* ('bb'l) or the like. A. belonged to a group of 'Judges' who served after the reign of BAAL II, which lasted ten years, between 573/572 and 564/563. An important chronological reference for these dates is the siege of Tyre by the Bab. king NEBUCHADNEZZAR II, which took place during the reign of ITTOBAAL III (591/590-573/572), the predecessor of Baal II, and lasted thirteen years (585-572).

Thackeray, H. St. J. (1966⁴) *Josephus. The Life. Against Apion I.* London/Cambridge (MA), 224f.; Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 325ff.333ff.349; Troiani, L. (1977) *Commento storico al "Contro Apione" di Giuseppe*. Pisa; DCP, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée* (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.). Suppl. to *Trans*, 15. Paris, 214.

F. MAZZA

ABDADONI

The theophoric PN 'bd'dny, "Servant of my (divine) Lord", occurs very rarely in Phoen. and Pun. *Onomastics.

A character named A., the son of Abdalonim ('bdlnm) and grandson of Ashtartazor ('štrt'zr), stands out particularly in the epigraphic documentation because he instituted a special offering to *Milkashtart, the god of *Umm el-Amed, and his 'Messenger' or 'Angel'

(ml'k mlk'štrt), since they answered his prayers. The offering consisted of a *Sphinx, on the base of which an inscription (dating to the 2nd half of the 3rd cent. BCE) is engraved (*UeA*, no. 13, Pl. XXXI, 2-3) [FIG. 1]. Even though the reading of the word kš/prt is not certain, it probably denotes a "sculpture" (and not a "sphinx" or a "propitiatory offering", as suggested by some scholars). The following words, ḥrṣ mtm, are best translated "completely carved", and so probably have nothing to do with "gold". Consequently, the translation "a fully carved sculpture" (i.e. the sphinx itself) seems preferable to "an entirely golden sphinx". In any case, the text records a significant cultic action that demonstrates A.'s social importance.

PNPPI, 149,260.369-372; *UeA*, 192f.; Caquot, A. (1965) *Semitaica*, 15, 29-33; *TSSI* III, 121f., no. 32; *DNWSI* I, 407, s.v. ḥrṣ, and 532, s.v. kprt.

P. XELLA



Fig. 1. Base of a sphinx bearing the votive inscription of Abdadoni (Umm el-Amed)

ABDALONYMUS

Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN 'bd'lnm, "Servant of the gods"; Gk Ἀβδαλόνυμος; Lat. *Abdaloni/ymus*. King of *Sidon, placed on the throne by ALEXANDER THE GREAT instead of the deposed STRATON (3) (Just. 11,10,7-9; Curt. 4,1,18-26).

A bilingual (Phoen./Gk) inscription from *Cos mentions A. as the father of DIOTIMOS (whose original

Phoen. name is not preserved). Diotimos had no royal title and dedicated an unspecified maritime monument to the goddess *Astarte. A. is usually credited with the famous ‘Sarcophagus of Alexander’, found in the Sidonian necropolis of Ayaa (→*Funerary World) and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Istanbul [FIG. 2].

The story of A.’s ascent to the throne is narrated by several classical writers (e.g. Curt. 4,1,15-26; Diod. 17,47 etc.), all probably dependent on an earlier common source (Clitarchus or Onesicritus) with all the characteristics of a folk-tale. The task of looking for a successor to king Straton was entrusted to Hephais-tion, a friend of Alexander the Great, who invited two Sidonian men to the post. However, they refused, considering themselves as unworthy because they were not of royal blood. The choice then fell on a poor gardener, this time of noble origins, who, despite his status, was appreciated by Alexander, particularly for his humility and sobriety.

These traditions about A. demonstrate how the conceptions of *Kingship in the Gk world differed from those in the ANE. Unlike the Greeks, in the ANE, the significance of ordering the cosmos and defending civilization, symbolized by a care for plants, was considered a fundamental quality in a sovereign (see the emblematic example of *paradeisos* in Persia and also in Mesopotamia).

PNPPI, 149.267f.; von Graeve, V. (1970) *Der Alexander-sarkophag und seine Werkstatt*. Berlin; Kantzia, Ch. and Sznycer, M. (1980) *ArchDelt*, 35, 2-30; Stähler, K. (2001) *Der Herrscher als Pflüger und Säer. Herrschaftsbilder aus der Pflanzenwelt*. Eikon 6. Münster, 107ff.136ff.; Briant, P. (2003) À propos du



Fig. 2. ‘Sarcophagus of Alexander’
(Sidon, royal necropolis of Ayaa)

‘roi-jardinier’. Remarques sur l’histoire d’un dossier documentaire. In: Henkelman, W. and Kuhrt, A. (eds) *A Persian perspective. Essays in memory of Heleen Sancisi-Weerdenburg*. Leiden, 33-49; Burstein, S. M. (2007) The Gardener became a King – or did he? The case of Abdalonymus of Sidon. In: Heckel, W., Tritle, L. and Wheatley, P. (eds) *Alexander’s Empire. Formulation to decay*. Claremont, 139-301; Xella, P. (2010) *SemClass*, 3, 85-89; Stucky, R. A. (2015) ‘Le prince jardinier’. L’avènement d’Abdalonymos de Sidon. Valeurs cosmiques de la royauté orientale, méconnues par les Grecs. In: *BAAL Hors Série* 10, 267-280.

P. XELLA

ABDAMON

Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *’bd’mn*, “Servant of Amon”; Gk Ἀβδήμων, Ἀβδύμων. Name of several historical or pseudo-historical persons.

PNPPI, 149.371f.; NNPI, 225.

1. A. is mentioned by Josephus (*AJ* 8,146.149; *Ap.* 1,115) as a young man able to solve the riddles of SOLOMON. The same author relates a story by the historian Dio Cassius, according to which HIRAM I (1), king of *Tyre, who had lost considerable wealth by paying a pledge to Solomon because he had failed to solve his riddles, turned to A., a man of Tyre. A. not only solved the riddles posed by Solomon, but proposed others than the latter could not solve, and, as a result, was forced to pay back the pledge to the king of Tyre.

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 98f.; *DCPP*, s.v. (1) (E. Lipiński – M. Yon); Verheiden, J. (2013) Josephus on Solomon. In: Heyden, J. (ed.) *The figure of Solomon in Jewish, Christian and Islamic tradition: king, sage and architect*. Leiden/Boston, 85-106, esp. 89f.

2. A. king of *Sidon, mentioned in the Phoen. inscription of BAALSHILLEM II (2) from the sanctuary of *Eshmun at Bostan esh-Sheikh dating to the 5th cent. BCE (*TSSI* III, 29: Mullen [1974] suggested emending *’bd’mn* to *’bd’šmn*). In the dynastic line of the Sidonian rulers, A. is the father of BAANA, the grandfather of Baalshilleme II and the son of a previous BAALSHILLEM I (1) (→DYNASTIES). Sidonian coins bearing the legend *’b* and *’m* should probably be ascribed to this king.

Mullen, E. T. (1974) *BASOR*, 216, 25; *DCPP*, s.v. (2) (E. Lipiński – M. Yon); Elayi, J. (2005) *Abd’āstart Ier / Straton de Sidon: un roi phénicien entre Orient et Occident*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 12. Paris, 31ff.

3. Dynast and a native of Tyre, ruler of *Salamis in Cyprus when EVAGORAS I seized it in 411 BCE. Diodorus (14,98) defined him as a friend of the Pers. king (→PERSIANS) and, in fact, DARIUS II put him on the local throne.

RE I,1, s.v. “Abdemon”, col. 22 (W. Judeich); *BNP* I, s.v. “Abdemon” cols. 11f. (K. Kinzl); *DCPP*, s.v. (3) (E. Lipiński – M. Yon).

4. Sidonian character mentioned in a *Papyrus (P. Ryl. Zen. I = SB 7637) belonging to Zeno’s archive, dated around 258 BCE. Probably living in *Rhodes, A. is mentioned as the sender of gifts for Apollonius, a high official whose secretary was Zeno.

Roberts, C. H. and Turner, E. G. (1952) *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin papyri in the John Rylands Library, Manchester*. IV: *Documents of the Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine periods* (Nos. 522-717). Manchester, 4; *DCPP*, s.v. (4) (E. Lipiński – M. Yon).

G. MINUNNO

ABDASHTART

Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *ʿbdʿštrt*, “Servant of Astarte”; Gk Ἀβδάσταρτος, Ἀβδάστρατος, Στράτων.

1. Son of BAALIMANZER I, Abdastratos was king of *Tyre during the last years of the 10th cent. BCE. According to Josephus (*Ap.* 1,122), he was murdered for a plot planned by the children of his nurse.

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 122.126f.; Mazza, F. (1983) Le fonti classiche per la più antica storia fenicia. Giuseppe Flavio e la dinastia dei re di Tiro. In: *APC* 1, 241.

A. ERCOLANI

2. A. I, king of *Sidon (365-352 BCE). In late classical sources, the image of A. appears as an example not to be followed. He was rehabilitated by E. Renan in 1864, who defined him as a ‘philhellene’. A. was the grandson of BAANA and the son of BAALSHILLEM II (2) (Gk *Sakton*) (401-366). Before he became king, ca 409-402, his father consecrated a marble statue representing him as 5-6 months old, to the god *Eshmun. In order to strengthen the dynasty, his father associated him in power as crown prince from ca 385, adding the initial of his name on coins worth

1/16 of a shekel. As soon as he ascended to the throne, in 365, A. had to face the financial difficulties accumulated by his father due to the cost of the Persian Wars, so he devalued the Sidonian currency by 12% (→*Numismatics). He took on himself a number of functions in warfare (as *tm*, i.e. “commander” of the navy), worship (he was represented as walking behind the processional chariot in the cult of the polyadic god), diplomacy (as assisting an Athenian embassy to Artaxerxes II), and law. However, representative bodies that are still poorly known limited his power. A. followed the family tradition in his taste for *Hellenism, as shown by the Gk way of life he seems to have introduced into his palace, his interest in sculpture influenced by Gk art, and his Gk name, STRATON. He established excellent relations with king NICOCLES of Salamis, out of friendship and for political reasons. He was very close to the Athenians, who granted him and his descendants the title of *proxenus* (ca 364), while the Sidonian merchants in Athens were exempted from the *metoikion*, i.e. the tax on residence, and other charges (*Syll*⁵ I, 185; *IG* II-III², 141). A. probably sponsored the sarcophagus known as ‘Les Pleureuses’ (ca 360-355), however the sponsor of the ‘Eshmun tribute’ is unknown. The foundation of *Straton’s Tower (see also *Caesarea) in the 4th cent. BCE may be attributed to him as part of the Sidonian expansion to the S; on the other hand, he is not mentioned in the bilingual (Phoen./Gk) inscription of *Delos (*CIS* I, 114). He was the first Phoen. king to revolt against Pers. imperialism ca 359. He minted bronze coinage with his own portrait ca 356 and believed that Sidon, at the height of its prosperity and power, was capable of resisting the PERSIANS, but this was a political mistake. His rebellion was crushed in 355 (Sidonian prisoners were sent to Babylon and Susa). A. retained his throne, but he was now controlled by MAZ(A)DAY (Mazaios), who was in charge of the *Transeuphratene, and minted new coinage in Sidon (353-333). He died a violent death in 352, just short of the age of 60, leaving Sidon in a bad political and economic situation that provoked the revolt of Tennes (→TABNIT), which was crushed in 347.

3. A. II: see STRATON II (3).

PNPPI, 162f.; Dunand, M. (1965) *BMB*, 18, 105-109; Moysey, R. A. (1976) *AJAH*, 1, 182-189; Fleischer, R. (1983) *Der Klagefrauensarkophag aus Sidon*. Tübingen; Stucky, R. A. (1984)

Tribune d'Echmoun. Ein griechischer Reliefzyklus des 4. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. in Sidon. AK Beiheft 13. Basel; Moysey, R. A. (1987) ZPE, 67, 93-100; Raban, A. (1987) BASOR, 268, 71-88; Elayi, J. (1988) Pénétration grecque en Phénicie sous l'Empire perse. Nancy, 130-146; Baslez, M.-F. and Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1987) Un exemple d'intégration au monde grec: les Sidoniens au Pirée à la fin du IV^e siècle. In: APC 2, 229-240; Elayi, J. (1988) B(a)M, 19, 549-555; Ferron, J. (1993) Sarcophages de Phénicie. Sarcophages à scènes en relief. Paris, 125-144; Stucky, R. A. (1993) Die Skulpturen aus dem Eschmun-Heiligtum bei Sidon. AK Beiheft 19. Basel, no. 101; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2004) Le monnayage de la cité phénicienne de Sidon à l'époque perse (V^e-IV^e s. av. J.-C.). Paris, 410-421.650-667; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2004) Trans, 27, 89-108; Elayi, J. (2005) 'Abd'āstart I^{er}/Straton de Sidon: un roi phénicien entre Orient et Occident. Suppl. to Trans, 12. Paris.

J. ELAYI

ABDBASTET

Theophoric PN, 'bd(')bst, "Servant of Bastet", which occurs in *Egypt (*Abydos, *Elephantine) and the Levant (*Tyre, *Umm el-Amed and *Cyprus), but also, even though rarely, in *Carthage.

PNPPI, 153.258f.

1. A., the son of Bodbaal (*bdb'l*), dedicated to *Astarte, his lady, an empty throne flanked by sphinxes or griffins discovered at Khirbet eṭ-Ṭayibeh, S of *Tyre, currently in the Louvre Museum (AO 4565) [Fig. 3]. On the front of the backrest a cultic



Fig. 3. 'Throne of Astarte' bearing the inscription of Abdbastet (Khirbet eṭ-Ṭayibeh, Tyre)

scene is represented: there are two stelae in relief, each depicting a character, to the right the devotee and to the left the goddess. An inscription dated to the 2nd cent. BCE (*KAI* 17 = *TSSI* III, 30) is engraved on the plinth of the throne: it states that the throne is located *bgw qdš*, i.e. "inside the shrine" of the goddess (less plausible is Gibson's interpretation, "who is [enthroned] in the holy congregation").

BÉS, 335.359.800; *Art Phénicien*, 121f., no. 118; Xella, P. (2018) I Fenici e gli dei d'Egitto. Note su Horus nell'epigrafia fenicia. In: Vacca, A. et al. (eds) *A Oriente del Delta. Scritti sull'Egitto ed il Vicino Oriente antico in onore di Gabriella Scandone Matthiae*. CMAO 18. Rome, 633-640.

2. A. dedicated an inscribed funerary stela at Umm el-Amed dating to the 3rd-2nd cent. BCE (*UeA*, no. 12, Pl. LXXIX,1) to →ABDOSIR, mentioned by him with the title of "our Rab".

UeA, 191.

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ABDELIM

Phoen. and Pun. 'bd'lm, "Servant of the deity/the gods"; Gk Ἀβδήλιμος; Lat. *Abdilim*, *Avolim*; the name is also found in Akk. sources (*Abdi-ilīm*). A popular theophoric PN in the inscriptions.

PNPPI, 149.267; NNPI, 225; PNA 1/I, 5f., s.v. "Abdi-ilīm" (F. M. Fales).

1. An A. the son of Mattan (*mtn*), grandson of another Abdelim and great-grandson of Baalshamar (*b'šmr*), made an important offering to the god *Baalshamem at *Umm el-Amed. This pious act is commemorated in an inscription engraved on a quadrangular limestone block (*CIS* I, 7 = *KAI* 18) found in the temple area of the local god *Milkashtart [Fig. 4]. The offering consists of a gate and its doors (*ʾyt hš'r z whdlht š l*). As the text states specifically "this gate here", the problem then arises of the relationship of these architectural elements to the shrine of Milkashtart (was there also a chapel or the like dedicated to Baalshamem?). The inscription mentions both the place, "in the district of Laodicea" (*bplg l'dk*) – which has not been convincingly identified (a region that included Umm el-Amed or was in its vicinity?) – and the date of the event, year 180 of the SELEUCIDS and 143 of the Tyrian era (= 132/131 BCE).



Fig. 4. Votive inscription of Abdelim (1) to the god Baalshamem (Umm el-Amed)

UeA, 181-184, no. 1, Pl. XXXIX,2; KAI II, 26f., no. 18; *Art Phénicien*, 137f., no. 144.

2. An A. was an authoritative priest (→*Priesthood), who in 79 CE organized a sacred procession of the cult statue of the “Holy god of *Sarepta”, ordered by that god, as a celebrated sea voyage from *Tyre to *Pozzuoli.

Xella, P. (2006) Il ‘Dio Santo’ di Sarepta. In: *Šapal tibnim mû illakû. Studies presented to Joaquín Sanmartín on the occasion of his 65th birthday*. AuOrSuppl 22. Barcelona, 481-489.

P. XELLA

Abdemon see ABDAMON

ABDESHMUN

Phoen. *ʿbdʿšmn*, “Servant of Eshmun”; Gk Ἀβδίσμων; Lat. *Abdismunis*, *Asmunis*, etc., variously attested in Gk and Lat. epigraphic sources. A very common theophoric PN in Phoen. and Pun. *Onomastics, including some historical individuals.

PNPPI, 150-153.278f.

1. A. is mentioned as *rb sprm*, “chief of the scribes”, (→*Scribes), of the *Astarte sanctuary in *Kition (KAI 37 = IK III C 1 A 14).

2. A Suffete (→*Suffetes) called A. is mentioned in the genealogy of a woman in an inscription of Kition dated to 4th cent. BCE (KAI 36 = IK III B 31).

3. A. the son of Bodashtart (*bdʿštrt*), priest of *Melqart, dedicated an inscribed votive stela (EH 68) in the *tophet of El-Hofra (*Constantine).

EH, 64f., no. 68.

4. A. “high priest” (→*Priesthood), the son of Abdmilqart (*ʿbdmlqrt*), dedicated an inscribed (Neo-pun.) votive stela (EH 66) to *Baal Hammon in the *tophet of El-Hofra (Constantine).

EH 63, no. 66.

5. A. the son of Azarbaal (*ʿzrbʿl*) was a priest mentioned in an inscription of the *Cueva de Es Culleram (*Ibiza), dated ca 180 BCE (KAI 72 B = ICO Spa. 10B) [FIG. 5], as the promoter of construction work in favour of the goddess *Tinnit.



Fig. 5. Inscription of Abdeshmun (5) (Cueva de Es Culleram, Ibiza)

6. A. is mentioned in a Pun./Numid. inscription from *Thugga (Dougga) dated 139/138 BCE (KAI 101). He was the grandfather of an official in charge at that time and had the title of [*mml*]kt (Numid. *gldt*), usually translated “prince”, “person of royal lineage”.

KAI II, 109-113.

G. MINUNNO

ABDHOR

Phoen. theophoric PN *ʿbdḥr*, “Servant of Horus”. Name of a character of high rank, the author of a dedication engraved on a statue dating to the 3rd-

2nd cent. BCE (91×22×17 cm), which may have come from *Sarepta [Fig. 6]. The statue represents a male dressed in the Egypt. style. Its back is shaped like a small pillar that was meant to be inserted into an unidentified architectural structure. The text of the inscription commemorates A.'s dedication of two (twin?) statues to a deity named simply "Holy god", identifiable as the "Holy god of Sarepta", known from Gk epigraphic sources. It is possible that both this statue and the other one mentioned in the inscription were placed at the entrance of a cult-place built or restructured using contributions from A.

PNPPI, 155.317; Xella, P. and Zamora, J. Á. (2018) Inscriptions sur pierre. B1. In: Xella, P. and Zamora, J. Á. (eds) *Inscriptions phéniciennes inédites ou peu connues dans la collection de la Direction Générale des Antiquités du Liban*. BAAL Hors Série 15. Beirut, 17-27; Xella, P. (2018) I Fenici e gli dei d'Egitto. Note su Horus nell'epigrafia fenicia. In: Vacca, A. et al. (eds) *A Oriente del Delta. Scritti sull'Egitto ed il Vicino Oriente antico in onore di Gabriella Scandone Matthiae*. CMAO 18. Rome, 633-640.

P. XELLA – J. Á. ZAMORA



Fig. 6. Statue and inscription of Abdhor (Sarepta?)

ABDI-IRAMA

Akk. ʾĪR-i-ra-ma, "Servant of the Exalted One".

Citizen of *Byblos, mentioned in the Amarna letter EA 123 (*Tell el-Amarna) who was perhaps a hostage in *Egypt together with YANTIN-ADDA and Abdi-Milki (ABDIMILK).

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 202; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 15, no. 5; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei "Piccoli Re"*. Brescia, 215f.

P. XELLA

ABDILETI

Akk. *Ab-di-li-'ti*; probably Phoen. ʾbdl't, "Servant (fem.) of the Mighty One" (it does not occur in the inscriptions).

All we know about this king of *Arwad is that he paid (or continued to pay) tribute to the Ass. king SENNACHERIB (704-681) after his third campaign in the direction of the Mediterr. coast.

PNPPI, 336f.; Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 248; PNA 1/I, 6, s.v. "Abdi-Li'ti" (E. Frahm – S. Parpola); RINAP 3/1: 4,36; 16 iii 17; 17 ii 77; 22 ii 52; 23 ii 49; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 105f.

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ABDIMILK

Phoen. ʾbdmlk, "Servant of the (divine) king"; Akk. *Ab-di-mil-ki*; syllabic Gk Cypr. *a-pi-ti-mi-li-ko-ne*. Theophoric PN of several historical characters.

PNPPI, 155.371f.

1. An Abdi-Milki (Akk. ʾĪR-LUGAL), a citizen of *Byblos. He is mentioned in the Amarna letter EA 123 (*Tell el-Amarna) and was perhaps a hostage in *Egypt together with YANTIN-ADDA and ABDI-IRAMA.

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 202; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 13-15, no. 4; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei "Piccoli Re"*. Brescia, 215f.

2. A person called A. with the military title *rab kišir* ("Commander of an army mission unit") occurs in a 7th cent. BCE Ass. document from Nineveh.

Tallqvist, K. L. (1914) *Assyrian personal names*. Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae 43/1. Helsingfors, 3; *DCPP*, s.v. (1) (E. Lipiński); PNA 1/I, 6, s.v. “Abdi-Milki” (2) (F. M. Fales).

3. A. is mentioned as the father of BAALROM (possibly the grandfather of MILKYATON, king of *Kition and *Idalion) in a bilingual (Phoen./Gk) inscription of Idalion dated to 388 BCE (*CIS* I, 89 = *KAI* 39 = *ICS* 220). Since Baalrom is called “our lord” (**dnn*) in this text, presumably A. was of royal birth, or belonged to a minor family of local lords.

DCPP, s.v. (2) (E. Lipiński).

4. A. is mentioned in the inscription engraved on a marble statuette discovered in the *favissa of the sanctuary of *Eshmun in *Sidon. He has the office of “doorkeeper” (**l š’rm*, lit. “appointed to the doors” [of a cult-place]), a title that occurs elsewhere in Phoen. inscriptions, probably reflecting a significant rank in the hierarchy. Interestingly, A. states that he was placed at the ‘Spring Ydlal’ by the god Eshmun to keep watch (according to J. Teixidor, it relates to votive statues of children, but the context is unclear).

Stucky, R. (1993) *Die Skulpturen aus dem Eshmun-Heiligtum bei Sidon*. *AK Beiheft* 19. Basel, 104f., no. 229 (transcription and translation by J. Teixidor); Lemaire, A. (1995) *Trans.* 10, 145; Elayi, J. (2005) ‘*Abd’aštart Ier / Straton de Sidon: un roi phénicien entre Orient et Occident*. *Suppl. to Trans.* 12. Paris, 40f.

G. MINUNNO – P. XELLA

ABDIMILKUTTI

Akk. *Ab-di-mil-ku-u-te*, *Ab-di-mil-ku-(ut-)ti*, adaptation of the name of a Phoen. king **bdmlkt*, “Servant of the Queen”, who ruled in *Sidon at the time of the Ass. king ESARHADDON (681-668 BCE) (→ASSYRIANS).

The story of A. is related to his anti-Ass. alliance with Sanduarri, king of *Cilicia, and to the subsequent violent reaction of Esarhaddon. The Ass. king moved against Sidon in 677, and sacked and destroyed it, gaining very rich booty, evidence of Sidonian opulence at that time. A. fled by sea but Esarhaddon pursued him and caught him “like a fish from the sea”, and subsequently exhibited his severed head through the streets of Nineveh. Many inhabitants of Sidon and the surrounding region were deported to *Assyria. The end of A. coincided with a drastic reduction of

Sidon’s domain: some cities previously under its control, including *Sarepta, came under the jurisdiction of *Tyre, and the remaining Sidonian territories, which under A. had extended as far as *Tripolis, became an Ass. province.

Borger, R. (1956) *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien*. Graz, 48f.60; Moscati, S. (1979²) *Il mondo dei Fenici*. Milan, 37f.; Botto, M. (1990) *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L’VIII e il VII sec. a.C.* Pisa, 75-78; Saporetti, C. (1990) *Appendice*. In: Botto, M. (1990) *cit.*, 191-193; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); PNA 1/I, 7, s.v. “Abdi-Milkûti” (K. Radner); RINAP 4: 1 ii 65.71; iii 24.32; 2 I 19.43.53; 3 ii 1’.7’; 6 ii’ 10’.16’.40’.47’; 31 rev. 13; 40 I’ 5.ii’ 4; 70 2; 71 3; 97 25.

S. F. BONDÌ

ABDMASKIR

Theophoric PN **bdmskr*, “Servant of (the god) Maskir/Miskar”, rarely attested in Phoen. and Pun. *Onomastics (*Sidon, *Motya and *Carthage).

According to the Sidonian inscription *RÉS* 930, dating to the beginning of the 2nd cent. BCE, engraved on a marble stela in the form of an obelisk currently in the Louvre (*AO* 1759 + 1762) [FIG. 7], A., the son



Fig. 7. Inscribed obelisk of Abdmaskir dedicated to the god Shalman (Sidon)

of Baalšaloḥ (*b'šlḥ*), made an offering to the god *Shalman (*šlmn*). A. was a high-ranking officer of the administration bearing the complex title of *rb 'br lspt rb šny*, which is difficult to translate exactly. Perhaps he was 'Rab' of a district situated beyond (*'br*) a region called (*l*)*spt*. Alternatively, this last term could denote a sort of assembly, in which case, the first part of the title would be "Rab currently in charge of the assembly", or the like. The second component, *rb šny*, can be translated either "deputy/vice Rab" or "Rab for the second time".

PNPPI, 162.351; Clermont-Ganneau, C. (1898) *CRAI(BL)*, 403; RAO III, 1-5; *RÉS* 930; *BÉS*, 440-442; Lipiński, E. (1995) 174-176; Bordreuil, P. and Gubel, E. In: *Art phénicien*, 86, no. 78.

P. XELLA

Abdmilk see ABDIMILK

Abdmiskar see ABDMASKIR

ABDOSIR

Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *'bd'sr*, "Servant of Osiris".

PNPPI, 148.272f.

1. A. was "chief of the doorkeepers" (*rb š'rm*), like his father BAALSHAMAR, to whom he dedicated an inscribed funerary stela in *Umm el-Amed (*UeA*, no. 16) dated to the 3rd-2nd cent. BCE [FIG. 8].

UeA, 194, no. 16.

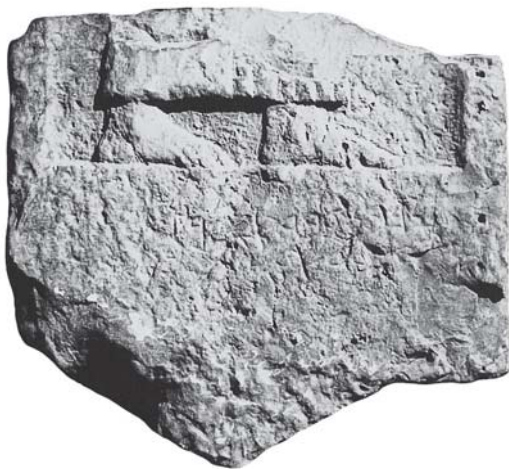


Fig. 8. Funerary stela of Abdosir (1) (Umm el-Amed)

2. A. was given an inscribed funerary stela in Umm el-Amed (*UeA*, no. 12) dedicated by ABDBASTET (2), who attributed him with the title of "our Rab" (either as a religious and administrative title, or meaning "teacher"). In any case, A. was a very influential character in that community.

UeA, 191, no. 12, Pl. LXXIX,1; *Art Phénicien*, 147, no. 163.

P. XELLA

ABIBAAL

Phoen. *'bb'l*, "Baal is my father"; Akk. *A-bi-ba-'a-al*; *A-bi-ba-'a-li*; Gk Ἀβίβαλος. Theophoric PN of historical and pseudo-historical characters.

PNPPI, 54.257f.

1. A. king of *Tyre is mentioned as the father of king HIRAM I (1) by Josephus (*AJ* 8,144.147; *Ap.* 1,113.117), who quotes the historians Menander of Ephesus and Dio Cassius as his sources. He might have been the founder of a new dynasty (→DYNASTIES).

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 81ff. and *passim*; Mazza, F. (1983) Le fonti classiche per la più antica storia fenicia. Giuseppe Flavio e la dinastia dei re di Tiro. In: *APC* 1, 239-243.

2. A. king of *Byblos in about 900 BCE, dedicated a statue of Pharaoh Sheshonk I (XXII dynasty: ca 945-924) to the goddess *Baalat of Byblos, as stated by the inscription (*KAI* 5 = *TSSI* III, 7) that A. himself engraved on the base of the statue.

Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans.* 15. Paris, 198.213.

3. A. (*'byb'l*) was the owner of a seal of unknown origin dated to the 7th cent. BCE: he is probably the king of *Samsimuruna (a city in the *Anti-Lebanon region), mentioned in inscriptions of the Ass. kings SENNACHERIB, ESARHADDON and ASHURBANIPAL.

ARAB II §§ 690.848.876; Galling, K. (1941) *ZDPV*, 64, 121-202; Baer, A. (1960) *RA*, 54, 155-158; Bordreuil, P. (1985) *Syria*, 62, 24f.; Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 225; PNA 1/I, 8-9, s.v. "Abī-Ba'al" (1) (M. Jursa); RINAP 4: 1 v 61'; 5 vi 12'.

4. A., son of →YAKINLU, king of *Arwad, is mentioned with nine other brothers in the inscriptions of Ashurbanipal, who retained A. and his brothers in his court, after assigning the throne of Arwad to AZ(Z)IBAAL.

ARAB II, 783; PNA 1/I, 9, s.v. “Abī-Ba’al” (2) (M. Jursa).

G. MINUNNO

Abibaal see EPIPALOS

ABIMILK

Rare Phoen. theophoric PN *’bmlk*, “My father is (the divine) king” (or, less probably, [the god] *Mlk* is my father”); Akk. *A-bi-mil-ku*, *A-bi-mil-ki* (EA). The name occurs only once in Phoen. and Pun. *Onomastics (CIS I, 5854, from *Carthage).

PNPPI, 54.258f.

1. An Abimilki, ‘official’ of *Tyre, is mentioned in the Amarna letters (EA 146-155) (*Tell el-Amarna). He was the servant of Maiati, i.e. Merytaten, the daughter of Pharaoh Akhenaten (cf. EA 367).

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 28ff.45; Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 232-242; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 18f., no. 8; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei “Piccoli Re”*. Brescia, 149ff.

2. A. was one of the ten sons of YAKINLU, king of *Arwad, who accompanied his brothers to Nineveh after his father’s violent death, to honour the Ass. king ASHURBANIPAL and curry his favour with rich gifts. In the 3rd year of his reign (665 BCE), Ashurbanipal had harshly repressed the attempts by *Tyre and Arwad to free themselves from Ass. domination, taking advantage of the rebellion of *Egypt led by Pharaoh Taharqa.

PNA 1/I, 12, s.v. “Abi-Milki” or “Abi-milkī” (R. Mattila); DCP, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 106ff.

P. XELLA

Achaemenids see PERSIANS

ACHERBAS

1. → SICHARBAS.

2. A Lat. form of this name, *Acherras* – with regressive assimilation – occurs in Sil. *Pun*. 3,299; 7,333ff.; 10,76, as the leader of the ancient North African tribe of the GAETULI.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; *NAN*, 5.

A. ERCOLANI

Adad-Nirari III see ASSYRIANS

Adad-Nirari IV see ASSYRIANS

Adarbaal see ADHERBAL

ADARMILK

Phoen. *’drmlk*, “The (divine) king is powerful”, theophoric PN of a king of *Byblos in the 4th cent. BCE, known only from coin legends (→*Numismatics).

PNPPI, 60.262; Hill, G. F. (1910) *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Phoenicia*. London, lxiii, 96, Pl. XII.3; Peckham, J. B. (1968) *The development of the late Phoenician scripts*. Cambridge (MA), 47-50; DCP, s.v. (N. Jidejan); Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 15. Paris, 229.

G. MINUNNO

Addirmilk see ADARMILK

ADDUMU

Name of a king of *Sidon in the LBA, inscribed on a seal from *Ugarit (Louvre, AO 22362), the father of *Anni-pi*/WA, holder of another inscribed seal (AO 22361).

Gubel, E. (ed.) (1986) *Les Phéniciens et le monde méditerranéen*. Bruxelles, 218f., nos 243-244; Arnaud, D. (2001) Textes de Bibliothèque. In: Yon, M. and Arnaud, D. (eds) *Études Ougaritiques I. Travaux 1985-1995*. RSOu 19. Paris, 321.

P. XELLA

ADELPHASIUM

Name of the daughter of Hanno in →PLAUTUS' *Poenulus*.

ADHERBAL

Phoen. and Pun. *'drb'l*, "Baal is powerful"; Gk Ἀτάρβας, Ἀρδέβας; Lat. *Adherbal*, *Atherbal*, *Adarbal*, *Adarbalis*. Theophoric PN of several Carthag. historical characters.

PNPPI, 60.261f.; Vattioni, F. (1979) *AIONArchStAnt*, 1, 160; *HNPI*, 314.

1. A. was the commander of one of the three contingents in charge of defending the coast, which made up the Carthag. army active in 307 BCE in Africa against AGATHOCLES. The other two contingents were under the command of HANNO (11) and HIMILCO (5). A. took part in the siege of *Tunis, where Syracusan troops under the command of ARCHAGATHUS, the son of Agathocles, found shelter. Among the main sources: Diod. 20,61.

Müller, M. (1928) *Der Feldzug des Agathokles in Afrika*. Diss. Leipzig, 49.51; Huss, W. (1985), 198; Geus, K. (1994), 9.

2. Carthag. general during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). He was in command of the Carthag. army in *Sicily, employed in the defence of *Lilybaeum, besieged by Rom. troops. In 249 BCE, in order to prevent a naval blockade, he fought the Rom. fleet near *Trapani, achieving a victory that greatly increased his prestige in his homeland, where he sent the ships and prisoners captured in the battle. He had sent CARTHALO (2), with a part of the fleet, to make a surprise attack on the Rom. ships moored at Lilybaeum.

Sources: Plb. 1,44; 46,1; 49,4-53; Gell. 18,12,6; Diod. 24,1,2; Zonar. 8,15.

Huss, W. (1985), 243f.247; Geus, K. (1994), 9f.

3. In 206 BCE, as a *praetor* (according to Livy) A. was commissioned by MAGO (6) to transport to *Carthage the conspirators of Gades (*Cádiz), who had planned to cede the city to the Romans. Despite a skirmish with a Rom. naval force, A. managed to fulfil his mission.

The main source is Liv. 28,30,4-12.

Huss, W. (1985), 399; Geus, K. (1994), 11.

4. The firstborn of the Numid. king, MICIPSA (→NUMIDIANS). In 118 BCE, on the death of his father, he shared the paternal kingdom with his brother HIEMPSAL and his cousin JUGURTHA. But the latter, after killing Hiempsal, forced A. to flee to ROME, where he requested mediation. The temporary agreement reached between A. and his cousin was then broken by Jugurtha, who defeated A.'s army and besieged him in his capital, Cirta (*Constantine). A. surrendered to Jugurtha who killed him, in spite of their pact (112).

Sources: Sal. *Jug.* 5,9-16.20-26; Liv. *Perioch.* 62 and 64; Diod. 34,15,35.

5. A., the son of a Numid. king (probably GAUDA), was living in Rome in the home of Marcus Livius Drusus (died 91 BCE), who kept him hidden in the hope that his father would pay his ransom secretly. Source: [Aur. Vict.] *Vir. Ill.* 66,7.

6. A. with the office of *mpqd* (possibly "treasurer") dedicated a statue to the gods *Shadrapha and *Milkashtart, as documented by a Neopun. inscription from *Leptis Magna dated to the beginning of 1st cent. CE (*KAI* 119 = *HNPI* 300).

G. MINUNNO

In Liv. *Perioch.* 22, the mention of A. (3) is an error for MAHARBAAL (6) (cf. Geus [1994], 11).

ADHERBES

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 7,601. His name probably reflects a real Phoen. PN (cf. ADHERBAL).

PNPPI, 261f.; Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 205; *NAN*, 5.

Adonbaal see ADONIBAAL

ADONIBAAL

Phoen. *'dnb'l*, "Baal is my lord"; Akk. *A-du-nu-ba-'al*, *A-du-nu-ba-'li*, *A-du-ni-ba-al*; Lat. *Iddibal*, *Id(n)dibalis*. Popular Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN.

PNPPI, 56-59.261; *HNPI*, 313f.

1. A. king of Siyan (*Tell Sianu) is mentioned by the Ass. king SHALMANESER III as a member of the Syro-Palestin. coalition that faced him in the battle of Qarqar (853 BCE).

DCPP, s.v. (1) (E. Lipiński); RIMA 3: A0.102.2 ii 94 (p. 23); PNA 1/I, 54, s.v. “Adūnī-Ba’al” (1) (E. Lipiński).

2. A. son of YAKINLU, king of *Arwad, is mentioned in the inscriptions of the Ass. king ASHURBANIPAL together with his nine brothers. After assigning his father’s throne to AZ(Z)IBAAL, the Ass. ruler made him and his brothers remain in his court.

ARAB II, 783.848; Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L’VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 232.234f; PNA 1/I, 54, s.v. “Adūnī-Ba’al” (2) (E. Lipiński); Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans.*, 19. Pendé, 106ff.

3. A. is mentioned in an inscription from *Tyre engraved on a marble block dated to the 3rd cent. BCE (RÉS 1204). He was one of the two high ranking characters who donated a tank or basin.

Teixidor, J. (1979) *Syria*, 29, 9-17; *Art Phénicien*, 120, no. 2.

4. A. Suffete and also the son of a Suffete (→*Suffetes), mentioned in a Carthag. funerary inscription (CIS I, 5988 = KAI 95): he was active in the 3rd cent. BCE.

5. An A. who held the office of priest of Caesar Augustus (zḇḥ lhmynd q’ysr, Lat. *flamen Augusti Caesaris*) is mentioned in a bilingual (Pun./Lat.) inscription from *Leptis Magna dating to 8 BCE (KAI 120 = IPT 21 = HNPI, 21-22).

6. An A. holding the office of mḥz (Lat. *aedilis*) is mentioned in a bilingual (Pun./Lat.) inscription from Leptis Magna dating to about 180 CE (KAI 130 = IPT 17 = HNPI, 18-19).

G. MINUNNO

AEMILIUS PAULUS

1. *Aemilius Paulus, Marcus*. A member of a powerful family of patrician nobility and a *consul* in 255 BCE, he was sent to Africa – together with his colleague

Fulvius Petinus – at the head of a fleet of 350 ships, to recover the remnant of ATILIUS REGULUS’ army which had survived defeat. After occupying *Pantelleria, A. P. and his colleague defeated the Pun. fleet at *Cap Bon, capturing 114 ships as well as their crews (Plb. 1,36-37; however, only about 30 ships according to the Livian tradition: Eutr. 2,22 and Oros. 4,9, or no more than 24 according to Diod. 23,18,1). After reaching Africa and rescuing the survivors of the expedition of Regulus, on the way back, the two consuls suffered a disastrous storm off *Camarina that destroyed nearly 300 ships. Historical tradition insists that the consuls were at fault, having deliberately ignored the concerns expressed by the pilots. Nevertheless, on his return to ROME, A. P. received triumphal honours and a rostral column (i.e. one adorned with the bolts removed from the enemy ships).

Broughton, T. R. S. (1951) *The magistrates of the Roman republic*, 1. New York, 209; Bleckmann, B. (2011) Roman politics in the First Punic War. In: Hoyos, D. (ed.) *A companion to the Punic Wars*. Singapore, 167-183.

2. *Aemilius Paulus, Lucius*. The son of (1) and father of the famous Aemilius Paulus who defeated the Macedonians at Pydna, first became *consul* in 219 BCE (when he led the expedition against Demetrios of Pharos in Illyria). In 218, he was a member of the embassy sent to *Carthage in order to account for the looting of *Saguntum (Liv. 21,18,1). In 216, he was elected to the consulate for the second time. Rom. historical tradition depicts him as opposed to attempting a final decisive pitched battle against HANNIBAL (9) and, as a consequence, he was disliked among factions hostile to the procrastinating policy of Quintus Maximus Fabius (→FABII [3]). Against his advice, his colleague TERENTIUS VARRO – who was in command of the army on that day – began the battle against the Carthaginians at Cannae (→PUNIC WARS). A. P. met his death in battle, while fighting aggressively.

The main historical sources are Plb. 3,106-117 and Liv. 22,38-50.

Broughton, T. R. S. (1951) *The magistrates of the Roman republic*, 1. New York, 247; Càssola, F. (1962) *I gruppi politici romani nel III secolo a.C.* Rome, 375-377; Daly, G. (2002) *Cannae: the experience of battle in the Second Punic War*. London, 138f.

U. LIVADIOTTI

AFRI

Lat. ethnonym of uncertain etymology, probably a calque on an indigenous word. Lat. authors used this term for the autochthonous population of North Africa in the immediate hinterland of *Carthage, to the E of the NUMIDIANS. Although an ethnic group, they were not really distinct from the neighbouring tribes. The A. were sedentary, farming both livestock and crops, and flourished particularly in the Valley of *Bagradas (Medjerda). Historical tradition records that, initially, Carthage paid tribute to them (Just. 19,2,4). This situation was then reversed during the 5th cent. BCE. Polybius (1,72) maintains that at the time of the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), the A. paid half of their harvest in tribute and they certainly supplied troops to the Carthag. army. On many occasions, the loss of people and the devastation of their lands in the course of conflicts with the Romans led them to attempt rebellion. After the Rom. conquest, the term gradually came to denote the subjects of African provinces, especially of the Proconsular province and then those in Numidia.

Otto W. (1900), s.v. In: *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, 1, cols 1251-1254; Kotula, T. (1975) La poco nota rivolta degli Afri e degli schiavi contro Cartagine (Diod. Sic. XIV 77). In: Biezuńska-Malowist, I. (ed.) *Storia sociale ed economica dell'età classica negli studi polacchi contemporanei*. Milan, 131-142; Wycichl, W. (1975) *Onomastica*, 19, 486-488; Decret, F. and Fantar, M. H. (1981) *L'Afrique du Nord dans l'Antiquité*. Paris, 22-26; Kotula T. and Peyras, J. (1985) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie berbère*, 2, Aix-en-Provence, 208-215; Lassère, J.-M. (1988) Les Afri et l'armée romaine. In: *AfRo* 5, 177-184.

U. LIVADIOTTI

AGATHOCLES

Gk Ἀγαθοκλῆς; Lat. *Agathocles*.

Born ca 360, A. died in 288 BCE. He was one of the central characters in the long-running dispute between *Syracuse and *Carthage in *Sicily. He was of modest origins and initially active among the Syracusan democrats; he was forced into a long exile due to the defeat of his political party. He then returned to Syracuse thanks to an agreement with the oligarchic party and the support of the Carthaginians, who recognized his control of large areas of central-east Sicily. In order to consolidate his supremacy in the island, in 311 A. moved against Pun. possessions and attacked *Agrigentum, but lost the support of several

Siceliote cities. With unexpected and extraordinarily effective intuition, A. suddenly decided to take the confrontation with the Carthaginians to Africa. There, he obtained successes in various encounters, took possession of vast regions of the territory of Carthage and made a covenant with Ophella of Cyrene. He returned to Sicily in 307, securing the support of *Heraclea Minoa and *Segesta, formerly allied with Carthage, but his absence from Africa caused the defeat of the troops he had left behind, under the command of his son ARCHAGATHUS. However, Carthage promoted an agreement with A., who obtained conspicuous compensation and substantial recognition of his hegemony over *Syracuse, and from that time (306-305) was able to claim the title of *basileus*. The theatre of A.'s next action was specifically the Italian Peninsula, where he came to the rescue of *Tarentum, in alliance with PYRRHUS – who gave him his daughter Lanassa in marriage – and obtained important but ephemeral successes, with the control of Locri and the conquest of Croton. He died whilst devising a new attack on Carthage; one of his last acts was the restoration of a republican system in Syracuse.

Huss, W. (1985), 176ff.; Musti, D. (1989) *Storia greca*. Rome/Bari, 772-779; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński).

S. F. BONDI

AGENOR

More mythical than historical, A., the father of →*Cadmos, was considered to be the founder of *Tyre (Curt. 4,4,19; cf. Hdt. 2,49). He is also mentioned by Sil. *Pun.* 1,88.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 205; *NAN*, 5.

A. ERCOLANI

AGORASTOCLES

Name of a character in →PLAUTUS' *Poenulus*.

AHAB

Hebr. ḥ'ḇ; Akk. *A-ḥa-ab-bu*; PN, "Brother of the father".

He was the second member of the Omride dynasty and from 871 to 852 BCE reigned over ISRAEL, from

the city of *Samaria (1 Kgs 16,29-22,40). His father OMRI made him marry the princess JEZEBEL of *Sidon. In that light, his close relations with the PHOENICIANS are quite comprehensible, both politically and economically, as is the strong influence of Phoen. architecture and art on ISRAEL. A. continued the building activity undertaken by his father Omri, in Samaria and elsewhere, for example, Sichem, *Megiddo, Jezreel and *Hazor. Above all, A. is credited with the (re)construction of the temple of *Baal in Samaria (1 Kgs 16,32): in fact, it was a temple of Yahweh, the existence of which is also presupposed by the mention of “Yahweh of Samaria” in the inscriptions from *Kuntillet-ʿAjrud. This temple was destroyed during Jehu’s revolt (2 Kgs 10,18-28). Speculations regarding the cult of Phoen. deities in that temple lack any historical basis. The *Old Testament also mentions A.’s ivory house (1 Kgs 22,39). He made his daughter Athaliah marry the crown prince Jehoram of JUDAH (2 Kgs 8,18; 11,1-20), which continued to be a vassal of Israel, as it had done under Omri. In addition, there is evidence from the sources for A.’s involvement in the battle of Qarqar in 853. Together with Hadadezer of *Damascus and Irhuleni of Hamath, A. was the leader of an anti-Ass. coalition (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, col. II, 91-92). The monolithic inscription of SHALMANESER III states that “A. the Israelite” deployed 2,000 chariots and 10,000 soldiers. Compared with the armies of Damascus and Hamath, such high numbers can be explained by the fact that he was leading a coalition of Israel, *Tyre, Judah, Ammon (→AMMONITES), Moab (→MOABITES) and Edom (→EDOMITES). As a consequence, A. appears as one of the most powerful kings of Syria-Palestine of his time. This can also be inferred from the expansion of Israelite territory according to the inscription of the Moabite king Mesha (KAI 181). After A.’s death, Moab rebelled against Israel (2 Kgs 3,4-5). A. is not mentioned in any Phoen. source.

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 144-153; Timm, S. (1980) ZDPV, 96, 20-40; Timm, S. (1982) *Die Dynastie Omri*. FRLANT 124. Göttingen; Bonnet, C. (1988), 136-144; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1992) *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d’Israël et de Juda*. OLA 46 = StPhoen 12. Leuven, 63-100; Ahlström, G. W. (1993) *The history of ancient Palestine from the Palaeolithic period to Alexander’s conquest*. JSOT SS 146. Sheffield, 568-606; Donner, H. (1995²) *Geschichte Israels*. Göttingen, 289-305; Yamada, S. (2000) *The construction of the Assyrian Empire*. CHANE 3. Leiden/Boston/Köln, 143-163; Liverani, M. (2006⁵) *Oltre la Bibbia*. Rome/Bari,

121-142; Grabbe, L. L. (ed.) (2007) *Ahab agonistes. The rise and fall of the Omri dynasty*. LHB/OTS 421. New York; Weippert, M. (2010) *Historisches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*. GAT 10. Göttingen, 249-260.

P. MERLO – H. NIEHR

AHIMILK

Phoen. theophoric PN (ʾ)ḥmlk, “My brother is king/ Mlk”; Ug. *a/iḥmlk*; Akk. *A-ḫi-mil-ki/ku*; Gk Ἰμιλχ, Ἰμιλχῶνος; Lat. *Himilis*.

PNPPI, 263f.

1. Name of one of the ten sons of YAKINLU, king of *Arwad. After Yakinlu’s violent death, A. went to Nineveh together with his brothers to honour ASHURBANIPAL and win his favour with rich gifts. In fact, in the third year of his reign (665 BCE), the Ass. king had harshly repressed the attempts by *Tyre and Arwad to escape from Ass. domination, taking advantage of the Egypt. rebellion led by Pharaoh Taharqa.

Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L’VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 222; DCP, s.v. (1) (E. Lipiński); PNA 1/I, 65, s.v. “Aḫī-Milki” (4) (K. Radner); Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 106ff.

2. Name of a king of *Ashdod, a vassal of the Ass. kings ESARHADDON and Ashurbanipal (→ASSYRIANS) in the second quarter of the 7th cent. BCE. It is reported that he was among those who had to supply timber and building materials for the new royal palace erected by Esarhaddon in Nineveh.

Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L’VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 196,225; DCP, s.v. (2) (E. Lipiński); PNA 1/I, 65, s.v. “Aḫī-Milki” (1) (K. Radner).

F. MAZZA

Ahram see AHIROM

AHIROM

Theophoric Phoen. PN, ʾḥrm, “My (divine) brother is high/exalted”. It also occurs with aphaeresis of the initial aleph (→HIRAM).

King of *Byblos, usually dated to about 1000 BCE; in his memory, his son ITTOBAAL had the funerary inscription (*KAI* 1 = *TSSI* III, 4) engraved on a limestone sarcophagus with a lid, decorated with reliefs (Beirut, Archaeological Museum), discovered in 1923 in tomb V of the royal necropolis of Byblos [Fig. 9]. The sarcophagus probably dates to the LBA; the inscription, engraved partly on a short side of the sarcophagus, partly on the top of a long side of the lid, is most probably due to re-use of the monument, as shown by the reliefs – a dead king at a banquet and weeping women – executed in a style attributed to the 13th cent. BCE, and the probable traces of a previous inscription in the so-called pseudo-hieroglyphs of Byblos. The text not only commemorates A., but closes with curses (→*Blessings and Curses) against possible tampering with the sarcophagus and its inscription.

A. is the earliest king known from Phoen. official inscriptions; his accepted chronology, in about 1000, is confirmed by the archaic nature of the language (the morphology of the suffixed pronouns and the probable conservation of cases), not found on other inscriptions either from Byblos or from the whole Phoen. area (including the regions of cultural, commercial and colonial expansion) and on the other hand, by the development of the signs, close to those used in inscriptions of the dynasty of YAHIMILK, not earlier than the 10th cent. This chronology is still a matter of debate: the inscription (like the sarcophagus) has been dated between the 13th cent. (especially by Garbini; based also on the cartouches of Ramses II [1279-1150], found in tomb V) and the 8th cent. BCE (especially by Sass, with the thesis that the characters used in the text are archaizing). These two extreme

dates seem very unlikely; however, oscillations are possible, which are difficult to make more specific.

PNPPI, 61.263f.408f.; Dussaud, R. (1924) *Syria*, 5, 135-145; Aimé-Giron, N. (1925) *BIFAO*, 26, 1-13; Montet, P. (1929) *Byblos et l'Égypte*. Paris, 228-238; Albright, W. F. (1947) *JAOS*, 67, 153-160; Donner, H. (1953-1954) *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig*, 3. *Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe*, Heft 2/3, 283-287; Martin, M. A. (1961) *Or*, 30, 46-78; Hachmann, R. (1967) *IM*, 17, 93-114; Chéhab, M. (1970) *MUSJ*, 46, 107-117; Porada, E. (1973) *JANES*, 5, 355-372; Garbini, G. (1977) *AION*, 37, 81-89; Röllig, W. (1982) Die Ahirom Inschrift. Bemerkungen eines Epigraphikers zu einem kontroversen Thema. In: von Freytag-Löringhoff, B. et al. (eds) *Praestant interna. Festschrift für Ulrich Hausmann zum 65. Geburtstag am 13. August 1982*. Tübingen, 367-373; Wallenfels, R. (1983) *JANES*, 15, 79-118, esp. 79-84; Teixidor, J. (1987) *Syria*, 64, 137-140; Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. (1994) *Lingua e scrittura a Biblo*. In: Acquaro, E. et al. (eds) *Biblo: Una città e la sua cultura*. CSF 34. Rome, 179-191; Cook, E. M. (1994) *JNES*, 53, 33-36; Rehm, E. (2004) *Der Ahirom-Sarkophag, Dynastensarkophage mit szenischen Reliefs aus Byblos und Zypern*, 1.1. *Forschungen zur phönizisch-punischen und zyprischen Plastik*. 2. Mainz; Lehmann, R. G. (2005) *Die Inschrift(en) des Ahirom-Sarkophags und die Schachtinschrift des Grabes V in Jbeil (Byblos)*. *Forschungen zur phönizisch-punischen und zyprischen Plastik*. Bd. 2. Mainz; Sass, B. (2005) *The alphabet at the turn of the millennium: the West Semitic alphabet ca. 1150-850 BCE. The antiquity of the Arabian, Greek and Phrygian alphabets*. Tel Aviv, 14-34.75-82; Ambros, A. A. and Jursa, M. (2006) *JSS*, 51, 257-265; Cecchini, S. M. (2006) *Le piangenti del sarcofago di Ahirom*. In: AEIMNHSTOS. *Miscellanea di studi per Mauro Cristofani*. I. Florence, 51-56; Haelewick, J.-C. (2008) *Res Antiquae*, 5, 339-450; Lehmann, R. G. (2008) *Maarav*, 15, 119-164; Rollston, Ch. (2008) *Maarav*, 15, 57-93; Gzella, H. (2013) The linguistic position of Old Byblian. In: Holmstedt, R. D. and Schade, A. (eds) *Linguistic studies in Phoenician. In memory of J. B. Peckham*. Winona Lake, 170-198; Jenni, H. (2015) Zu den phönizischen Inschriften des Grabes V in Byblos. Graffito im Grabschacht (*KAI* 2) und Inschrift auf dem Sarkophag (*KAI* 1) Ahiroms. In: Golinets, V. et al. (eds) *Neue Beiträge zur Semitistik. Fünftes Treffen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Semitistik in der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft vom 15-17. Februar 2012 an der Universität Basel*. AOAT 425. Münster, 121-138, esp. 124-135; Sass, B. (2017) *Semitica*, 59, 109-141, esp. 116-135.

M. G. AMADASI GUZZO



Fig. 9. Sarcophagus of Ahirom king of Byblos (Byblos)

ALABIS

Soldier of HASDRUBAL (6) in Sil. *Pun.* 15,467.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 205.

ALALIA

A. is a port site on the east. coast of *Corsica. Between 540 and 535 BCE, a naval battle nearby is reported by Herodotus (1,166) and offers crucial information as to the ways in which the ETRUSCANS, Carthaginians

and Greeks were competing over the control of the west. Mediterranean.

The inhabitants of Phocaea, the northernmost Ionian city on the coast of *Anatolia, had a long tradition as seafarers, were known to have explored much of the west. Mediterranean (Hdt. 1,163), and were closely linked to *Tartessus in Spain. They founded colonies in the 6th cent. at Emporion, NE of Barcelona, Marseille (Massalia) and at A. Alalia was reinforced by Phocaeans who had fled when their home town was conquered by Cyrus the Great in 546. Herodotus tells us that the Phocaeans built temples at A., but also angered their neighbours by piracy, so that the Carthaginians and the Etruscans brought 60 ships apiece to a naval battle. The Phocaeans had 60 ships too, possibly penteconters, and won the engagement but with the loss of 40 of their own ships, and damage to the remainder. So they abandoned A. and made for Rhegium, from where some went on to found an important settlement at Elea S of Paestum. Thucydides (1,13) mentions a Carthag. loss to the Massaliots, which may in fact refer to this battle and would lead us to believe that the Carthaginians came off worst and that the battle included Phocaeans from A. and Massalia. It is then significant that Pausanias (10,18,6-7) reports Massaliot dedications in the area of Athena Pronoia at Delphi after victory over the Carthaginians, which can be linked by archaeology to exactly this time. This battle is important for showing close links between the Etruscans and the Carthaginians. Herodotus goes on to recount that they drew lots for the crews of the captured ships. The people of *Caere acquired a number of them, but then proceeded to commit an atrocity by stoning them to death. Nothing would grow on the place where they had committed this crime and anything passing through was struck down, so they appealed to Delphi. The oracle instructed them to honour the dead with a funeral ceremony and athletic and equestrian games, which Herodotus claimed continued until his day.

Gras, M. (1972) *Latomus*, 31, 698-716; Jehasse, J. and Jehasse, L. (1982) *PdP*, 37, 247-255; Tsirkin, Y. (1983) *Oikumene*, 4, 209-221; Gras, M. (1987) *DHA*, 13, 161-181; Colonna, G. (1989) Nuove prospettive sulla storia etrusca tra Alalia e Cuma. In: *Secondo congresso internazionale etrusco. Firenze 26 maggio-2 giugno 1985*. Rome, 361-374; Bats, M. (1994) *AION* 1, 133-148 [= *D'un monde à l'autre: contacts et acculturation en Gaule Méditerranéenne*. Naples, 2013, 311-324]; Krings, V. (1998) *Carthage et les Grecs*. Leiden/Boston/Köln, 93-160; Ronconi, L. (1999) *RSA*, 29, 7-26; Papalas, A. J. (2013) *Syllecta Classica*, 24, 1-28.

C. J. SMITH

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

King of Macedonia and conqueror of the Pers. empire (356-323 BCE). After his victory at Issus over the troops of Darius III (→PERSIANS) in the autumn of 333, he moved to the Phoen. coast, where the principal cities – *Arwad, *Byblos and *Sidon – surrendered to him. However, *Tyre resisted. In fact, A., who wanted to sacrifice to Heracles in the temple of *Melqart, was prevented from disembarking in that very city. The 50,000 Tyrians crammed on the island trusted in the impregnability of the rocks, which had walls some 200 feet high jutting out over the sea, and in their own fleet of ships, assembled in the two harbours of the city. However, A. was intent on gaining control of the Mediterr. coast and the sea (still dominated by Phoen. fleets under the orders of the Pers. king) before launching himself on *Egypt and Mesopotamia. So he began a siege that has become famous, which blockaded it for over seven months (on which see Arr. *An.* 2,11-24; Diod. 17,40-48; Plut. *Alex.* 24-25; Curt. 4,2-6). Taking advantage of the sandy shoal, A. constructed a ramp of wood and stone over the canal that separated the island from the coast, so as to bring men and siege machines closer to the walls. However, thanks to the superiority of their fleet, the besieged Tyrians succeeded in hindering the operations of the Macedonians and sabotaging their equipment. The situation changed when A. managed to assemble a fleet that was joined by 120 Gk ships from *Cyprus plus another 80 Phoen. ships, which had defected from the Persians. In August 332 Tyre capitulated: some 8,000 of its inhabitants were massacred when the city was sacked, another 30,000 were enslaved and sold; 2,000 were crucified (*Crucifixion). Those who had taken refuge in the temple of Melqart, including king AZ(Z)IMILK, were spared. Once the looting was over, A. made a sacrifice, dedicating the catapult that had breached the walls to Heracles. Afterwards, to complete the submission of the coast, A. captured *Gaza. It is not clear whether and in what way the Phoen. cities were then integrated into the satrap system of the Macedonian empire. At all events, in 323 A. persuaded them to supply the sailors in order to colonize the Arabian coasts in the Persian Gulf (Arr. *An.* 7,19,5). It is probable that A. intervened in the internal affairs of cities only in cases of open hostility from the local dynasts, notably Sidon, where he placed ABDALONYMUS on the throne.

Romane, P. (1987) *AW*, 16, 79-90; Verkinderen, F. (1987) Les cités phéniciennes dans l'Empire d'Alexandre le Grand. In: *StPhoen* 5, 287-308; Bloedow, F. E. (1998) *PdP*, 301, 255-293; English, S. (2009) *The sieges of Alexander the Great*. Chippenham, 56-84; Worthington, I. (2012) *Alexander the Great: A Reader*. London/New York; Bonnet, C. (2015) Le siège de Tyr par Alexandre et la mémoire des vainqueurs. In: Aliquot, J. and Bonnet, C. (eds) *La Phénicie hellénistique. Actes du colloque international de Toulouse (18-20 février 2013)*. Lyon, 315-334.

U. LIVADIOTTI

AMATASHTART

Phoen. fem. theophoric PN *'mt'štrt* "Servant (f.) of Astarte"; Akk. *gemé-aš-ta-ar-ti*.

Probably of Phoen. origin, an A. is mentioned in Ass. documents as holding the office of *šakintu* (usually translated as "superintendent", but whose functions are not clear: harem manageress?) in the new palace of *Nimrud. A.'s daughter married MILKIRAM, who is probably the homonymous official known from other sources.

PNPPI, 63.270; Lipiński, E. (1987) Phéniciens en Assyrie: l'éponyme Milkirām et la surintendante Amatashtart. In: *APC* 2, 151-154; *DCPP*, s.v. (1) (E. Lipiński); *PNA* 1/I, 98, s.v. "Amat-Astarti" (1) (F. M. Fales).

G. MINUNNO

AMATOSIRIS

Phoen. fem. theophoric PN *'mt'sr* "Servant of Osiris". Name of a *canephora* (a cult title, lit. "basket-bearer") of queen Arsinoe II, the wife of her younger brother Ptolemy II Philadelphus (→LAGIDS). In her honour, a temple was dedicated in *Alexandria and an official cult was established.

A. is mentioned in a Phoen. dedicatory inscription found at *Idalion (Cyprus) in 1869 and now in the British Museum (*CIS* I, 93 = *KAI* 40). The document is dated to the 7th day of the month Hayyar (*hyr*) (→*Calendar), in the 31st year of Ptolemy's reign (corresponding to ca 255/254 BCE). Interestingly, due to its connection with the cult of divinized kings (→*Divinization and Heroization; →*Rephaim) – the office of *canephora* was so important that it was used as part of the official dating formula. In particular, A. had to play a prominent role in the cult of Arsinoe II, the divinized Lagid queen of Thrace and Macedonia, and later of *Egypt (ca 318/314 [316?] -270/268).

The name A. occurs only here, but there are various indications of her Phoen. origin. The term *'mt* is the usual fem. counterpart of *'bd* in Phoen., and theophoric PNN with the DN *'sr*, *Osiris, are not infrequent in Phoen. and Pun. *Onomastics. A.'s patronymic is fragmentary but perhaps the element *mkl* – an epithet of the god *Reshep, very popular in Cyprus, especially in Idalion – is recognizable; the other two members of A.'s genealogy also have Phoen. names.

PNPPI, 62.270.272ff.; *KAI* II, 57f.; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński).

F. MAZZA

Amenhotep III see SEA PEOPLES

AMMONITES

At the beginning of the IA, the region located beyond the Jordan river was mainly inhabited by semi-nomadic peoples who had an agro-pastoral economy. As early as the 9th cent. BCE, this area was the scene of progressive territorial unification and, consequently, of the birth of states marked by a strong ethnic identity and an increasing level of urbanization. In spite of the existence of the monarchy, these nations largely had tribal structure and an ideology founded on the values of the clan and the family.

The Trans-Jordanian kingdoms retained their independence until they were forced to pay tribute to the Ass. king Tiglath-pileser III, as a result of his military campaigns against *Damascus and ISRAEL (734-732). By that time, they had become vassals of Assyria (→ASSYRIANS). This position preserved these states from a worse destiny, assuring them some relative prosperity, chiefly thanks to the commerce favoured by their location along the caravan routes between south. *Syria and the Arabian Peninsula.

The territory that they occupied lay to the E of the middle course of the Jordan, with a south. border going as far as Heshbon, to the north. limits of the Dead Sea, with the desert to the E [FIG. 10]. Their sedentarization is part of a lengthy historical process which saw the formation of new states as countries, as well as the settlement of the MOABITES to the E of the Dead Sea and, more to the S, of the EDOMITES.

The capital of the Ammonite kingdom was Rabbat Ammon (modern Amman), which then became

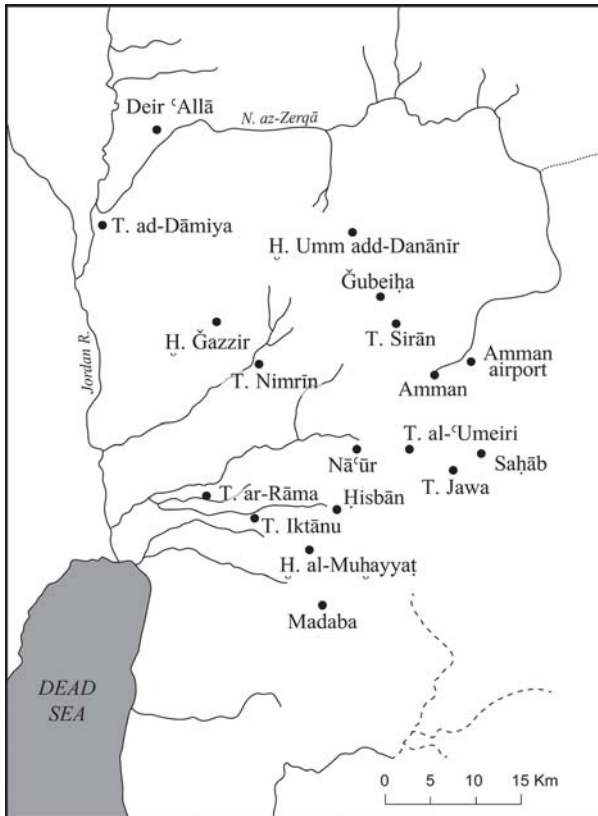


Fig. 10. Ammon

Philadelphia in the time of king Ptolemy II Philadelphus (282-246) (→LAGIDS). Conquered by the Romans in 63 BCE, Philadelphia-Amman became part of the Decapolis and, under emperor Trajan, was incorporated into the Rom. province of Arabia.

Among the abundant archaeological evidence from several periods, one find in particular must be mentioned, even though its possible connection with the A. in the historical period is as yet indeterminate. A building, already in use in the 13th cent. BCE, was discovered ca 3 km NE of Amman. It is a small square building, possibly open to the sky, comprising seven rooms, in one of which was a cella containing an altar. Outside it there was an incinerator made of stone with burnt remains, which were also spread inside the building, particularly in the cella. Besides pottery, jewels and other objects, thousands of bone fragments have been found, more than 90% of which were human remains (the age or sex of these cremated individuals is indeterminate), but it seems likely that the remains of bones belonged to about ten persons, some of whom were very young. Also noteworthy is the considerable amount of weapons found in the build-

ing. Either the purpose of the building was funerary, or it was a temple that may even have accommodated human sacrifices.

According to the *Old Testament, the A. were descended from Amman, a mythical ancestor and their eponym, whose name is of Amorite origin (*Amorites). The history of the A. is interwoven with the history of the Hebrews, as the OT shows in its own way, with the defence and/or extension of their respective territories at stake, although there were phases of peace in their relations.

If one considers the material culture, there are not many elements that to our eyes differentiate the A. from the Hebrews of *Samaria or of *Jerusalem, from the Moabites and from the Edomites. Any distinctive aspects are indicated chiefly by the language, by the *Pantheon and the forms of *Cult. In this case also, there are divine universes and cultic usages that exhibit potentially similar structures. We are dealing with a pantheon composed of a limited number of gods, its common characteristic being its focus on the dominant cult of a national god with uranian, warrior-like and protective characteristics. Alongside him is his consort, a goddess, and some lower ranking deities.

Ammonite epigraphy is limited to a few inscriptions, some ostraca and about 100 seals, all dating to the period between the 9th and the 5th cent. BCE. We also have some Gk inscriptions from the Hellenist. period, while other information is provided by numismatics. A list of the DNN occurring in PNN includes, besides Milkom, the national god, a series of deities or divine epithets such as a *Baal (which could be another name for Milkom) and several more (*Adon, Addin, Ali, *Anat, Ashima, *Astarte, *Bes, Dagon [see *Dagan], *Gad, Haddad, Inurta/Ninurta, *El, *Mot, Nanaya, Ner, Qos, Rimmon, *Shamash, *Sid, Yahweh, *Yam, Yerah). Milkom was the polyadic deity of Amman, the protector of the king and the national god of the A., and his name, etymologically, contains the idea of ruling or governing. His cult must have enjoyed wide popularity even in Israel as well, since SOLOMON, who had Ammonite wives (such as Naamah, Roboam's mother), actually built a chapel for him (1 Kgs 11,5) on the Mount of Olives, which was later destroyed in Josiah's religious reform (2 Kgs 23,13). As for the personality of Milkom, etymological and comparative elements suggest seeing him as a warlike figure, closely linked to royalty, probably shaped in the tradition of divinized royal

ancestors typical of Syria and *Palestine. In particular, there are several indications to presuppose an affinity with Phoen. *Melqart, who was also ‘king’ of the city (*Tyre), assimilated to Heracles/Hercules. In this connection, it is worth mentioning a Gk inscription from Amman dedicated to a high-ranking person, a “gymnasiarch for two days”, who also has the title of “resuscitator (*egerseites*) of Heracles”, also found on local coins. This epithet recalls the Phoen. and Pun. title of *Miqim elim, i.e. “resurrector of the deity”, who had a conspicuous role in the Tyrian feast in honour of Melqart, the central moment of which was the celebration of his annual ‘re-awakening’. In Amman, that celebration may have included a procession of the carriage sacred to Heracles, depicted on coins. Probably, a female figure was worshipped alongside Milkom as his consort, identifiable perhaps as an Ammonite version of Astarte. This is another element that reinforces the parallel with Melqart and confirms the similarity between the Ammonite divine universe and the pantheons of the various Phoen. cities. In fact, an inscribed seal provides evidence of the devotion of an Ammonite travelling to *Sidon to the local goddess, Astarte, mentioned in abbreviated form. Furthermore, the effigy of Astarte herself, called Asteria, is found on a coin from Amman. Another seal belongs to someone who calls himself “servant of Baal”, a title that must allude to a specific cultic function.

Between the 7th and 6th cent., which must have been a very prosperous period, most of the finds come from the region of Amman, in particular an extraordinary amount of sculpture, found chiefly at the foot of the citadel. These are statues that portray mostly males, in a stylistically differentiated production that can be dated between the 10th and 6th cent. The males, who wear a headdress with horizontal bands, are definitely kings or high functionaries at court. Other persons stand out as wearing the Egypt. *atef* crown, possibly a sign that they had become equivalent to gods. In other sites of the region (in Amman, Tell Umayri and Tell Jawa) clay figurines have been found with the same features as the statues, especially the shape of the headdress. This nullifies the interpretation of such iconography as divine, since it does not seem plausible that a king would be represented in the form of a figurine. However, they could also have represented ancestors, much like the domestic idols called *teraphim* in the OT. The female figures, shown in a variety of attitudes, were also

probably divine, although some of them may have been queens. In any case, there must have been quite a multivalent iconographical repertoire, spread throughout the region. A final comment concerns the burial customs and the eschatological ideas of the A.: there are several indications to suggest a widespread veneration for the dead and a belief in an afterlife, probably in embryonic and limited forms, as in the general traditions of the region.

Stamm, J. J. (1948) *ArOr*, 17, 179-182; Puech, E. (1977) *VT*, 27, 117-125; Pardee, D. (1979) *AUSS*, 17, 47-70; Abou Assaf, A. (1980) *UF*, 12, 7-102; Jackson, K. P. (1983) *The Ammonite language of the Iron Age*. Chico; Sawyer, J. F. A. and Clines, D. J. A. (eds) (1983) *Midian, Moab and Edom: the history and archaeology of Late Bronze Age and Iron Age and North-West Arabia*. JSOT SS 24. Sheffield; Hennessy, J. B. (1985) Thirteenth century B.C. temple of human sacrifice at Amman. In: *StPhoen* 3, 85-104; Israel, F. (1987) *Syria*, 64, 141-146; Lemaire, A. (1987) Ammon, Moab, Edom: l'époque du Fer en Jordanie. In: *La Jordanie de l'âge de la pierre à l'époque byzantine*. Rencontres de l'École du Louvre. Paris, 47-74; Aufrecht, W. E. (1989) *A corpus of Ammonite inscriptions*. Lewinston; Israel, F. (1989) *SEL*, 6, 91-96; 'Amr, A.-J. (1990) *ZDPV*, 106, 1990, 114-118; Israel, F. (1990) *SMSR*, 56, 307-337; Israel, F. (1991) Note Ammonite-III. Problemi di epigrafia sigillare ammonita. In: Baurain, C., Bonnet, C. and Krings, V. (eds) (1991) *Phoinikeia grammata. Lire et écrire en Méditerranée*. Namur, 215-241; Hübner, U. (1992) *Die Ammoniter*. Wiesbaden; Lemaire, A. (1993) *Revue de la Société Ernest Renan* NS, 41, 41-67; Kanellopoulos, C. (1994) *The Great Temple of Amman*. Amman; Lemaire, A. (1994) Déesses et dieux de Syrie-Palestine d'après les inscriptions (c. 1000-500 av. n.è.). In: Dietrich, W. and Klopfenstein, M. A. (eds) *Ein Gott allein? JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte*. OBO 139. Freiburg, 128-158; Niehr, H. (1998) *Religionen in Israels Umwelt. Einführung in die nordwestsemitischen Religionen Syrien-Palästina*. Würzburg, 211-216; MacDonald, B. and Younker, R. W. (eds) (1999) *Ancient Ammon*. SHCANE 17. Leiden/Boston/Köln; Puech, E. (1999) Milcom. In: *DDD²*, 575f.; Lipiński, E. (2006) *On the skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age. Historical and topographical researches*. OLA 153. Leuven, 295-318; Ray, P. J. jr. (ed.) (2009) *Small finds: Studies of bone, iron, glass, figurines, and stone objects from Tell Hesban and vicinity*. Berrien Springs; Tyson, C. W. (2014) *The Ammonites*. London.

P. XELLA

AMMUNIRA

Akk. *Am-mu-ni-ra*, *Ia-mu-ni-ri*, “Ammu is [my] light”. Name of a prince of *Berytus. His letters to the Pharaoh, found in the *Tell el-Amarna archive (EA 141-143) [Fig. 11] show him to be a faithful vassal of *Egypt. After the uprising against RIB-ADDA, king of *Byblos, led by his brother, the former took refuge at the court of A., who was his ally (EA 136-138).



Fig. 11. Letter of Ammunira ruler of Berytus to the Pharaoh (EA 143)

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 227-229; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 32f., no. 23; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei "Piccoli Re"*. Brescia, 162-165.

G. MINUNNO

AMORGUS

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 10,200.

Geus, K. (1994), 205.

ANATI

Akk. *A-na-ti*, etymology uncertain.

Name of a citizen of *Byblos who may have been a hostage in *Egypt, mentioned in the Amarna letter EA 170 (*Tell el-Amarna).

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 257f.; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 34f., no. 25; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei "Piccoli Re"*. Brescia, 282f.

P. XELLA

ANDROCLES

Gk Ἀνδρόκλης.

King belonging to the Cypr. *Amathus dynasty. In 322 BCE he took part in the siege of *Tyre in the fleet of ALEXANDER THE GREAT but his quinquereme was sunk during a raid by a Tyrian squad. In 321 A. allied himself with Ptolemy I against Perdikkas. In

313 – with the title of king – he consecrated a golden crown in the sanctuary of *Apollo at *Delos. Probably he was the last king of Amathus, which lost its independence about 310. A. offered a votive chest and an image of his son, whose name was probably Oresteus, in the shrine of the ‘Cypriot goddess’. The main sources include: Arr. *An.* 2,22,2; Diod. 19,62,6.

Hermay, A. (1983) *BCH*, 107, 289f.; *DCPP*, s.v. “Androclès” (A. Hermay).

G. MINUNNO

ANTERASTULIS

A. is the daughter of Hanno, the ‘Little Carthaginian’, in →PLAUTUS’s *Poenulus*.

ANTHES

Gk Ἄνθης.

Pythagorean philosopher who was active in *Carthage probably during the 4th cent. BCE, together with HODIUS, LEOCRITUS and MILTIADES (cf. Iamb. *VP* 36,267).

Huss, W. (1985), 505; Geus, K. (1994), 11.172f.198f.

G. MINUNNO

ANTIPATER OF SIDON

Gk Ἀντίπατρος.

A famous author of Gk epigrams. A. might actually have been born in *Tyre (*AP* 7,428). Meleager (*AP* 4,42) compared the epigrams of A. which he had collected in his poetic ‘garland’ to fresh Phoen. (or red/reddening) henna. A. was in ROME, where possibly he died on his birthday, in about 100 BCE, certainly at an old age; he regularly had a fever every year on his birthday (Val. Max. 1,8 ext. 16; Plin. *Nat.* 7,52,172). A. had a talent for improvising poetry (Cic. *Orat.* 3,154). Among the poems attributed to him, there is an epitaph for ZENO OF KITION (Diog. Laert. 7,29). Some epigrams, which are simply ascribed to an Antipater, cannot be attributed with certainty to A. because they probably belong to his namesake from Thessalonica.

RE I,2, s.v. “Antipatros” (22) cols 2513f. (R. Reitzenstein); Argentieri, L. (2003) *Gli epigrammi degli Antipatri*. Bari.

G. MINUNNO

ANTIPATER OF TYRE

Gk Ἀντίπατρος.

Stoic philosopher, who became a companion of Cato Minor (Plut. *Cat. Mi.* 4). He died in Athens about 44 BCE (Cic. *Off.* 2,86; cf. Str. 16,757). According to Cicero, A. criticised Panaetius for having ignored the care of health and of property, possibly in a work with the title *On duties*. Other works mentioned in the sources cannot definitely be ascribed to A. or to any of his namesakes.

RE I,2, s.v. “Antipatros” (27) col. 2516 (H. von Arnim); Dorandi, T. (1989) Antipatros de Tyr. In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 1. Paris, 223f.

G. MINUNNO

Anysos see TETRAMNESTOS

Apollodorus: King of *Sidon, the father of
→PHILOCLÉS

APOLLONIUS OF TYRE

Gk Ἀπολλώνιος.

Stoic philosopher who lived shortly before Strabo's time. He compiled a table of the philosophers belonging to the school of ZENO OF KITION and their books (Str. 16,2,24). Perhaps a part of that work was A.'s book on ZENO, mentioned by Diogenes Laertius (7,2), who repeatedly quoted A. in his life of Zeno. Possibly, A.'s book is also mentioned by Philodemus (Papyrus Hercolanensis 1018, XXXVII 1-2, called a “hymn” in VI,6, perhaps ironically, since it inappropriately indulged in personal details) and dedicated to (or entitled) “the head of his own school”. Probably A. also wrote about those women who had been philosophers, or otherwise illustrious, or who had reconciled families, as one of the sources used by Sopater in his *Various Extracts* (Phot. *Bibl.* 161).

RE, II,1, s.v. “Apollonios” (94) col. 196 (H. von Arnim); Goulet, R. (1989) Apollonios de Tyr. In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 1. Paris, 294; Dorandi, T. (ed.) (1994) *Filodemo, Storia dei filosofi: la Stoà da Zenone a Panezio (PHerc. 1018)*. Leiden, 33.

G. MINUNNO

ARABION

A Numid. prince, son of MASSINISSA (2). A.'s name seems to be Pun. in origin, and is related to the term *rab*, “chief”.

Dispossessed of his lands by SITTIVS and BOCCHUS (2) after the battle of Thapsus, in 46 BCE, he took refuge in Iberia together with the surviving Pompeians. After Caesar's death, in 44, he returned to Africa and succeeded in regaining control of his kingdom, driving Bocchus towards the W and killing Sittius (App. *BC* 4,54). The following year he intervened in the conflict that had arisen between the Rom. governors of the two African provinces (the *nova* and the *vetus*), allowing Caesar's supporter T. Sextius, at the head of *Africa Nova*, to defeat his opponent (App. *BC* 4,55-56). In spite of this, Sextius himself had him killed two years later, in 41, during new internal conflicts that forced him to oppose Fuficius Fanguis, who supported Octavianus (Dio Cass. 48,22). Probably the motive was A.'s difficult and delicate relationship with the followers of Sittius. At that point, A.'s kingdom was divided between Bocchus and the supporters of Sextius. There are no coins minted with his name, although some, which portray a beardless youth and the legend *mstnsn* (Mastanissan), have been attributed to him. However, it seems more appropriate to ascribe these to the maurus prince MASTANESOSUS.

Camps, G. (1984) *BCTHS* NS, 17B, 303-311; Camps, G. (1989), s.v. In: *Encyclopédie berbère*, 6. Aix-en-Provence, 831-834.

U. LIVADIOTTI

ARADUS

Carthag. soldier in Sil. *Pun.* 1,380. The PN is related to the Lat. name of the city of *Arwad.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 205.

ARAMAEANS

The beginnings. In the prehistory and early history of the A. of *Syria [PLATE 1], nomadism, documented since the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 2nd millennia BCE, is fundamental in the regions of the Upper and Middle Euphrates and in central Syria. Principally, the Mari letters, dating to the 18th cent., provide insights into the conflicts between settlers

and nomads. These nomads fit the wider concept of *Amorites ('Westpeoples'), and can be differentiated further into various tribes, e.g. as Yaminites, Sim'alites, or Suteans. The origins of the A. are to be sought in nomadism of this kind, although it is not possible to be precise in terms of time or place. The first explicit information on the A. comes from the Ass. heartland of the 12th cent. BCE, from king TIGLATH-PILESER I (1114-1076), who, according to his own statement, had to cross the Euphrates several times to fight the A., without being able to defeat them in the long run.

The spread of Aramaeans in Syria. H. Sader has distinguished four phases in the process of development of the A. kingdoms in Syria in the period from the 11th to the 8th cent. BCE. In the first phase, during the 11th and the 10th cent., the founding of cities and villages can be seen as the result of a continuous settlement process of Aram. tribes. In the course of this process, agricultural production and trade routes were under Aram. control. This also influenced the trade in prestige goods such as precious metals and ivory, but the cattle trade also increasingly fell into the hands of the A. As for the second phase, from the 10th cent. onwards, there are references to the warlike takeover of cities by A.: this applies to cities in Mesopotamia and north. Syria, as well as to *Damascus in central Syria. Quite probably, this is mainly due to a change of the élite in these cities, which led to a transition of rule to an Aram. upper class. From the close of the 10th cent. a third phase follows, which is marked by the establishment of a permanent rule. Aram. territory was united by strong personalities under one ruler. From tribal leaders and sheikhs, kings originated. Under the pressure of the Ass. expansion to the W (→ASSYRIANS), the cities were fortified. Subsequently, from the second half of the 9th cent. until the 8th cent., the fourth phase of centralized rule in a capital with a royal palace began. This phase also led to a new kind of vulnerability to enemies. Once the central power was destroyed, the rest of the political community quickly collapsed. This is shown time and again by the various Aram. kingdoms of Syria, which existed until the final anti-Ass. rebellion in 720.

The Aramaean kingdoms of Syria. The Aram. empire ranged from Central Mesopotamia and Upper Mesopotamia across north. Syria and south. *Anatolia, as far as central and south. Syria, and even to *Palestine.

Bit Ḫalupe. The Aram. kingdom of Bit Ḫalupe consisted of two countries: Laqe und Suḫu. The land of Laqe encompassed the lower reaches of the Khabur on its two sides, from Dur-Katlimmu to the mouth of the Euphrates. To the N, it was bounded by the kingdom of Bit Adini. At the Euphrates, it adjoined the land of Suḫu. In the 2nd mill., both countries were the territory of the Sim'alites. In the territory of Laqe was the kingdom of Hana, known as Bit Ḫalupe in the 1st mill. The south. country, Suḫu, is documented in the 1st mill. under the name Bit Šabi. Between Bit Ḫalupe and Bit Šabi was the city-kingdom of Hindanu, which was also Aram. From the 11th cent., the inscriptions of king Assur-bel-kala (1074-1057) mention Aram. tribes in this region. The relations between the A. and the Assyrians were quite variable in the course of the following centuries. Under king TIGLATH-PILESER III (744-727), this area was finally incorporated into the Ass. empire.

Bit Baḫiani. The kingdom of Bit Baḫiani was located in the Gezira, E of the Euphrates, and mainly comprised the Khabur triangle. To the E, it was bounded by the kingdoms of Nasibina and Gidana, to the S by the Assyrians, who dominated the lower reaches of the Khabur; to the W, it bordered the Aram. kingdoms of Ḫuzirina and Bit Adini. Guzana (Tell Halaf) was the capital of the kingdom of Bit Baḫiani. As far as the Aram. history of Tell Halaf is concerned, it had an independent principality from the early 10th cent. to 893. Another important city was Sikani (Tell Fekheriye), where King Hadda-yis's votive statue was found, bearing a bilingual (Ass./Aram.) inscription. From 893 onwards, Bit Baḫiani had a vassal relationship with the Ass. kings. The most important king of Bit Baḫiani was Kapara, who affirmed his descent from an Aram. figure, Ḫadianu. In 808, Bit Baḫiani was conquered by the Ass. king Adad-nirari III (810-783) and was incorporated as a province into the Ass. empire. Between 793 and 706, several governors of Guzana are listed as eponyms of the Ass. empire. Also the *Old Testament sheds light on Guzana, since after the conquest of *Samaria in 720, some inhabitants were deported to Guzana (2 Kgs 17, 5-6).

Baliḫ. The kingdom of Baliḫ, W of Bit Baḫiani, also known as Ḫuzirina after its capital, encompassed the valley of the river Baliḫ on either side. To the W, it was bordered by Bit Adini. The history of the kingdom of Baliḫ remains largely obscure in the absence of inscriptional sources.

Harran, which has been documented since the 24th cent. BCE in the *Ebla texts, lies underneath the ruins of the city of Altınbaşak. Harran is the most important settlement between Guzana (Tell Halaf) in the E and Til Barsib (Tell Aḥmar) in the W. The place name Harran goes back to the Akk. word for “(trade) route” (*harrānu*) and points to the existence of an intersection point there. From the middle of the 11th cent. until the first half of the 8th cent., the region around Harran was dominated by the A. The exact status of Harran within the kingdom of Baliḥ is not quite clear. The role of the capital was the prerogative of Ḫuzirina. Accordingly, the prominence of Harran for a cult centre of the moon-god Sin is clearly evident throughout the Near East. Harran’s greatest hour came when the Neobab. king Nabonidus took the throne of Babylon during the years 556-539 (→BABYLONIANS). He was the son of Adda-Guppi, his Aram. mother from Harran, and he venerated the moon god Sin of Harran in a special way. King Nabonidus restored the temple of the moon-god in Harran and promoted his cult in Babylon, where he placed the moon-god Sin of Harran at the head of the pantheon, to the detriment of the Bab. god Marduk and his priests.

Bit Adini. The kingdom of Bit Adini, located E and W of the upper Euphrates, was surrounded by the kingdoms of Baliḥ to the E, Kummuh to the N, Karkemish and Bit Agusi to the W, and Bit Ḫalupe to the S. Its population consisted of LUWIANS and A. and, consequently, a very wide-ranging mix of both peoples is to be supposed.

Bit Agusi. The kingdom of Bit Agusi was bordered by the kingdoms of Yādiya/Sam’al and Unqi to the N and W, the kingdom of Hamath to the SW, and the kingdoms of Karkemish and Bit Adini to the NE and E. To the S was the border with Kitikka. The capital city of Bit Agusi was Arpad. It was only later that the area around *Aleppo also came under the supremacy of Arpad. For this reason, while Aleppo was not a capital city, it functioned as a residence and had supraregional importance, mainly due to its temple of the *Weather-god. The history of the kingdom of Bit Agusi can only be summarized along basic lines. Already in 876/875 the dynastic founder Gusu was paying tribute to the Ass. king ASHURNASIRPAL II (883-859). King Adrame paid tribute to the Ass. king SHALMANESER III in 858 (858-824) and remained loyal to him; for this reason, he did not participate in the anti-Ass. coalition at the battle of Qarqar (853).

In the years 800-754, the rise of the rival Aram. kingdom of Hamath took place under its king Zakkur, which was accompanied by constant oppression of Bit Agusi. From 743, however, Tiglath-pileser III moved against Bit Agusi and incorporated it as a province into the Ass. empire in 740. Despite this, in 720, Bit Agusi succeeded in taking part in the anti-Ass. insurrection led by Yaubi’di of Hamath. This revolt was repressed that same year in the battle of Qarqar, and a literary echo of Arpad’s fate can be found in the OT (2 Kgs 18,34; 19,13; Isa 37,13).

Kitikka. In contrast to the Aram. kingdoms of Syria mentioned so far, the geographical situation of Kitikka is highly controversial in research. Its suggested localization in Central Syria, accepted by some scholars, is plausible: accordingly, this kingdom was bordered to the N by Bit Agusi, to the E by Bit Adini, and to the W by Hamath. To the S, it reached the middle of the Mesopot. steppe. From the dynasty of Kitikka, only Bar-Gayah in the time of ASHURNASIRPAL II (883-859) and the Aram. king Mati’el of Bit Agusi can be dated. The fact that king Bar-Gayah of Kitikka appears in Bit Agusi’s loyalty treaty of Sfire (KAI 222-224) as the more powerful of the two contracting parties is consistent with the fact that Mati’el is also mentioned as a vassal in the treaty with the Ass. king Ashur-nirari V (754-745) (SAA 2, no. 5). From this it follows that Kitikka had Ass. political protection when the treaty was concluded, a circumstance also confirmed by the preeminence of Assur’s god in the list of the deities invoked in the oath.

Yādiya/Sam’al. The Aram. empire Yādiya/Sam’al encompassed the area between the *Amanus mountains in the W and the Kurd Dagħ in the E. To the NE, it crossed the Marash plain and to the S it reached the Amuq plain and the Orontes valley. To the W, through the Amanus, there was a connection to the Mediterranean Sea, the Taurus river and the Cilician Gates (*Cilicia). The empire was surrounded by the kingdoms of Gurgum, Que, Unqi and Bit Agusi. An essential basis for its wealth was provided by the pine and cedar forests of the Amanus. The capital city of the empire was the homonymous town of Sam’al, the present-day ruins of *Zincirli. In addition to the later Aram. name for the kingdom after its capital Sam’al, the country name Y’dy (Yādiya) occurs in Phoen. and Sam’alian inscriptions. It is an older Luwian name which probably means “the Yadaean [land]”. Thanks to Phoen., Sam’alian and Aram. royal inscriptions,

as well as various Ass. sources, the sequence of the rulers of Yādiya/Sam'al and approximate dates for their reigns can be proposed. For Sam'al, the entry of the A. is dated to the 10th cent. The first two Aram. kings were Gabbar ("hero"), after whom the kingdom was named, and Banah. According to Ass. sources, the third king of Sam'al, Ḥayyan, can be dated to the time of Shalmaneser III (858-824), and particularly between 858 and 853. In 858, Sam'al participated in an anti-Ass. coalition, but its army was defeated by Shalmaneser III at Lutibu. After that, Sam'al is no longer among the participants in the battle of Qarqar (853), which also ended with a victory for the Assyrians. King Hayya of Sam'al is also mentioned as a tribute bearer of Shalmaneser III. His son and immediate successor, Ša'il, is mentioned only in one inscription (KAI 24,1-4). He was followed by another son of Ḥayya, called KULAMUWA ("[having] the military strength of the army"), whose reign may be dated approximately between 840 and 810. Politically, Kulamuwa tended toward the Assyrians, from whom he asked for help against the Danunians (KAI 24,7-8). He was followed by king Qarli (ca 810-790), and then, after an interregnum, by Panamuwa I (about 790-750) and Bar-Šur (about 750-745). Then, after another interregnum, came Panamuwa II (about 740-733) and BARRAKIB (ca 733-713/711), the last king of Sam'al. The transition to Ass. governorship after Barrakib is unexplained, but it may have been due to the earlier annexation of Sam'al by the Ass. kingdom under Shalmaneser V (726-722).

Hamath and Lu'aš. Hamath and Lu'aš were two originally independent kingdoms, united by king Zakkur of Hamath, in around 800. The kingdom of Hamath encompassed the region W and E of the central Orontes, and included the territories of the LBA empires of *Ugarit, Amurru, and partly of Nuḥašše. The kingdom of Hamath included the important Mediterranean ports of Ras al-Basit, Minet al-Beida (*Leukos Limen*), *Ras Ibn Hani and *Tell Sukas. To the W, the kingdom of Hamath and the coastal territories subject to its influence covered the area to the S of Tell Sukas, bordering the kingdom of *Arwad with its mainland territory. To the S, Hamath extended as far as Labwe in the *Beqa' and bordered the kingdom of Aram-Damascus. To the E, it included Qaṭna and Emesa (Homs) and had a common border with the kingdom of Bit Agusi. Of all the Aram. kings of Hamath, Zakkur of Anah on the Middle Euphrates should be mentioned. He took over the royal power in

about 800. In his time, Hamath was united with the north. Lu'aš, an annexation that provoked the opposition of the neighbouring Aram. kings. However, Zakkur fought successfully with the help of the Assyrians (KAI 202). Aram. dynasties retained power in Hamath until the annexation of the country as an Ass. province in 720. Under SARGON II (721-705), Hamath became the Ass. province of Maṣuate, since the last king of Hamath, Ya'ubidi, had instigated a rebellion against the Assyrians. This rebellion was crushed at the battle of Qarqar on the Orontes (720) and Hamath was destroyed. As part of the deportations, residents of Hamath were taken to Samaria (see 2 Kgs 17,24-33), which had also become an Ass. province in 720. Hamath was settled with deportees from other regions.

Šobah. The Beqa', surrounded by *Lebanon to the W and by the *Anti-Lebanon mountains to the E, encompassed the kingdom of Šobah, which was also called Beth Reḥob, after the founder of the Aram. dynasty. The most important sites in the time of the Aram. settlement of the Beqa' are Kumidi (*Kamid el-Loz), Tell al-Ghazil and *Baalbek. Less likely is the assumption that Šobah and Beth Reḥob were two kingdoms, with Šobah occupying the north. and central Beqa' and Beth Reḥob the south. Beqa'. Further information on the kingdom of Šobah/Beth Reḥob is provided by the OT. The kingdom was founded by the eponymous hero Reḥob in the 11th cent. and the name of that kingdom was Aram-Šobah. In the second half of the 9th cent., the kingdom of Šobah became a vassal of Hamath and during the first half of the 8th cent. was annexed by that kingdom. This is shown by the Aram. graffiti of Hamath, which include the name *šbh* (KAI 205-208). In the year 732, the territory of Šobah was conquered by the Assyrians together with the kingdoms of Hamath and Damascus, and became a province called Šubutu.

Geshur. On the north. and north-west. shore of the lake of Gennesareth, the Aram. kingdom of Geshur was established during the 10th cent. BCE. To the S, it was bounded by the Yarmuk, to the W by the lake of Gennesareth and by the Jordan, to the N by Mount *Hermon, and to the E by Bashan. The kingdom of Geshur included chiefly the cities of 'Ayn-Gev, Tell Hadar (probably the site of the royal town of Geshur) and Betsaida (et-Tell). From the 9th cent. BCE, the kingdom of Aram-Damascus expanded westward, and incorporated Geshur, as well as the region to its N around the Jordan springs near Dan.

Aram. The kingdom of Aram was located E of the Beqa' and the Anti-Lebanon, and extended to the N and the S around the capital of Damascus. To the E, the extent of Aram was quite limited by the adjacent desert steppe. This kingdom occurs in the Ass. sources under the name *ša imērišu* ("the [land] of its donkeys"), a designation which probably refers to the importance of donkey breeding for the caravan trade in this region. At the height of its power under king Hazael (ca 843-803), Aram had a north. border with the south. offshoots of Hamath, where Emesa and Qatna were still part of the sphere of influence of Hamath. To the S, Aram extended until the Hauran and east.-Jordanian Gilead; to the W, it reached the lake of Gennesareth, while the Beqa' was part of Hamath. As kings of Aram-Damascus, for the 10th cent., the sources mention Hadad (?), Ezron, Ḥadyan I and Ṭab-Ramman, and from the 9th cent. BARHADAD I (2) (ca 900-880), Hadadezer (ca 880-843), Hazael (ca 843-803), BARHADAD II (ca 803-775), Ḥadyan II (ca 775-750) and Rašyan (ca 750-732). The kingdom of Aram-Damascus reached the peak of its power under kings Hadadezer (ca 880-843) and Hazael (ca 843-803), since it controlled the kingdom of Unqi as its vassal, and included the Beqa', parts of ISRAEL and north. *Transjordan. The political difficulties in Israel, which led to the overthrow of the dynasty of the Omrid dynasty (→OMRI) (see 2 Kgs 9,16-29), had been provoked by king Hazael, as shown by the inscription on the Tel Dan stela (KAI 310). Hazael also led a coalition against the Assyrians, and for this reason the Assyrians, under Shalmaneser III (858-824), undertook two military campaigns against Damascus in 841 and 838/837. However, they did not succeed in conquering the city. Hazael's successor, Bar-Hadad II (ca 803-775), was unable to defend himself against the now re-established kingdom of Hamath (see KAI 202) and Israel (see 2 Kgs 20,1-21), or against the Assyrians under Adadnerari III (810-783), and in 796 was forced to pay tribute to the Assyrians. The political independence of Aram-Damascus ended, after various Ass. campaigns, with the Ass. conquest of Damascus in the year 732.

After the loss of independence. Despite the loss of independence, an Aram. upper class remained, which was active as Ass. local governors, and in which the scribes played an important role (see, e.g. the Aram. 'Tale of Aḥiqar'). While, on the one hand, political sovereignty was lost, on the other hand, the Aram.

language and local cults continued to exist. In addition, the incorporation of Aram. kingdoms in Syria into Ass. control led to an Aramaization of the Ass. empire and the rise of Aram. people in its administration. Syria experienced various changes of sovereignty over time: from 610 BCE it was the turn of the Neobab. empire; from 530 it belonged to the Achaemenid empire; and finally it became Hellenized (*Hellenization) after ALEXANDER THE GREAT's expedition in 332. During the time of the Diadochi, Syria belonged to the Seleucid empire (→SELEUCIDS), ruled from the capital Antiochia on the Orontes. From the winter of 64/63, Pompeius (→POMPEIUS MAGNUS) conquered Syria, which remained under Rom. rule until the Byzantine period in the 4th cent. CE. The land E of the Euphrates came under the supremacy of the Parthians.

Aramaeans and Phoenicians. If from the beginning of the 1st mill. BCE there was a Phoen. cultural influence in Syria and Anatolia, also due to the spread of the consonantal *Alphabet, over time this influence diminished progressively in the context of the Aram. takeover of Syria. This can be seen, for example, in the decline of the Phoen. language in Inner Anatolia, south. Anatolia (Sam'al) and Inner Syria in favour of Aramaic. Nonetheless, the existence of Phoenicians in Sam'al, Arpad, Guzana and Hamath can be proved, and plausibly assumed for other kingdoms such as Damascus. On the other hand, Lebanon, the motherland of the Phoenicians, was not subjected to any Aramaization, a circumstance that proves, *inter alia*, that Aramaic had only a minimal influence on the Phoen. language. This was due to the marginalization of the kingdoms located behind the Lebanon mountains. In addition to the script, the A. of Syria also took over the cults of Phoen. deities, such as the cult of the "Mistress of Byblos" (*Astarte) and of *Baalshamem in Hamath, as well as of *Melqart in Aleppo. The two *Amulets found in *Arslan Tash represent the Aram. translation or adaptation of Phoen. originals. Trade contacts between A. and Phoenicians (e.g. *Purple, *Ivory, and metal art [*Metallurgy; *Art and Handicraft]) seem to have been conflict-free, especially since the A. did not interfere with Phoen. trade in the Mediterranean and, in turn, functioned as a link with the Assyrians. Enmity towards the Assyrians led Phoenicians and A. to form coalitions, such as during the battle of Qarqar against Shalmaneser III (853).

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ARCHAGATHUS

Gk Ἀρχάγαθος.

A. was the son of →AGATHOCLES. When Agathocles decided to return from Africa to *Sicily in 307 BCE, A. replaced his father at the command of the expedition against *Carthage, but the Syracusan troops were defeated.

Huss, W. (1985), 207.

A. ERCOLANI

ARCOBARZANES

Grandson of →SYPHAX, according to Livy (*Perioch.* 48,4) he was the commander of Numid. troops massing in Carthag. territory (→NUMIDIANS) in order to do battle with MASSINISSA, towards the mid-2nd cent. BCE. The etymology of his name, apparently of Iranian origin, is uncertain.

Huss, W. (1985), 433.

U. LIVADIOTTI

ARIS

PN which occurs frequently in Lat. epigraphy, corresponding to Phoen. and Pun. ʾrš.

PNPPI, 64-68.276f.; NAN, 10-12.

1. An A., commander of Karthago Nova (*Cartagena), is mentioned by Valerius Antias (fr. 24 Peter), but this information contradicts other sources.

2. A. is the name of a Carthag. military chief in Sil. *Pun.* 15,232.244.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 12, 205.

A. ERCOLANI

ARISBAS

Priest of the temple of Jupiter Ammon in Africa mentioned in Sil. *Pun.* 3,88. The name contains the theophoric elements *Aris* (ʾrš) and possibly also *Baal.

PNPPI, 276f.; Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 35.

ARISHUT

Phoen. fem. PN *ʾršt* from the root *ʾrš*, “to request”, with the meaning of “Desire(d)” or “Request(ed)” (by a deity or the parents).

Name of a high priestess, *rb hkhnt* (→*Priesthood) who dedicated an inscribed votive stela to *Baal Hammon in the *tophet of El-Hofra (*Constantine) (EH 67) [Fig. 12]. It is worth noting that she does not indicate her genealogy in the text.

PNPPI, 29.276; EH, 64, no. 67.

P. XELLA



Fig. 12. Inscribed stela of Arishut (EH 67) from the tophet of El-Hofra (Constantine)

ARISHUTBAAL

Phoen. and Pun. fem. theophoric PN *ʾršt bʾl*, “(Object) desired by Baal”.

PNPPI, 69.276-277.

1. Name of a priestess (→*Priesthood), mentioned in her funerary inscription [Fig. 13]. She was the wife of Milqarthilles (*mlqrthls*), and probably the owner of the coffin found in a pit in the *rabs* area in the Sainte-Monique necropolis of *Carthage (CIS I, 5941).

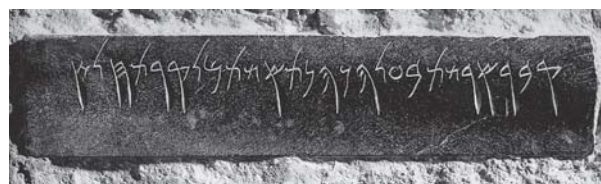


Fig. 13. Funerary inscription of Arishutbaal (1) (Carthage)

2. Name of a ‘servant’ of *Astarte of Eryx, *ʾšrt ʾrk*, mentioned on a votive stela from the Carthag. *tophet (CIS I, 3776) [Fig. 14]. Supposedly she was the daughter of a hierodule, since she mentions her matronymic but not her patronymic (→*Prostitution, sacred).



Fig. 14. Inscribed stela of Arishutbaal (2) servant of Astarte of Eryx from the tophet of Carthage

Lipiński, E. (1989) L’élément *ʾrš* dans l’anthroponymie carthaginoise. In: Macuch, M., Müller-Kessler, C. and Fagner, B. G. (eds) *Studia Semitica necnon Iranica Rudolpho Macuch septuagenario ab amicis et discipulis dedicata*. Berlin, 141-148; DCP, s.v. (E. Lipiński).

G. MINUNNO

ARISTON

Phoen. PN ʾršt; Gk Ἀρίστων; Lat. *Aristo*.

PNPPI, 276; *NAN*, 11f.

1. Tyrian merchant sent to *Carthage by HANNIBAL (9) during his exile in 194 BCE, to evaluate the possibility of his return home rather than to encourage an alliance between Carthage and the SELEUCIDS (Antiochus III). Several members of the Carthag. Senate were suspicious, so he had to leave Carthage at night, while the senators sent an embassy to ROME to report the incident and divert suspicion from themselves (App. *Syr.* 8; Liv. 34,61-62; Nep. *Hann.* 8,1-2).

Huss, W. (1985), 427f.; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński).

2. Name of a Suffete (→*Suffetes) in a coin legend on Carthag. bronzes of 44 BCE.

Martini, R. (1982) *RIN*, 84, 141-176; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński).

3. Academic philosopher, probably of Carthag. origin, mentioned in a list of the students of Lakydes of Cyrene (see Lakydes T 2b Mette).

Geus, K. (1994), 12.

A. ERCOLANI

ARSES

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 7,598. The name is perhaps to be linked to the root ʾrš (ARIS).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 205.

A. ERCOLANI

ASASIS

Gk Ἀσασίς.

One of the leaders of the Numid. cavalry (→NUMIDIANS) who, at the outbreak of the war against the Carthaginians, in 150 BCE, went to HASDRUBAL (14) at the head of one thousand men in disagreement

with the sons of MASSINISSA I (1) (App. *Pun.* 70). During the ensuing peace negotiations, despite initial Pun. opposition, Massinissa demanded and obtained the return of all the deserters (App. *Pun.* 72-73).

Camps, G. (2002-2003) *AntAfr*, 38-39, 211-257, esp. 220.

U. LIVADIOTTI

ASEPT

Phoen. ʾspt; Gk Ἀσεπτ. Fem. PN occurring only once in Phoen. and Pun. *Onomastics.

This woman – originally from *Sidon – is mentioned in a bilingual (Phoen./Gk) funerary inscription found in *Piraeus and dated to the 3rd cent. BCE (*CIS* I, 119 = *KAI* 59; cf. *IG* II/2, 10271). The monument was dedicated to A. by a certain Yatonbaal (ytnbʿl) who assumed the title “chief of the priests of the god *Nergal” (→*Priesthood), but his relationship to the deceased remains unknown.

PNPPI, 272; *KAI* II, 72f.; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1991) *RSF*, 19, 3-21, esp. 4; Lipiński, E. (1995), 242ff.

P. XELLA

ASHTARTHUT

Phoen. theophoric PN ʾštrthwt, a hapax composed of the theonym *Astarte and the piel form of the verb ḥwy, “to live”.

Name of a character in a bilingual (Gk/Phoen.) inscription from *Arwad, engraved on the front face of a limestone parallelepiped block. It is a dedication to the gods *Hermes/ʾrm and Heracles/*Melqart. The name A. is only mentioned in full in the Phoen. text. He must have been a very eminent person, as can be deduced from his titles, ... ἱεροποίου γυμνασιάρχων “... responsible for sacred affairs, gymnasiarch”, written continuously in the Gk section, and probably also in the now very fragmentary Phoen. section. Interestingly, the texts are dated as year 235 according to the era of Arwad, corresponding to 25/24 BCE.

PNPPI, 175.308f.; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1991) *RSF*, 19, 3-21; Lipiński, E. (1995), 232; *Art Phénicien*, 32, no. 8; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 165f.

P. XELLA

ASHURBANIPAL

Akk. *Aššūr-bāni-apli*, “Assur is the creator of the heir”. King in the Neoass. period (668-631 BCE) [FIG. 15], the son of ESARHADDON (→ASSYRIANS) [FIG. 17].

The cuneiform sources tell us that in the third year of his reign, as part of a renewed offensive against *Egypt under pharaoh Taharqa, who was trying to free himself from Ass. domination, the Phoen. cities of *Tyre and *Arwad were also heavily involved since, taking advantage of the situation, they had rebelled. Tyre was surrounded and placed under siege both on land and from the sea until BAAL I (1), its king, was forced to renew the act of vassalage as he had already done in the time of Esarhaddon. As a sign of submission, the Phoen. king offered A. one of his own daughters and his brothers’ daughters as concubines, together with rich dowries. In addition, he handed over as a hostage his young son YAHIMILK, who was then returned as a gesture of clemency. Arwad also had to make a similar offer of renewed submission, since the sources record that king YAKINLU took his daughter to Nineveh, with a rich dowry, and “kissed the feet of A.”, as well as pledging a renewed annual tribute. Admittedly, for some time Arwad seems to have committed acts of sabotage against the maritime interests of the Mesopot. powers. They had been hindering landings in the ports under Ass. control and diverting commercial traffic towards their own port, as can be inferred from an interesting letter by Itti-shamash-balatu, the Ass. governor of the region. Furthermore, shortly afterward Yakinlu died a violent death and his sons travelled to Nineveh to pay homage to A. with rich presents. He then chose AZ(Z)IBAAL as successor to the throne of Arwad. This fact is particularly significant as it shows the Ass. king as clearly responsible for

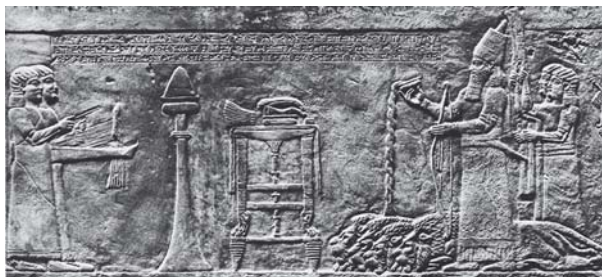


Fig. 15. King Ashurbanipal pouring a libation over dead lions (Nineveh)

appointing Yakinlu’s successor. However, it is not possible to determine whether that role resulted from Arwad’s vassal agreements or simply from the desire of Yakinlu’s sons to accede to A.’s wishes in order to please him. After that, during the return march from his campaign against the Arab tribes, A. put down a new rebellion in south. *Phoenicia. *Ushu and *Akko were captured in rapid succession and severely punished with looting, mass killings and deportations to Assyria, where the surviving men were incorporated into a contingent attached to the Ass. army. The sources tell us that, towards the end of A.’s reign, in about 639 or 637, the south. region of Phoenicia, which included Tyre, was ruled by an Ass. governor called Bel-sadua.

Nassouhi, E. (1924-1925) *AfK*, 2, 97-106; *ARAB* II, 293-376; Aynard, J. H. (1957) *Le prisme du Louvre AO 19.939*. Paris; Liverani, M. (1988) *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia*. Rome/Bari, 807-811; Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L’VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 82-93.219-238; Borger, R. (1996) *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*. Wiesbaden; PNA 1/I, 159-171, s.v. “Aššūr-bāni-apli” (K. Radner).

F. MAZZA

ASHURNASIRPAL II

Akk. PN *Aššūr-nâsir-apli*, “Assur is the protector of the heir”.

King in the Neoass. period (883-859 BCE) [FIG. 16], son of Tukulti-Ninurta II (→ASSYRIANS) [FIG. 17]. He led a great expedition against *Syria and *Phoenicia probably between the sixth and eighteenth year of his reign as the documentary evidence does not contain precise chronological indications. The incursion was much more important that the one undertaken by his remote predecessor TIGLATH-PILESER I and this time it was more decisively intent on enforcing submission. The Phoen. cities do not seem to have been involved in direct military confrontations, preferring to pay heavy tribute and submit formally to the Ass. king rather than compromising their own political and commercial independence by futile resistance. The cities involved were *Tyre, *Sidon, *Byblos, *Arwad and others that cannot be identified beyond mere hypothesis. By scrutinizing the tribute paid to the Ass. king it is possible to gain some idea of the variety and organization of the routes of Phoen. trade and the sheer range of craftsmanship from which raw and manufactured materials came. In first place

among the goods listed in the Ass. inscriptions are gold, silver, bronze and tin, which the PHOENICIANS collected by means of their commercial exchanges all over the Mediterranean. These were also the raw materials for producing various valuable manufactured articles such as embossed metallic cups. Besides this, it is interesting to note also the presence of textiles made of dyed wool, a clear reference to the well-known local industry of dyeing cloth, especially with the use of *Purple. There is no other significant information from A.'s time concerning the Phoen. region, apart from what can be inferred from a stela found in the royal palace of Nimrud, which records the work of skilled craftsmen from Tyre and Sidon in its construction. The only other information comes from an inscription from Imgur-Bel (*Tell Balawat), which records an expedition to *Mount Lebanon in order to acquire timber for the roof and door leaves of a temple. These facts still show that there were no particularly traumatic events in the relations between the Ass. king and cities of the Phoen. coast, which were probably the last, given that the situation very soon worsened, in respect of politics and warfare, with the arrival on the throne of A.'s successor, SHALMANESER III.

Wiseman, D. J. (1952) *Iraq*, 14, 22-44; Liverani, M. (1988) *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia*. Rome/Bari, 780-785; RIMA 2: A.0.101 (pp. 189-393); PNA 1/1, 204-207, s.v. "Aššūr-nāšir-apli" (S. Fischer).

F. MAZZA



Fig. 16. King Ashurnasirpal II (Nimrud)

ASPASIUS OF BYBLOS

Gk Ἀσπάσιος.

Sophist, active at the time of the emperor Hadrianus. His works include *inter alia* a historical treatise *On Byblos*, commentaries, talks and an encomium to Hadrianus (Suid. α 4203 Adler [= *FGrHist* 792]).

RE II,2, s.v. "Aspasios" (3) col. 1723 (W. Schmid).

G. MINUNNO

ASPASIUS OF TYRE

Gk Ἀσπάσιος.

Sophist and historian, among his works there are 20 books on a history of *Tyre and its interesting features, as well as an essay on the art of rhetoric (Suid. α 4204 Adler [= *FGrHist* 793]), which could be identified as a rhetorical treatise usually attributed to Apsines, whose pupil A. might have been.

RE II,2, s.v. "Aspasios" (1) col. 1722 (E. Schwartz); Heath, M. (1998) *AJPh*, 119, 89-111.

G. MINUNNO

ASSYRIANS

Assyria reached the height of its political power between the mid-eighth and the late seventh cent. BCE, with the creation of an empire stretching from north. Mesopotamia all over west. Asia [PLATE 2]. The Ass. official record (royal inscriptions) between the reigns of TIGLATH-PILESER III (745-727) and ASHURBANIPAL (668-631) [Fig. 17], and a set of 'everyday' sources (from letters to administrative documents to legal texts to divinatory material), all in the cuneiform script, represent our main guides for a reconstruction of the history of this period (Xella [1994]; Fales [2001]; Liverani [2014] and [2017]; Fales [2017]). Specifically, the Ass. conquest of the so-called Levant (Mansel [2010]) – i.e. the entire east. Mediterr. coast from the Gulf of Iskenderun to the first reaches of the Sinai, also stretching to some adjacent eastward-lying lands – came to intercept and exploit a series of interconnected trade circuits of regional but also of international import throughout the area, by means of a complex action implying military, political and commercial penetration.

The Levant, despite its many geographical intricacies, may be viewed as a ‘globally interconnected’ region, with its naturally longitudinal profile giving rise to a corresponding orientation of the road system, mainly based on a series of N-S routes with relatively few traverse arteries. During the ‘Assyrian century’ of conquest/occupation, military and commercial traffic between Mesopotamia and the Levant thus passed to and fro through the *Orontes Valley from the north. area of Unqi/Pattina to Hamath and then to Šupite (biblical Šobah, near present-day Homs), and from there to *Damascus or westward to the Phoen. coast and north. *Palestine, with limited detours. At the height of the Ass. occupation, with its mass dislocations and relocations of local populations (Oded [1979]) and the transfer of many locally-produced commodities to the heart of the empire (Bär [1996]), a regular system of “royal roads” (*ḥarrān šarri*), entailing many intermediate facilities (post-houses, barracks, stables, etc.), was established, and it seems to have been extended to the central Syrian plains as well (Favaro [2007], 57-61). As for other sources, the *Old Testament record indicates, albeit sketchily and vaguely, a main international coastal highway between *Egypt and north. *Syria (through *Gaza, *Carmel, and *Phoenicia [see also PHOENICIANS]), with an eastward branch leading to *Hazor, Damascus, and on to Mesopotamia – the so-called *Via Maris*, which however is a later name with no antecedent in the Bible itself (Beitzel [1991]). On the other hand, even after securing the Levantine coast for commercial and military purposes, Assyria never developed a regular maritime unit or corps of its own (Mayer [1995], 419). For their rare maritime expeditions, the A. relied on the technical capabilities of Phoen. shipwrights and sailors – a factor which undoubtedly played a distinctive role in allowing the Phoen. states to enjoy the status of ‘allies’ despite their formal submission to Assyria. Thus, Menander *apud* Josephus (*AJ* 9,283-287) recalls that the siege of *Tyre by the Ass. king “Selampsas” (SHALMANESER V or perhaps SENNACHERIB; cf. Tammuz [2011], 185f.) succeeded thanks to the naval aid of rival Phoen. polities; SARGON I’s expeditionary force was brought to *Cyprus on the ships of the Tyrian fleet for a probable two- or three-day voyage (although the king speaks of a ‘seven-day’ distance: Radner [2010], 438); and Sennacherib’s own royal inscriptions state that he had Tyrians, Sidonians and Cypr. or Ionians build and equip ships for his expedition downriver to the Persian Gulf in 694 (RINAP 3/II, 82: 57-60).

In term of illustrations, it has been noted that our best knowledge of Phoen. sea-craft comes from Ass. bas-reliefs (Bass [1995], 1430). Certainly, for river traffic, entailing the transport of men and equipment downstream (Fales [1995]), totally indigenous vessels were used, such as a traditional Mesop. boat built of wooden planks, flat-bottomed with low sides and straight upturned ends. However, some novelties may have been introduced by the Phoenicians here as well, to judge by the types with prow decoration in the form of a horse’s head – similar to the seafaring west. models later called *hippoi* – employed by Sargon for the transport of timber (De Graeve [1981], 109ff.; Bass [1995], 1430).

Ass. involvement with the coastal polities that were later described by the Greeks as comprising ‘Phoenicia’ (van Dongen [2010], 478-480) began very early on. In a scenario of substantial cultural persistence with the LBA, despite the vast destructions of cities and the outlying countryside occurring at the end of the 12th cent. (Vita [2003]), it may be said that the seafaring techniques learnt and applied at *Ugarit – as well as the relevant trade networks – were taken up by a number of city-states, whether spared by the destructions affecting the metropolis or subject to rapid ‘revivals’ after a period of impending danger (for the varying reconstructions, cf. e.g. Gilboa [2005], 51; Tubb [2014]). These city-states of the early IA – politically and religiously autonomous, although endowed with some shared traditions and a common ‘Canaanite’ linguistic background in the main (→CANAANITES) – were spread at regular intervals along the coastline and in an annexed hinterland between *Arwad and Acre (*Akko), and they start to appear in the written record soon after the fall of Ugarit itself [FIG. 18]. Thus, the list of coastal polities paying tribute to TIGLATH-PILESER I in the late 12th cent. was headed by Gubla/*Byblos (Bagg [2007], 80), but also comprised *Sidon and Arwad (RIMA 2, 37: 20-21). Byblos also features as a major commercial power in the Egypt. *Story of Wenamun* (→UNAMON), possibly to be dated by its setting to the 11th cent. as well (Goedicke [1975]; Sass [2002]). From Arwad, the Ass. king also took a boat trip down the coast for some “three double-hours” (approx. 33 km) to the next major port, Sumur/Šimarra “which is in the land Amurru”: *ibid.*, 21-23). This city is generally identified with the site of *Tell Kazel in the *Akkar plain, which was a major centre of Hittite-controlled Amurru one cent. earlier (HITTITES), as

Neo-Assyrian rulers		Babylonian rulers	
Adad-nirari II	911-891	Shamash-mudammīq	ca 905
Tukulti-Ninurta II	889/884	Nabu-shum-ukin I	ca 895
Ashurnasirpal II	883/5-859	Nabu-apla-iddina	ca 870
Shalmaneser III	858-823	Marduk-zakir-shumi I	854-819
Shamshi-Adad V	823-811	Marduk-balatsu-iqbi	818-813
		Baba-akh-iddina	812 ?
Adad-nirari III	810-783	Ninurta-apla-X	
Shalmaneser IV	782-773	Marduk-bel-zeri	
		Marduk-apla-usur	
Ashur-dan III	772-755	Eriba-Marduk ? –	760
		Nabu-shum-ishkun	760-748
Ashur-nirari V	754-745	Nabu-nasir	747-734
		Nabu-nadin-zeri	733-732
Tiglath-pileser III	745-727	Nabu-shum-ukin II	732
		Nabu-mikin-zeri	731-729
		Pulu (Tiglath-pileser III)	728-727
Shalmaneser V	726-722	Ululayu (Shalmaneser III)	726-722
		Marduk-apla-iddina II	721-710
Sargon II	722-705	Sargon II	709-705
		Sennacherib	704-703
		Marduk-zakir-shumi II	703
		Marduk-apla-iddina II	703
Sennacherib	704-681	Bel-ibni	702-700
		Ashur-nadin-shumi	699-694
		Nergal-ushezib	693
		Mushezib-Marduk	692-689
		Sennacherib	688-681
Esarhaddon	681-668	Esarhaddon	681-668
Ashurbanipal	668-631	Ashurbanipal	668
		Shamash-shum-ukin	667-648
Ashur-etil-ilani	630-627	Kandalanu	647-627
		No kings	626
Sin-shar-ishkun	627-612	Nabopolassar II	626-605
Ashur-uballit II	611-609	Nebuchadnezzar II	605-562
		Awil-Marduk	562-560
		Neriglishar	560-556
		Labashi-Marduk	556
		Nabonidus	556-539

Fig. 17. Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian rulers in the 1st mill. BCE

clarified by a cuneiform tablet discovered there (Roche [2003]; Bagg [2007], 232; Devecchi [2010]). The king claimed to have killed at sea “a *nāhiru*, which is called a ‘sea-horse’ ” (*ibid.*, 24f.): the identification of this animal is still the subject of controversy (hippopotamus or sea cow: Saporetti [1996]; Bordreuil and Briquel-Chatonnet [2000]; Caubet [2008]). A statue of the king still stood on *Mount Lebanon (perhaps above Sidon?) in the late 9th cent., as recalled by SHALMANESER III (RIMA 3, 54-55: 12-15).

Some two centuries after Tiglath-pileser, Tyre headed a list of tributaries to king ASHURNASIRPAL II (885-859: RIMA 2, 218-219: 84-88), followed by “Sidon, Byblos, Mahallatu (*Mahalata), Maišu (*Maisa), Kaišu (*Kaisa), Amurru, and the city Arwad which is (on an island) in the sea”, in a S-N sequence along the coastline from Sidon to Byblos, thence perhaps to *Tripolis or adjacent areas, and to Šimira (= Amurru), ending at Arwad. The king stated that he received the full submission of all these polities, and a rich booty comprising “silver, gold, tin, bronze, a bronze casserole, linen garments with multicoloured trim, a large female monkey, a small female monkey, ebony, boxwood, ivory of *nāhirus* (which are) sea creatures” (*bīnūt tamdi*). (See also RIMA 2, 226: 29-31, on the display of these monkeys to the Ass. people in the new capital city Kalḫu). As noted by Yamada ([2000], 269, fn. 113) the “ivory of *nāhirus*” mentioned here might correspond to the series of small tusks depicted in one of the bronze bands of *Balawat/Imgur-Ellil from the reign of his successor Shalmaneser III as tribute from Tyre and Sidon, although the relevant caption (RIMA 3, 147) only mentions “silver, gold, tin, bronze, wool, lapis lazuli (and) carnelian”.

The transit trade of luxury items from abroad is to be considered a mainstay of Phoen. commerce in all periods (cf. Elat [1991], 23). Thus, the plentiful precious metals in Ashurnasirpal’s (I) list (including the rare asset of tin from west. Mediterr. sources: Zaccagnini [1990], 498) might have passed through the commercial outposts – or perhaps even strategic territorial enclaves – which the Phoen. cities had established northwards, on the coast of the present-day Gulf of Iskenderun and in the Cilician area of south. Turkey (*Cilicia), and which were also marked by extensive interchanges in wares and goods with Cyprus and the *Aegean (Sherratt and Sherratt [1993], 365; Lehmann [2008]). However this may be, Tyre (possibly engaged in a long-term political

union with Sidon, albeit of uncertain dating: Tammuz [2011], 182), even before establishing a formal colony at *Kition in Cyprus sometime in the 9th cent. in order to control the copper trade, had also extended its orbit southwards on the Mediterr. shore and hinterland, thanks to an alliance with Israel ruled by the Omrids (→ OMRI). Thus, *Tel Dor on the Carmel coast exhibits pottery with Phoen. affinities since the 11th cent., and its markedly Phoen. character would end only in the Hellenist. period (Stern [1995], 276-278; Nitschke *et al.* [2011]); *Tell Abu Hawam (in modern Haifa) was a major port city until the late 8th cent.; and Akko with its hinterland in lower *Galilee (*Akzib, Keisan [*Tel Keisan]) shows a restructuring of the territory and an increase in population until the Ass. conquest (Aubet [2013], 792-794). Beyond a primary production founded on fishing and agriculture, Phoen. economy was based on the exploitation and sale of strong and resilient timber – not only from the Lebanon, but also from the *Amanus and *Anti-Lebanon (*Ammanana* in Ass.) ranges – prized for large-scale building activities (Briquel-Chatonnet [1992]; cf. e.g. Elayi [1983], 48, SAACT 10: 102, for Phoen. timber for the temples of Harran and Babylon under Ashurbanipal), which was transferred abroad by sea (to Philistia, Egypt, *Cyprus, and points W) or by animal load overland (to Mesopotamia). These factors were undoubtedly of great interest for the A., especially when the time arrived for their full-bore expansion into the Levant. First and foremost, however, the conquest phase required completion. In the 6th regnal year of Shalmaneser III (853), the king’s forceful attempt to penetrate the areas W of the Euphrates met with massive resistance at Qarqar on the Orontes: and alongside Neo-hittite and Aram. states, the vast west. coalition facing the Ass. army also comprised a mixed Phoen. contingent, formed by 500 men from Byblos (? written *Gu-<bal>-a-a*), 10 chariots and 10,000 soldiers from Arqā (present-day *Tell Arqa, NW of Tripolis; Bagg 2007, 26); 200 soldiers of MATTANBAAL I (1) of Arwad; 200 men from Usnû; 30 chariots and [*n*] troops of Adonbaal of Šiyannu (*Tell Sianu) (RIMA 3, 23: 92-94, and in five more accounts, cf. Yamada 2000, 143). The encounter on the Orontes seems to have ended in a draw of sorts; and the Ass. king bided his time before attacking central-south. Syria and adjacent regions again, with the Phoen. polities regularly cast in the role of submissive tributary entities.



Fig. 18. Assyrian annexation of western states in the 8th cent. BCE

Thus, Shalmaneser's next mention of Tyre – coupled with Sidon – occurs in his 18th campaign (841: RIMA 3, 48: 22'-27; 54: 8-11; 60: 29-30; 78: 134'-136'). After a victorious (but not decisive) encounter with Hazael of Damascus, the Ass. king states: "I marched to Mount Ba'ali-ra'asi, which is a cape (jutting out into) the sea, (and) erected my royal statue there. At that time I received tribute from the people of Tyre (and) Sidon (and) from Jehu (Iaua) of the house of Omri (Humri)".

The mountain called Ba'ali-ra'asi (*Baal Rosh) could plausibly be *Ra's an-Naqla, some 22 km S of Tyre (Bagg 2007, 40): in other passages the tributary king of Tyre is named as Ba'ali-manzēr(i)/manzi (see BAALIMANZER) (PNA 1/II, 242, s.v. "Ba'al-manzēr" 242a [E. Lipiński]; Lipiński [1970]). Three years later, in the 21st year of his reign (838), Shalmaneser again proceeded against Aram-Damascus, then received tribute from Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos, as stated briefly on the Black Obelisk (RIMA 3, 67: 102b-104). The Annals are more expansive on the

subject: "Ba'il, the man of [Tyr]e, submitted to me (and) I received tribute from him. I erected my royal statue in the temple of the city Laruba, his fortified city. Now the tribute of the inhabitants of the lands Tyre, Sidon, (and) Byblos I received. I marched as far as the land Mušuruna" (RIMA 3, 79: 160'-162'). The Tyrian king was probably again Ba'ali-manzēr(i) (Yamada [2000], 208). The name of the fortified city might be emended to *Ma'-ru-ba*, thus yielding a toponym comparable to Ma'rubbu, located between Sidon and Tyre in the inscriptions of ESARHADDON (*ibid.*, 209; Bagg [2007], 171). Mušuruna might be the Jebel 'Āmil SE of Tyre (Bagg [2007], 180).

After Shalmaneser III's powerful and repeated (although not entirely successful) expansionist thrusts beyond the Euphrates, the westward campaigns of Adad-nirari III (810-783) – who ruled over Assyria in a time of internal weakness and stagnation in foreign policy – were limited in number and scope. In the stela of the governor Nergal/Palil-ēreš discovered at Tell al-Rimah, near the Jebel Sinjar, a mention of the tribute of Joash of *Samaria (= ISRAEL), "and of the people of Tyre and Sidon" is included in a reference to "tax and tribute" from "the entire lands of Amurru and Hatti" (RIMA 3, 211: 4-8). After this, the king states: "I marched to the great sea in the West. I erected my lordly statue in the city Arwad, which is on an island in the sea. I ascended Mount Lebanon (and) cut down 100 strong beams of cedar for the requirements of my palace (and) temples" (*ibid.*, 9-12).

A major variant is now known from a version of Nergal/Palil-ēreš's stela from Dur-katlimmu (Radner [2012], 270f., lines 12-18): "I ascended Mount Lebanon. I cut strong logs of cedar. At that time, I placed those cedars from Mount Lebanon in the gate of the temple of the god Salmanu, my lord. The old temple, which Shalmaneser (= I, 1263-1234), my ancestor (lit. 'father') had built, had become dilapidated and I, in a stroke of inspiration, built this temple from its foundations to its parapets. I placed the cedar roof beams from Mount Lebanon on top". The only other mention of the campaigns of Adad-nirari III to Phoenicia (which however occupy at least two years – 803 and 802 – in the eponym lists for his reign: cf. Shea [1978]) is in a summary of conquests: "I subdued (the territory stretching) from the bank of the Euphrates, the land Hatti, the land Amurru in its entirety, Tyre, Sidon, the land of (Bit-)Humri (= Israel), Edom, (and) Palastu (= Philistia), as far as the Great

Sea in the West. I imposed tax (and) tribute upon them” (RIMA 3, 213: 11-14).

With TIGLATH-PILESER III (745-727), the systematic construction of an empire formed by annexing previous vassal countries to Ass. core territory as provinces under direct control began in earnest. In 743, after a victory over the Urartians in pitched battle for hegemony over Syria, and having placed the rebellious Arpad under siege, the king turned a large part of the Levantine coast into a provincial unit: the area of the former kingdom of Hamath W of the Orontes became the province of Simirra, to which further southward-lying territories were added over time (Radner 2006, 58-62). The kings of Tyre during this period – possibly in the sequence (1) Tubail (cf. ITTOBAAL II [3]) – (2) HIRAM II (2) – (3) METENNA (→MATTAN II [2]) – (4) LULI, cf. Cogan [1973], Na’aman [1998] – mainly pledged loyalty to the Ass. ruler (although Hiram took part in the anti-Ass. ‘Syro-Ephraimite’ coalition of Rezin of Damascus and Peqah of Israel: PNA 3/II, 1330a, s.v. “Tukulti-apil-Ešarra” [H. D. Baker]), paid heavy tributes, and were thus spared incorporation in the provincial system. See RINAP 1, 87 [no. 35], III 6-7 for Tubail; 131 [no. 49], rev. 5-8 for Hiram; 123 [no. 47] rev. 16 for Metenna, and *passim*. Letters from this same period regarding Phoenicia illustrate the activities of Qurdi-Aššur-lamur, governor of Simirra, who also had control of Tyre. In one letter (SAA 19, 22: 5-21), the governor tells the king that the Tyrians were free to use their ports of trade, selling and buying with no restrictions, and to collect wood from Mount Lebanon, upon payment of specific taxes to the A. The Sidonians, instead, had made trouble on this count, but they were threatened by Ass. auxiliary troops, and were warned not to sell their wood “to the Egyptians or to the Philistines”. In short, the A. had a monopoly on some aspects of trade and were ready to enforce it – while at the same time keeping good relations with the local population and its leaders (Fales [2009]). However, disregard of Ass. commercial policy could affect even the highest echelon of Tyrian power, viz. king Hiram (SAA 19, 23). Tribute from Metenna of Tyre and from neighbouring towns is also documented (SAA 19, 24). Finally, one letter (SAA 19, 25) reports an Ionian attack on the Levantine coast, which aborted due to Ass. intervention.

SARGON II (722-705) completed his father’s formation of a fully-fledged territorial empire in the Levant,

by punishing rebellious polities, such as Simirra, which sided with the anti-Ass. ruler of Hamath, Ia’u/Ilu-bi’di (PNA 2/I, 497a, s.v. “Iaū-bi’di” [A. Fuchs – S. Parpola]) with the aid of Egypt in 720, and by supporting faithful Phoen. vassals. He thus gave military assistance to Tyre in 715 against Ionian pirates (Fuchs [1994], 319f.: 117-119), and returned to Tyre between 709 and 707 for the support of the local ruler (*Silṭa*, which might be a misunderstood title rather than a name: PNA 3/I, 1112a, s.v. “Silṭa” 669a-b [H. D. Baker]) against his insubordinate Cypr. vassals (Na’aman [1998]; Radner [2010]). However, after a delegation of Cypr. petty rulers had come to invoke Ass. overlordship in 707, Sargon had a stela erected on a high mountain on the island (perhaps above *Kition) marking Cyprus as his westernmost periphery: here he claimed to have submitted “the seven? kings of Ya’, a district of Adnana which is situated in the midst of the Sea of the Setting Sun, a distance of seven days” (Radner [2010], 440f.).

Whether this basically anti-Tyrian move – among others – was a driving cause for the shift of Phoen. commercial interests toward more westerly areas along different routes on both seaboard of the Mediterranean, as held by Frankenstein (1979), is nowadays open to question, especially since recent radiocarbon dating indicates that characteristic Phoen. pottery was present in the Andalusian centre of *Huelva already at the beginning of the 9th cent. (Aubet [2008]), and also indicates the founding of the Tyrian colony of *Carthage ca 835-800, in line with the chronology handed down by classical authors for this event – i.e. much earlier than the Ass. takeover of the Levant. In point of fact, Sargon’s thrust to control Cypr. commerce directly would fit in with the present-day emphasis on maritime trade as the driving force behind the overall economic system of the south. Levant under Ass. domination (cf. e.g. Raban [1998], 436; Faust and Weiss [2005], 85; Katz [2008]) – and possibly also with the establishment of Phoen. specialist (even ‘luxury’) workshops abroad, from south. *Anatolia to Inner Syria to Palestine (as long surmised, e.g. by Bunnens [1985], 129).

SENNACHERIB’s ascent to the throne (704-681) followed his father’s untimely death on the battlefield, and the failed recovery of his body for a ritually proper burial: thus the new king was forced to quell a set of revolts at the outset of his reign. In 701, the king had to deal with a number of Levantine cities, among them the Phoen. polities of *Samsimuruna,

Sidon, Arwad, and Byblos, which had ceased to deliver their annual tribute to the Ass. court. Sidon's fate was special: in the earliest account of the campaign, written in 700, Sennacherib states that king Luli of Sidon, hearing of the advance of the Ass. troops and terrified by this news, fled "far off into the midst of the sea" (Frahm [1997], 53:32). His city and the region controlled by him (reaching from Sidon in the N to Akko in the S) submitted to Sennacherib, and Tuba'lu was seated on the local throne. The remaining kings reaffirmed their loyalty to Assyria, bringing heavy tribute to Sennacherib. As for Tyre, it was besieged and deprived of its territories in favour of Sidon, but in the end retained its status as an independent vassal.

The fate of Luli as described in later Ass. official texts, which indicate Cyprus as his place of refuge, and his (later) demise in exile, combined with the intricacies of his possible identification with the *Eloulaios* mentioned by Menander *apud* Josephus (AJ 9,284), are discussed by E. Frahm (PNA 2/II, 668f., s.v. "Lulî"). The "fortified cities and fortresses" of Sidon, "an area of pastures and water-places, resources upon which he relied", comprised Great Sidon, Lesser Sidon, Bit-zitti, Sariptu (*Sarepta), Mahalliba, Ušû, Akzib and Akko (RINAP 3/I, 65: 32-34).

ESARHADDON'S reign (681-668) has bequeathed plentiful information on Ass.-Phoen. relations. In 677, the rebellious Sidonian ruler ABDI-MILKUTTI, "who did not fear my lordship (and) did not listen to the words of my lips, (and) who trusted in the rolling sea" (RINAP 4, 16: 65-67) received a three-year siege by the Assyria army. Sidon was severely punished, with the levelling of its walls and the deportation of its people; the rebel king escaped by boat, but was caught and beheaded. Two Sidonian cities were returned to pro-Ass. king BAAL of Tyre. Sidon itself was rebuilt and renamed Kar-Esarhaddon ("Esarhaddon's Port") as capital of an autonomous province. In 676 BC, Tyre was subjected to a treaty with Assyria, which allowed the local king Baal to trade with a number of Ass.-controlled entrepôts or emporiums (*kārus*) on the seacoast, from Akko, Dor, all of Philistia to Gubla/Byblos and the Lebanon, against a payment of taxes (SAA 2, 5) (→TREATIES). A further proviso here, however, possibly to counteract the growth of piracy and unlawful smuggling, allowed the A. to confiscate the cargo of any Tyrian craft shipwrecked along the coast (for archaeological evidence of shipwrecks of

"rounded and beamy" freighters, laden with prize wines, off the coast of *Ashkelon, cf. e.g. Ballard *et al.* 2002).

That the Ass. emporia were established separately, but presumably not far, from the local quays, is apparent in the case of Arwad – where the rules of a pro-Ass. commercial agreement possibly similar to Tyre's were blatantly violated by king Iakin-lû (YAKINLU), as denounced in a letter from the late reign of Esarhaddon or the early years of his successor (SAA 16, 127). Since Mattan-Baal (MATTANBAAL) is recorded as the king of Arwad during Esarhaddon's reign (e.g. RINAP 4, 23: 60), and Iakin-lû is said to have submitted to Ashurbanipal for the first time (PNA 2/II, 488b, s.v. "Iakīn-Lû" [J. S. Tenney]), this letter should be dated either to the time of the transition of power upon Esarhaddon's death on his second Egypt. campaign in 669 or later (as suggested e.g. by Elayi [1983], 50f.). A few years later (671), however, Tyre rebelled, siding with Taharqa of Egypt (Kahn [2004]), and was the object of a blockade from the mainland which cut its supplies, causing its surrender (RINAP 4, 87: 12'-14'). The territories belonging to Tyre were reorganized as an Ass. province already by Esarhaddon or in the early years of his successor (Na'aman [1994]).

ASHURBANIPAL (668-631) was mainly engaged in maintaining the territorial heritage in Phoenicia established by his father, against the background of growing Egyptian power. As for Iakin-lû of Arwad, an undated oracular query to the Sun-god regards a message (presumably of political *détente*) which Ashurbanipal wished to send to the Phoen. king (SAA 4, 89). On Ashurbanipal's first campaign against Egypt, the king of Arwad appears in a list of 22 Levantine and Cypr. rulers (with Tyre, Byblos, Samsimuruna, for the Phoen. cities) as paying him homage and assisting him with men and sea-craft (RINAP 5/I, 118: II 25'-55' and *passim*). The account of the king's third campaign stresses the fact that Iakin-lû, together with the kings of Tabal and Hilakku, paid homage to Ashurbanipal and "brought their daughters, their own offspring, to Nineveh to serve as housekeepers, together with a substantial dowry and a large marriage gift, and they kissed my feet" (RINAP 5/I, 88: II 45'-48' and *passim*). The daughter is omitted in a further account which, however, reports the Arwadite's yearly tribute: gold, reddish wool, dark wool, fish, and birds (PNA 2/II, 488b, s.v. "Iakīn-Lû" [J. S. Tenney]; SAACT 10, 102). Later, on the death of Iakin-lû, his

sons Az(z)IBAAL, ABIBAAL and ADONIBAAL, “who reside in the middle of the sea, came up from the middle of the sea, came with their substantial audience gift(s)” and paid homage to the Ass. king. The eldest son was installed as king of Arwad, whereas the other two brothers were given gifts and taken into royal service (RINAP 5/I, 64, II 75-86 and *passim*).

Quite different was the fate reserved for Baal of Tyre, who had also recognized the new Ass. ruler on his first campaign. In 662, however, probably due to a new rebellion, Ashurbanipal followed in his father's footsteps by setting up blockades at every access point to the city, obtaining Baal's submission (RINAP 5/I, 63: II 38-48 and *passim*). To ensure his loyalty, his son YAHIMILK, one of his daughters and several of his nieces were taken to Nineveh, and Ashurbanipal dismantled the blockades and reopened the trade-routes (*ibid.*, 50-62 and *passim*). However, Tyre did not remain loyal for the duration of Ashurbanipal's reign – whether under Baal or his successors. Sometime during his third decade on the throne (ca 645-642), the Ass. army was forced to return to the region. Ušû, the mainland portion of Tyre, was attacked and looted due to disobedience against the Ass. governors. Akko was also sacked and its people deported (RINAP 5/I, 258, IX 115-128). This item is chronologically the last piece of information on Ass. policy concerning Phoenicia at present available (Fales [2017]).

Lipiński, E. (1970) *RSO*, 45, 59-65; Cogan, M. (1973) *JCS*, 25, 96-99; Goedicke, H. (1975) *The Report of Wenamun*. Baltimore; Shea, W. (1978) *JCS*, 30, 101-113; Frankenstein, S. (1979) The Phoenicians in the Far West: a function of Assyrian imperialism. In: Larsen, M. T. (ed.) *Power and propaganda. A symposium on ancient empires*. Copenhagen, 263-294; De Graeve, M.-C. (1981) *The ships of the Ancient Near East (c. 2000-500 BC)*. OLA 7. Leuven; Elayi, J. (1983) *RA*, 77, 45-58; Bunnens, G. (1985) Le luxe phénicien d'après les inscriptions royales assyriennes. In: StPhoen 3, 121-134; Zaccagnini, C. (1990) *JAOS*, 110, 493-502; Beitzel, B. J. (1991) *BibAr*, 54, 64-75; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1991) *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*. OLA 46 = StPhoen 12. Leuven; Fuchs, A. (1994) *Die Inschriften Sargons II aus Khorsabad*. Vienna; Na'aman, N. (1994) *RSF*, 22, 3-8; Xella, P. (1995) Les sources cunéiformes. In: Krings, V. (1995), 39-56; Bass, G. F. (1995-1996) Sea and river craft in the Ancient Near East. In: Sasson, J. M. (ed.) *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*. IV. New York, 1421-1431; Bär, J. (1996) *Der assyrische Tribut und seine Darstellung*. AOAT 243. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn; Saporetti, C. (1996) Il problema del *nahiru*. In: *Studi Moscati*, III, 1223-1231; Elat, M. (1998) Die wirtschaftlichen Beziehungen der Assyrer mit den Arabern. In: Maul, S. M. (ed.) *Tikip santakki mala bašmu. Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburts-*

tag am 24. Mai 1994. Groningen, 39-57; Na'aman, N. (1998) *Or*, 67, 239-247; Raban, A. (1998) Near Eastern harbors: thirteenth-seventh centuries BCE. In: Gitin, S. et al. (eds) *Mediterranean peoples in transition: thirteenth to early tenth centuries BCE in honor of Professor Trude Dothan*. Jerusalem, 428-438; Bordreuil, P. and Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (2000) Tiglat-Phalasar I a-t-il pêché ou chassé le Nahiru? In: Parayre, D. (ed.) *Les animaux et les hommes dans le monde syro-mésopotamien aux époques historiques*. Topoi Supplément 2. Paris, 117-124; Yamada, S. (2000) *The construction of the Assyrian empire. A historical study of the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) relating to his campaigns to the West*. CHANE 3. Leiden/Boston; Fales, F. M. (2001) *L'impero assiro: storia e amministrazione (IX-VII sec. a.C.)*. Rome/Bari; Stern, E. (2001) *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible, II: The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian periods*. New York/London; Ballard, R. D. et al. (2002) *AJA*, 106, 151-168; Sass, B. (2002) *Ägypten und Levante*, 12, 247-255; Vita, J.-P. (2002) *Estudios Orientales*, 5-6, 425-438; Roche, C. (2003) *Berytus*, 47, 123-128; Kahn, D. (2004) *JSSEA*, 31, 109-128; Faust, A. and Weiss E. (2005) *BASOR*, 338, 71-92; Gilboa, A. (2005) *BASOR*, 337, 47-78; Radner K. (2006) Provinz: C. Assyrien. In: *RIA*, 11, 42-68; Bagg, A. M. (2007). *RGTC* 7/1; Favaro, S. (2007) *Voyages et voyageurs à l'époque néo-assyrienne*. SAA Studies 17. Helsinki; Aubet, M. E. (2008) Political and economic implications of the new Phoenician chronologies. In: Sagona, C. (ed.) *Beyond the homeland: markers in Phoenician chronology*. OLA 44. Leuven, 247-259; Caubet, A. (2008) Encore le *nahiru*. In: Roche, C. (ed.) *D'Ougarit à Jérusalem. Recueil d'études épigraphiques et archéologiques offert à Pierre Bordreuil*. Paris, 129-132; Katz, H. (2008) *ZDPV*, 124, 128-142; Lehmann, G. (2008) North Syria and Cilicia, ca. 1200-330 BCE. In: Sagona, C. (ed.) cit., 205-246; Yamada, S. (2008) Qurdi-Assur-lamur: His letters and career. In: Cogan, M. and Kahn, D. (eds) *Treasures on camels' humps: historical and literary studies from the Ancient Near East presented to Israel Eph'al*. Jerusalem, 296-311; Fales, F. M. (2009) “To speak kindly to him/them” as item of Assyrian political discourse. In: Luukko, M. et al. (eds) *Of god(s), trees, kings, and scholars: Neo-Assyrian and related studies in honour of Simo Parpola*. Helsinki, 27-39; Devecchi, E. (2010) *ZA*, 100, 242-256; Radner, K. (2010) The stele of Sargon II of Assyria at Kition: a focus for an emerging Cypriot identity? In: Rollinger R. et al. (eds) *Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt: Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts*. Wiesbaden, 429-450; Van Dongen, E. (2010) ‘Phoenicia’: naming and defining a region in Syria-Palestine. In: Rollinger R. et al. (eds) cit., 471-488; Nitschke, J. L., Martin, S. R. and Shalev, Y. (2011) *NEA*, 74, 132-154; Tammuz, O. (2011) *RSF*, 39, 177-209; Lundström, S. (2012) The hunt is on again! Tiglath-pileser I's and Aššur-bel-kala's *nāhiru*-sculptures in Assur. In: Baker, H. D., Kaniuth, K. and Otto, A. (eds), *Stories of long ago. Festschrift Michael D. Roaf*. AOAT 397. Münster, 323-338; Radner, K. (2012) *AoF*, 39, 265-277; Aubet, M. E. (2013) Phoenicia during the Iron Age II period. In: Steiner, M. L. and Killebrew, A. E. (eds) *The Oxford Handbook of the archaeology of the Levant, c. 8000-332 BCE*. Oxford, 706-716; Liverani, M. (2014) *The Ancient Near East: History, society and economy*. London/New York; Tubb, J. N. (2014) Phoenicians and Aramaeans. In: Aruz, J. et al. (eds) *Assyria to Iberia at the dawn of the Classical Age*. New York, 132-135; Liverani, M. (2017) *Assyria: the Imperial Mission*. Winona Lake; Fales, F. M. (2017) Phoenicia in the Neo-Assyrian period: An updated overview. In: *SAAB* 23, 181-295.

ASTHARYMOS

Gk Ἀσθάρυμος (from Phoen. theophoric PN *ʾštrt'm*, “Astarte is mother”, which does not occur in the epigraphical sources).

King of *Tyre, he succeeded his brother METHOUSAS-TRATOS, and ruled for nine years in the first half of the 9th cent. BCE. He was assassinated by his brother and successor PHELLES (Joseph. *Ap.* 1,123).

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 128; Mazza, F. (1983) Le fonti classiche per la più antica storia fenicia: Giuseppe Flavio e la dinastia dei re di Tiro. In: *APC* 1, 239-243; Lipiński, E. (2006) *On the skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age*. OLA 153. Leuven, 171ff.

G. MINUNNO

Atherbaal see MAHARBAAL (6)

ATHYR

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 1,412.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 205.

ATILIUS REGULUS, MARCUS

Rom. *consul* in 256 BCE during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), A. R. led an expedition against *Carthage. After an initial success he was defeated and taken prisoner. According to tradition, he was sent to ROME to negotiate an exchange of prisoners (or for peace), but in the Senate he went against the Carthag. proposal. To keep his word he then returned to Carthage, where he was tortured to death (there are various accounts of his torments). This tradition, which has no historical basis, made A. R. a shining example of Rom. *fides* in contrast to the *perfidia* and *fraus* considered to be characteristic of the Carthaginians.

Mix, E. R. (1970) *Marcus Atilius Regulus exemplum historicum*. The Hague/Paris; Fantar, M. H. (1989) Regulus en Afrique. In: *StPhoen* 10, 75-84; *DCPP*, s.v. “Régulus” (M. Dubuisson – E. Lipiński); Le Bohec, Y. (1997) *AntAfr.* 33, 87-93; Tipps, G. K. (2003) *CW*, 96, 375-385; Williams, G. D. (2004) *Antichthon*, 38, 70-98; Minunno, G. (2005) *LEC*, 73, 217-234.

G. MINUNNO

AUTARITUS

Gk Αὐτάριτος.

Chief of the Celtic MERCENARIES in the service of HAMILCAR (9) in *Sicily during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). Not having received the compensation agreed at the end of the war, in 241 BCE, he went to Africa with two thousand men, where he joined the mercenary revolt. Polybius (1,77-86) argues that after his long army service he had a good knowledge of Punic. Captured by Hamilcar, together with the other leaders of the rebellion during their negotiations, he was crucified (*Crucifixion) in about 239.

Loreto, L. (1995) *La grande insurrezione libica contro Cartagine del 242-237 a.C. Una storia politica e militare*. CEFR 211. Rome, esp. 108f.; Pelegrín Campo, J. (1999) *Polis*, 11, 161-195; Hoyos, D. (2007) *Truceless war: Carthage's fight for survival, 241-237 B.C.* Leiden/Boston.

U. LIVADIOTTI

Awarikku see AZITAWADA

Awil-Marduk see BABYLONIANS

AYNEL

Phoen. theophoric PN *ʾyn'l* or *ʾynl*, “Eye of El/the god”; Akk. *Eni-i-ilu*; Gk Ἐνυλος.

The last king of *Byblos, A. succeeded ADARMILK (375-350 BCE) and ruled from 335 to 333. In 332, he put his fleet, in the Aegean Sea, at the service of the Pers. king, Darius III (→PERSIANS). However, when ALEXANDER THE GREAT captured Byblos, those ships also took part in the Macedonian's siege of *Tyre (Arr. *An.* 2,20,1). During his reign, A. minted his own silver coins. On the Obv.: a war ship upon waves with one, two or three soldiers (on staters), a Corinthian helmet, a winged seahorse on the left and a murex below the waves; on the Rev.: a lion about to bite a crouching bull. In contrast, the minor series is anepigraphic. On the Rev. of the staters either the letter sequence *alef-kaf* or the legend *ʾyn'l mlk gbl*, “Aynel king of Byblos” appears. The coins issued by A. [FIG. 19] have a more debased style than the previous series by AZ(Z)IBAAL (4) and Adarmilk, which suggests that he may have used the coins of his predecessors, without making any changes. However, it



Fig. 19. Coin of Aynel king of Byblos

appears that under A.'s reign, the mint at Byblos had issued the maximum amount of coins (→*Numismatics). After the conquests of Alexander the Great, A. does not seem to have minted any more autonomous coins of that city, adopting instead the Alexandrine tetradrachm on which the letters 'y' appear, read by J. and A. G. Elayi as an abbreviation of the king's name.

PNPPI, 377; DCPPI, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Sole, L. (1997) *SEAP*, 16, 75-125; Sole, L. (1998) *SEAP*, 18, 81-148; Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans* 15. Paris, 144f.173ff.215f. and *passim*; Elayi, J. (2013) *Histoire de la Phénicie*. Paris, 256ff.; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2014) *Monetary and political history of the Phoenician city of Byblos (5th-4th cent. BCE)*. Winona Lake, *passim*; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2014) *Phoenician coinages*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 18. Pendé, 151-220.

L.-I. MANFREDI

AZ(Z)IBAAL

Phoen. and Pun. 'zb'l, "(My) strength is Baal"; Akk. *A-zi-ba-a-al*, *A-zi-ba-al*; Gk Ἀζβάλος. Theophoric PN of several historical characters.

PNPPI, 165.374.

1. The son of YAKINLU, king of *Arwad, who was placed on his father's throne by the Ass. king ASHUR-BANIPAL around the mid-7th cent. BCE.

ARAB II, 783.848; Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L'VIII e il VII secolo*. Pisa, 222.232ff.; PNA I,1, 239, s.v. "Azi-Ba'al" (1) (K. Radner); Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 112f.

2. The father of MAHARBAAL (2) of Arwad, one of the commanders of the fleet with which XERXES invaded Greece (Hdt. 7,98). A. was probably the king of

Arwad between the end of the 6th and the beginning of the 5th cent. BCE.

Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 136f.

3. King of *Kition in the first half of the 5th cent. BCE (ca 470-450?), son and successor of BAALMILK I (2); he bore the double title "King of Kition and Idalion". His name occurs on coins and in two inscriptions of his son and successor BAALMILK II (3).

Hill, G. F. (1904) *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Cyprus*. London, xxxii, Pl. III.1-9; Honeyman, A. M. (1939) *Iraq*, 6, 103-110; Yon, M. (1987) *Le royaume de Kition, I: Du IX^e au VI^e s. av. J.-C.* In: *StPhoen* 5, 357-374; Yon, M. (1992) *Le royaume de Kition. Époque classique*. In: *StPhoen* 9, 243-260.

4. King of *Byblos, he ruled in the first half of the 4th cent. BCE. Probably he was not of royal lineage, as his father PALTIBAAL (*plṭb'l*) bore only the title "priest of the *Baalat" (→*Priesthood). It is probable that he founded a new Byblian dynasty (→DYNASTIES). A. occurs in the funerary inscription of his mother BATNOAM (*KAI* 11 = *TSSI* III, 99-100) and also on coins.

Hill, G. F. (1910) *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Phoenicia*. London, lxxvii-lxxviii, 95, Pl. XI.12-15; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 15. Paris, 214f. and *passim*.

G. MINUNNO

AZ(Z)IMILK

Phoen. 'zmlk, "My strength is the king/*Milk*"; Gk Ἀζεμίλκος. Theophoric PN of one or both of the last kings of *Tyre.

In 333/332 BCE, while A. was with the Pers. fleet under the command of Autophradates, an embassy that included his son went to ALEXANDER THE GREAT, who was in *Phoenicia, to offer him the subjugation of the city. When the Macedonian king seized the city, A. took refuge in the temple of *Melqart and was spared. A series of coins with the legend 'zmlk and several seals have been found. Instead, the series with the inscription '(zmlk) could belong to a second A., his son or grandson and his successor on the throne of Tyre.

Main source: Arr. *An.* 2,15,7 and 24,5.

PNPPI, 165-167.374; Lemaire, A. (1976) *RN*, 18, 11-14; Greenfield, J. C. (1985) *IEJ*, 35, 129-134; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 15. Paris, 173.

G. MINUNNO

AZITAWADA

Phoen. *ʾztwd*, PN which means “Beloved of Tiwat”. It occurs in the bilingual (Phoen./Luwian) (→LUWIANS) inscription from *Karatepe (*KAI* 26) as the name of its author. His position was “Palace administrator of Baal” (*KAI* 26 A 1). Since A. neither mentions his ancestry nor claims the royal title for himself, he cannot be considered as a king. Due to his appointment by Awarikku, the king of Adana (*KAI* 26 A 2-3), more probably he seems to be a vassal. This is also supported by the fact that he cares to assert his loyalty about the well-being of the inhabitants of the country and the succession in the house of Awarikku in Adana (*KAI* 26 A 3-11). At the request of the gods *Baal and *Reshep *Šprm*, he also built the fortress on Karatepe, which he called Azatiwadaja, after his own name and in which he established the cult of the god *Baal *Krntryš* (“Baal of the club”) (*KAI* 26 A 9-11). The Karatepe inscription, composed by A. in Luwian and written in the hieroglyphic script, was subsequently translated into Phoenician. This indicates the

PHOENICIANS to be the decisive cultural factor in south. *Anatolia, since they possessed an international language and a script that was readable across regions. This is confirmed by the Phoen. inscriptions from Sam'al (*KAI* 24; see *Zincirli), *Hassan Beyli, *Cineköy, *Ivriz, and *Incirli, which are also bilingual (Phoen./Luwian). The governorship of A. may be approximately dated between 720 and 700 BCE. In terms of the literary genre, the texts of Karatepe are monumental inscriptions, listing the major achievements and works of A. and containing curses against anyone attempting to destroy them.

Lipiński, E. (1974) *RSF*, 2, 45-61, esp. 45-47; Bron, F. (1979) *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe*. HEO 11. Genève/Paris; Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. and Archi, A. (1980) *VO*, 3, 85-102; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Röllig, W. (1992) Asia Minor as a bridge between East and West: The role of the Phoenicians and Aramaeans in the transfer of culture. In: Kopcke, G. and Tokumaru, I. (eds) *Greece between East and West: 10th-8th centuries BC*. Mainz, 93-102; Lawson Younger, K. (1998) *JSS*, 43, 11-47; Röllig, W. (1999) The Phoenician inscriptions. In: Çambel, H. (ed.) *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions II*. UISK 8.2. Berlin, 50-81; Müller, H.-P. (2001) *RSF*, 29, 13-26; Çambel, H. and Özyar, A. (2003) *Karatepe – Arslantaş – Azatiwataya. Die Bildwerke*. Mainz; Lemaire, A. (2008) *Diogenes*, 218, 44-57, esp. 51f.; Schmitz, Ph. (2009) *KUSATU*, 10, 119-160.

H. NIEHR

Azitawatiya see AZITAWADA

B

BAAL

Phoen. PN *b'l*, perhaps hypocoristic.

PNPPI, 288-290.

1. B. I, king of *Tyre, lived in the first half of the 7th cent. BCE and was a contemporary of the Ass. king ESARHADDON (681-668). When the latter besieged and looted *Sidon (677), B. received from him the cities of *Ma'rubbu and *Sarepta, as a reward for his pro-Ass. attitude. One report states that B., together with other vassal kings “from the Land of Hatti and from the shore of the sea” – including MILKYASAP king of *Byblos and MATTANBAAL III (3) king of *Arwad – supplied the Ass. king with wood and other materials for the construction of his new royal palace in Nineveh. Subsequently, B. seems to have pursued a pro-Egypt. policy, because even Tyre ended up being besieged by Esarhaddon. Even though completely encircled, with all its supply routes, by land or sea, blocked, Tyre did not capitulate (RINAP 5/I, 63: II, 38-48 and *passim*). However, these circumstances and the general situation forced B. to renew his submission to the ASSYRIANS. The treaty he signed with Esarhaddon (SAA 2, 5) (→TREATIES) must surely refer to these events.

Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 15. Paris, 84ff.

2. B. II, king of Tyre (ca 573/572-564/563), succeeded ITTOBAAL III (3) – whether in the same dynastic line or not is unknown – after the siege of that city by →NEBUCHADNEZZAR (Joseph. *Ap.* 1,156)

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 259ff. 332ff.; Elayi, J. (1983) *RA*, 77, 45-58; *DCPP*, s.v. (G. Bunnens).

P. XELLA

BAALAZOR

Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *b'l'zr*, “Baal helped”; Gk Βαλέζωρος, Βαλάτορος.

PNPPI, 96f.375f.

1. B. (Βαλέζωρος), king of *Tyre mentioned by Joseph. *Ap.* 1,124 is to be identified with →BAALIMANZER II (2).

2. B. ruled over Tyre for one year ca 556 BCE, succeeding MATTAN (5) and GERASTRATOS (1) (Joseph. *Ap.* 1,157).

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 342f.; Mazza, F. (1983) Le fonti classiche per la più antica storia fenicia: Giuseppe Flavio e la dinastia dei re di Tiro. In: *APC* 1, 239-243.

G. MINUNNO

BAALHANON

Phoen. and Pun. *b'l'hnn*, *b'l'hn'*, “Baal was gracious”, a very popular theophoric PN; Akk. *Ba-'al-ḥa-nu-nu*.

B. was one of the sons of YAKINLU, king of *Arwad, who after his father's violent death went with his brothers to Nineveh to honour and curry the favour of the Ass. king ASHURBANIPAL with rich gifts. In fact that king, in the 3rd year of his reign (665 BCE), had harshly repressed the attempts by *Tyre and Arwad to free themselves from Ass. domination, taking advantage of the Egypt. rebellion led by Pharaoh Taharqa.

PPNPI, 90-93.313-315; Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 222; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); PNA 1/II, 241, s.v. “Ba'al-ḥanūnu” (E. Lipiński); Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 106ff.

F. MAZZA

BAALIMANZER

Phoen. theophoric PN *b'lm'zr* (which does not occur in Phoen. inscriptions), “Baal is an aid”; Akk. *Ba-'a-il-ma-an-zi*, *Ba-'a-li-ma-an-Numun*; Gk Βαλβάζερος. Name of two kings of *Tyre.

1. B. I, the son of HIRAM I and his successor to the throne of Tyre, lived 43 years and ruled for 17 years in the second half of the 10th cent. BCE (Joseph. *Ap.* 1,121). He was succeeded by his son Abdastratos (→ABDASHTART I).

Mazza, F. (1983) Le fonti classiche per la più antica storia fenicia: Giuseppe Flavio e la dinastia dei re di Tiro. In: *APC* 1, 239-243; Lipiński, E. (2006) *On the skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age*. OLA 153. Leuven, 170.174.176.

2. B. II, the son of ITTOBAAL II (3) and his successor to the throne of Tyre, lived 45 years and ruled for 6 years. He was succeeded by his son MATTAN (2) (Joseph. *Ap.* 1,124-125). In the 18th year of the reign of SHALMANESER III (841 BCE), he paid tribute to the Ass. king. In Josephus he appears as Βαλέζωρος (cf. BAALAZOR I [1]).

Lipiński, E. (1970) *RSO*, 45, 59-65; Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 118f.167-185; PNA 1/II, 242, s.v. “Ba’al-manzēr” (E. Lipiński); Lipiński, E. (2006) *On the skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age*. OLA 153. Leuven, 170ff.180.183.

G. MINUNNO

Baalimanzir see BAALIMANZER

Baalmalok see BAALMILK

Baalmanzer see BAALIMANZER

BAALMILK

Very rare theophoric PN, Phoen *b’lmlk*, “Baal is/ became king” or “Baal rules”, depending on the vocalization; Akk. *Ba’-’al-ma-lu-ku*.

PNPPI, 96.344f.

1. Name of one of the sons of YAKINLU, king of *Arwad (7th cent. BCE), who accompanied his brothers to Nineveh after his father’s violent death, to honour the Ass. king ASHURBANIPAL and curry his favour with rich gifts. They attended the Ass. court with these gifts, and were welcomed and honoured by Ashurbanipal.

PNA 1/II, 242, s.v. “Ba’al-maluku” (E. Lipiński).

2. B. I, king of *Kition at the beginning of the 5th cent. BCE (ca 479-470), the father of Az(z)IBAAL, is known thanks to the coins he issued and to two inscriptions of his grandson B. II (3).

Honeyman, A. M. (1939) *Iraq*, 6, 103-110; Yon, M. (1987) Le royaume de Kition, I: Du IXe au VIe s. av. J.-C. In: *StPhoen* 5, 357-374; Yon, M. (1992) Le royaume de Kition. Époque classique. In: *StPhoen* 9, 243-260.

3. B. II, king of Kition and *Idalion, the son of Az(z)IBAAL and grandson of B. I (2); he reigned during the second half of the 5th cent. BCE ca.

4. B., the son of Milkyaton (*mlkytn*), is attested as a **miqim elim* (*mqm ’lm mtrh štrny*) in a 2nd (?) cent. BCE bilingual (Gk/Phoen.) text from *Rhodes, inscribed on a fragment of white marble found in a sacred area (*KAI* 44 = *TSSI* III, 39). The Gk text is damaged, but it is possible to read the letters μυλ, and it has been conjectured that they represent Mylitta/Mulissu, mentioned by Herodotus (1,131) as the name of the goddess Ninlil, corresponding to *Astarte.

Fraser, P. M. (1970) *BSA*, 65, 31-36; Dalley, S. (1979) *RA*, 73, 177f.; Bonnet, C. (1988), 377.

5. Βααλμάλακος is a character of Phoen. origin mentioned in the Zeno Papyrus (VI 16538) under the rule of the Ptolemies in the 3rd cent. BCE (→LAGIDS).

DCPP, s.v. (5) (E. Lipiński).

P. XELLA

BAALROM

Phoen. theophoric PN *b’lrm*, “Baal is exalted”.

PNPPI, 98.408f.

1. B. king of *Kition around 400 BCE is only known from coin legends.

Hill, G. F. (1904) *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Cyprus*. London, xxxiii-xxxv, Pl. IV, 17; XIX.4f.

2. B. was the father of MILKYATON king of Kition and *Idalion. The inscriptions that mention him (*CIS* I, 88 and 90: cf. *IK* III F 1) do not give him a royal title.

3. A B. belonging to the same dynasty is mentioned in a bilingual (Phoen./Cypr.) inscription from Idalion, dated to the 4th year of the reign of MILKYATON

(*CIS* I, 89 = *KAI* 39), with the title of *ʾdn* (corresponding to *wa-na-xe* in the Cypr. version), borne by several sons and brothers of the kings in *Cyprus.

Yon, M. (1992) Le royaume de Kition. Époque classique. In: *StPhoen* 9, 43-60; Yon, M. and Childs, W. A. P. (1997) *BASOR*, 308, 9-17.

G. MINUNNO

BAALSHAMAR

Theophoric PN *bʾlšmr*, “Baal has guarded/protected”, rarely attested in Phoen. and Pun. *Onomastics.

B. was “chief of the doorkeepers” (*rb šʾrm*) and the recipient of a commemorative funerary stela dated to the 3rd-2nd cent. BCE erected and dedicated at *Umm el-Amed by his son ABDOSIR (1), who had the same title (*UeA*, no. 16) [FIG. 20]. This office is mentioned elsewhere in Phoen. inscriptions and reflects a high rank in the priestly hierarchy (→*Priesthood). In this case, it was probably inherited through the family.

PNPPI, 100.421f.; *UeA*, 194, no. 16.

P. XELLA



Fig. 20. Funerary stela of Baalshamar (Umm el-Amed)

BAALSHILLEK

Theophoric PN *bʾlšk*, “Baal has provided/nourished”, frequent in Pun. *Onomastics.

B. the son of *wyʾln*, is mentioned as *rb hmštrt*, “chief intendant/administrator” – a function that may also have had military implications – on a votive inscription from the *tophet of El-Hofra (*Constantine) (*EH* 75). See also MAGO (17).

PNPPI, 98-100.416f.; *DNWSI* II, s.v. *mštr* and *mštrh*, 700; Szymer, M. In: *SPC*, 83.

P. XELLA

BAALSHILLEM

Theophoric Phoen. and Pun. PN *bʾlšlm*, “Baal has rewarded”.

PNPPI, 100.288-290.417f.

1. B. I is a king of *Sidon, father of the king ABDAMON, grandfather of king BAANA and great-grandfather of BAALSHILLEM II (2), whose reign has been dated to the second third of the 5th cent. BCE. B. I is named in the genealogy of a votive inscription (*TSSI* III, 29: Beirut, Archaeological Museum) – found in 1963-1964 during the excavations by M. Dunand in the sanctuary of Bostan-esh-Sheikh, in the hinterland of Sidon – dedicated to Baalshillem (II), his great-grandson, then still a child. B. I is probably the founder of a new dynasty (→DYNASTIES). Coins with the siglum *b* have been attributed to him.

2. B. II (?), the son of BAANA, while still a child and without the title of king, was the person who dedicated the inscription mentioned above, engraved on the base of the marble statue of a so-called *Temple-boy, which very probably depicts him [Fig. 21]. The text contains his genealogy up to his great-grandfather (B. I). The boy depicted has been identified as B. II, king of Sidon known from *Numismatics, whose reign has been set between 401 and 366 BCE based on the coins that bear the siglum *ʾb* and, for the first time, mention his regnal years.

3. B. son of Sesmay (*ssmy*) is the author of a bilingual (Gk/Phoen.) inscription (*CIS* I, 95 = *KAI* 42 =

Le Bas-Waddington 2778) found in Larnax-tis-Lapithou, close to ancient *Lapethos. It is dedicated to *Anat ‘z *hym*, “force of life/the living”, *Athena Soteira Nike* in the Gk section, and to the “Lord of the kings” Ptolemy (Ptolemy I), from the beginning of the 3rd cent. BCE (→LAGIDS). B. is a Phoenician from *Cyprus, who transposed his name and patronymic into Greek as *Praxidemos Sesmaos*. The inscription probably commemorates Ptolemy’s definitive victory over Cyprus in 295, even if other circumstances have been proposed. B. is one of the first to use the Gk alphabet instead of the Cyprosyllabic system. Hypothetically, he has been identified as Praxidemos, priest of Poseidon Narnakios who left an inscription in Greek in Lapethos (Le Bas-Waddington 2779).

Dunand, M. (1965) *BMB*, 18, 105-109; Röllig, W. (1969-1970) *WO*, 5, 121-124; Mullen, E. T. (1974) *BAOR*, 216, 25-30; Huss, W. (1977) *ZDPV*, 93, 136-138; Masson, O. (1977) *BCH*, 101, 323-327; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Elayi, J. (2005) *‘Abd’āstart Ier / Straton de Sidon: un roi phénicien entre Orient et Occident*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 12. Paris, 31ff.; Mathys, H.-P. (2005) *Die phönizischen Inschriften*. In: Stucky, R. et al. (eds) *Das Eschmun-Heiligtum von Sidon. Architektur und Inschriften*. AK Beiheft 19. Basel, 277-279 (Ph. 2); Elayi, J. (2006) *Trans*, 32, 11-43, esp. 14-21; Elayi, J. (2008) On dating the reigns of Phoenician kings in the Persian period. In: Sagona, C. (ed.) *Beyond the homeland: markers in Phoenician chronology*. ANES Suppl. 28. Leuven/Paris/Dudley, 97-112, esp. 104-107; Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. (2015) *Or*, 84, 29-40.

M. G. AMADASI GUZZO



Fig. 21. Statue and inscription of Baalshillem (2)
(Bostan esh-Sheikh, Sidon)

BAALYASOP

Phoen. theophoric PN *b’lysp*, “Baal added (another son)”; Akk. *Ba-(‘)-al-ia-šu-pu*.

Name of one of the sons of YAKINLU, king of *Arwad, who accompanied his brothers to Nineveh after his father’s violent death, to honour the Ass. king ASHURBANIPAL and curry his favour with rich gifts. In fact, that king, in the 3rd year of his reign (665 BCE), had harshly repressed the attempts by *Tyre and Arwad to free themselves from Ass. domination, taking advantage of the Egypt. rebellion led by Pharaoh Taharqa.

PNPPI, 94.323f.; Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. LVIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 222; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 106ff.

F. MAZZA

BAALYATON

Theophoric Phoen. and Pun. PN *b’lytn*, “Baal has given”, common in the Levant but mostly in the west. Mediterranean.

PNPPI, 94-96.328ff.

Among those who had this name, the following are particularly worth mentioning.

1. B., the son of ABDHOR, was a priest of the god *Milkashtart (→*Priesthood). He is mentioned (and depicted) on a funerary stela from the temple of Milkashtart at *Umm el-Amed, dating to the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. BCE [Fig. 22].

ESE II, 55f.; *RÉS* 307; *UeA*, 188, no. 6 and Pl. LXXIX,3; *Art Phénicien*, 144, no. 157.

2. B. the son of another Baalyaton was a Rab (*rb*), an important administrative and political office. He is mentioned (and depicted) on a commemorative funerary stela (*mšbt skr*) from the temple of Milkashtart at Umm el-Amed, dating to the 2nd half of the 2nd cent. BCE.

UeA, 187f., no. 5 and Pl. LXXVII; Teixidor, J. (1979) *Syria*, 29, 9-17.

P. XELLA



Fig. 22. Funerary stela of Baalyaton priest of Milkashtart (Umm el-Amed)

BAANA

Phoen. PN *b'n'*, difficult to interpret (considered as a double hypocoristic by E. Lipiński). This name also occurs in the *Old Testament (1 Kgs 4,12.16).

1. An otherwise unknown B. appears on a pair of horse blinkers from *Idalion, dated to the 8th cent. BCE, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (Cabinet des Médailles: coll. Duc de Luynes, 2026-2027). The blinkers can be dated to the end of the reign of Acestor and probably come from royal grave goods, like other similar samples found in *Salamis, *Cyprus (cf. Karageorghis [1973]). However, it is difficult to determine whether the name engraved on the blinkers refers to the artisan who produced them, to the prince who owned them or to the charioteer who commissioned them.

2. B. king of *Sidon in the 5th cent. BCE was the father of BAALSHILLEM II (2) and the son of ABDAMON, according to an inscription engraved on the statue of Baalshillem from Bostan esh-Sheikh near Sidon (TSSI III, 29). He is commonly credited with the so-called Lycian sarcophagus from the necropolis of Sidon.

Karageorghis, V. (1973) *Excavations in the necropolis of Salamis*. III. Salamis 5. Nicosia; Gabelmann, H. (1982) *AA*, 493-495; Lipiński, E. (1986) *Syria*, 63, 379-382.421f.; Mildenberg, L. (1987) *ErIs*, 19, 28-35; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Mathys, H.-P. (2005) Die phönizische Inschriften. In: Stucky, R. A. *et al.* (eds) *Das Eschmunheiligtum von Sidon. Architektur und Inschriften*. AK Beiheft 19. Basel, 277-297; Fontan, E. and Le Meux, H. (eds) (2007) *La Méditerranée des Phéniciens de Tyr à Carthage. Catalogue de l'exposition à l'Institut du monde arabe, 6 novembre 2007-20 avril 2008*. Paris, 307, no. 46; Le Meaux, H. (2015) Les œillères de chevaux dans le monde proche-oriental et leur diffusion dans le Bassin méditerranéen. Perspectives iconographiques. In: Jiménez Ávila, J. (ed.) *Phoenician bronzes in Mediterranean*. Madrid, 183-195.

L.-I. MANFREDI

BA(A)NNO

Gk. Βάννος. Abbreviated form of the Pun. theophoric PN *b'lh'n'*, "Baal was gracious".

PNPPI, 89.288; Vattioni, F. (1979) *AIONArchStAnt*, 1, 167; *NAN*, 18.

1. An official of HANNIBAL (9) in the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), who in 218 BCE was appointed by him to the region between the Ebro and the Pyrenees, which had recently been subjugated.

Main sources: Plb. 3,35,3-5; 76,5-6; Liv. 21,60,5-9; *Perioch.* 21; Fron. *Strat.* 2,3,1; Zonar. 8,25.

Huss, W. (1985), 299.314f.; *DCPP*, s.v. (1) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 12f.

2. Also known by the appellation Tigillas, he was at the head of the Carthag. embassy sent to *Utica (149 BCE), when *Carthage received an ultimatum from ROME to abandon the city.

Main sources: Diod. 32,6,2-4; App. *Pun.* 82,386-86,404; 90,426.

Huss, W. (1985), 442; *DCPP*, s.v. (2) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 13.219.

A. ERCOLANI

BABYLONIANS

Neobab. and Late-Bab. cuneiform sources on *Phoenicia are less abundant and comprehensive than the Neoass. ones (Xella [1995]), although they have also

benefited from textual inputs from south. Mesopot. sites (Kleber [2008], 141-154); thus, considerable chronological and factual data for this period must be derived from the work of the Rom.-Jewish historian Josephus Flavius *Contra Apionem* (ca 95 CE), which preserves a passage from Menander's *Phoenician History*, allegedly drawn from Tyrian annals (Lipiński [2006], 166ff.).

After its possibly unforeseen takeover and replacement of Ass. dominion under the leadership of Nabopolassar in the space of less than one generation (Fuchs [2014]), the new Bab. kingship was faced with the need to regain hegemony over the vast 'world' empire of its long-time rivals – a goal that would be by and large attained by NEBUCHADNEZZAR II [PLATE 2]. However, the outreach of the B. in the Levant seems to have differed to a large extent from previous Ass. practices. The provincial system patiently built up by the Sargonids – which had possibly already fallen under Egypt. control after 620 BCE under Psammetichus I, as may be deduced from a stela of that king dated to 613 (Perdu [2002], 39-41; Kahn [2015], 512; for data from *Palestine, cf. Schipper [2010]) – was not re-established as such. One of Nebuchadnezzar's main inscriptions (the Etemenanki text) points to possibly different forms of control – of traditional or more recent origin – as implied by the parallel occurrences of "kings of the Trans-Euphrates (*eber nāri*)", "governors of the land of Hatti" (a traditional term for the West), and "viceroys of the land of Hatti, across the Euphrates toward the West" (Vanderhooft [1999], 90-92).

It is quite probable, on the other hand, that *Syria, *Lebanon and Palestine were never completely pacified and controlled by Babylon, and the entire west. horizon became a diffuse area of competition between Mesopot. and Egypt. power and/or influence until the very end of the Bab. dynasty (Kahn [2008]; Da Riva [2015], 603; *contra*, Gaß [2016]). Certainly, cursory mentions of Bab. institutions may be obtained from cuneiform texts – specifically tied to the Bab. temple archives – for sites in north. Syria (Neirab near *Aleppo), southwest. Syria (Qadesh: see *Tell Nebi Mend) and possibly for *Tyre (see below). From such references, however, it is impossible to derive a coherent picture of Bab. administration in the Levant, such as is, instead, available for the Achaemenid empire (cf. e.g. Briant [2002], 393f.).

The archaeological picture of this specific period in the Levant is quite meagre (Akkermans and Schwartz

[2003], 389, and see recently Sader [2006]; for an incised *Tanit-sign in Bab. context, see Schaudig [2008]; cf. Bertrand [1992]). The total absence of Gk pottery in Neobab. levels (Vanderhooft [1999], 83f.) may imply that, due to the failure – or simple lack of interest – of the Mesopot. conquerors to foster trade or local productivity, and due to the destruction of many productive sites and enterprises, Gk commerce shifted its focus to *Egypt.

Nabû-apal-uşur (biblical Nabopolassar: 626-605) is on record for his victories in Mesopotamia and his sponsorship of many building works and associated rituals in the Bab. region, but the true extent of his territorial control (especially as regards the Trans-Euphratean area) is nowhere specified. Probably already ailing, he died in 605, having already entrusted the command of the army to his son Nabû-kudurri-uşur, who presumably made initial forays in Syria, beginning in 607.

Crowned a mere 20 days after his father's death, the new king (NEBUCHADNEZZAR II: 605-562) proceeded against Pharaoh Necho II in the decisive battle of Carchemish on the Upper Euphrates and, after the defeat of the Egypt. forces, led a fully-fledged invasion of the *Transeuphratene (specifically named *eber nāri*, "(Land) beyond the river" since the late Neoass. period, Bagg [2007], 64; Zadok [1985], 129). From the strategic location of Riblah (to be located on the present-day Syro-Lebanese border on the basis of biblical indications: Levin [2006], 70), he swept through Lebanon, west. Syria and Palestine; already one year after Carchemish, the B. were attacking and devastating *Ashkelon (Stager [1996]). The battle of Carchemish is described in the so-called Bab. Chronicle (Glassner [2004], 226-229, Obv. 4-8): "They fought, and the army of Mišir beat a retreat before him; he [de]feated and destroyed it until it was completely annihilated. The Akk. troops overtook the survivors of the army of Mi[šir] who had escaped the defeat and whom the weapons had not reached and [deci]mated them in the district of Hamath. Not one man [returned] to his country".

The subsequent situation of Bab. dominance was summarized in a passage in the *Old Testament (2 Kgs 24,7): "The king of Egypt did not venture out of his country again, for the king of Babylon had seized all the land that had belonged to the king of Egypt, from the Wadi of Egypt to the River Euphrates": see also Jer 46-52. But despite this statement, it should be noted that Egypt. military potential in

the Levant was far from defeated, as proved by subsequent events in Nebuchadnezzar's reign (Eph'al [2003]). In point of fact, as may be established from the Bab. Chronicle, Nebuchadnezzar returned to 'Hatti' almost every year between 604 and 601 and then – after a pause following a non-conclusive pitched battle against the Egyptians – from 599 to 597. In Nebuchadnezzar's seventh year (598), JERUSALEM was raided and its king Jehoiachin was deported, with Zedekiah replacing him. The following period saw a halt to the king's initial push, further impaired by an internal rebellion in Babylonia in his 10th year. Not by chance, therefore, in Zedekiah's 4th year (594), as reported in the Old Testament (Jer 27,1-11), a conference in Jerusalem between envoys from Edom (→EDOMITES), Moab (→MOABITES), Ammon (→AMMONITES), Tyre and *Sidon dealt with the possibility of a joint effort to overthrow the Bab. yoke. The beginning of the text (Jer 27,1) in most manuscripts actually dates the event to Jehoiachin's fourth year, but Zedekiah is mentioned in 27,3, so this must be considered a mistake in scribal transmission. Eph'al (2003, 182f., who erroneously dates the passage to Nebuchadnezzar's 4th year), views the conference as reflecting a diffuse hope that Babylonia would come to represent a sort of 'paper tiger', less threatening than Assyria had previously been (thus voicing a view in contrast with previously held opinions on Nebuchadnezzar's quasi-invincibility). Zedekiah was then summoned to Babylon, and had to explain the gathering to Nebuchadnezzar, who was probably satisfied with the Judaeen king's account, for he sent him back in full state (Kahn [2008], 144). For the following decades, due to the break in the text of the Bab. Chronicle, after the ruler's 11th year (from 594-593 to the 3rd year of Neriglissar, 557-556), reliance on secondary or tertiary sources, such as Josephus' later account on Tyre, but also Herodotus and the Bible is required. Thus, we learn from Josephus that "in the seventh year of the kingship of Nebuchadnezzar he began to besiege Tyre" (Ap. 1,159). The implied date would thus be 598/597 (Schaudig [2008], 537), although – following Gutschmidt [1893] – several scholars have proposed to emend the passage following Josephus' text in the *Codex Laurentianus*, making it the 17th regnal year, i.e. 588-587 (e.g. Lipiński [2006], 197f.; Van der Brugge and Kleber [2016], 219). A further suggested emendation of the beginning of the siege, already made by F. B. Niese (1887) and taken up by

Katzenstein (1997², 328; see also Zawadzki [2008]), is to read "in the seventh year of his (= of Ithobalos: cf. ITTOBAL III [5]) reign", and thus to place the event in 586/585, but this interpretation is basically rejected by Schaudig (2008, 537f.) and others scholars already mentioned.

On the other hand, the debate on the initial date of the siege of Tyre should be taken into account together with another piece of information: the further indication by Josephus that "in the reign of king Ithobalos, Naboukodrosoros besieged Tyre for 13 years" (Ap. 1,156). The chronological determination of this extended siege has been mentioned by many scholars in relation to the better-known conquest of JUDAH by the Bab. conqueror in 587. The issue was conveniently summarized by Eph'al (2003, 186): if it is assumed that the 7th year was that of Nebuchadnezzar, and if we "accept the data about the 13-year long siege, then it had to have begun in the year that ended with the surrender of Jehoiachin king of JUDAH to the Bab. king (Nebuchadnezzar's 7th year, 598/597 BCE) and had to have ended in the 20th year of Nebuchadnezzar, i.e. approximately a year after the destruction of the kingdom of Judah in 586 BCE". If this were the case, Nebuchadnezzar would have besieged both Tyre and Jerusalem simultaneously, "and we would expect to find a reference to the beginning of the siege in the Bab. chronicle on Nebuchadnezzar's early regnal years. On the other hand, if we assume that the siege began in Ittobaal's 7th year (one should notice that we lack any explicit data regarding the length of his reign), we may place the beginning of the siege after the fall of Jerusalem, i.e. not before 586 BCE. If we add to this the information about the 13-year duration of the siege, then it did not end before Nebuchadnezzar's 32nd year (573/572 BCE)" (*ibid.*). The latter was also the opinion of Katzenstein (*cit.*), who believed that in effect Tyre did not capitulate, but came to an agreement with the B., whereby Ittobaal was deposed and BAAL II was placed on the throne as the new ruler.

Two further items of textual information may be somehow connected to the siege. First, Pharaoh Hophra/Apries attacked Sidon, and fought a battle against the king of Tyre (Hdt. 2,161, followed by Diod. 1,68,1). According to Lipiński ([2006], 198), Herodotus' report is based on a misunderstanding of his sources, and the event "very likely concerned an Egypt. attempt at relieving the siege of Tyre by

Nebuchadnezzar II and helping Sidon, menaced by the Babylonians”. The second item is the statement in Ezek 29,17-20, which would seem to imply that Nebuchadnezzar ultimately failed to capture Tyre (*ibid.*, 198f.; although, following Diakonoff ([1992], 170), parts of Ezekiel’s overall prophecies on Tyre in chs. 26-29 refer to the fall and final destruction of Tyre, and thus could have been edited before the – inconclusive – end of the siege).

To sum up, the indisputably tricky and indeterminate problem of establishing the chronology of the reported siege of Tyre from later sources, both its start and its end, thirteen years later – aside from its implications for biblical history – has the consequence of leaving somewhat out on a limb, from the aspect of their historical context, three equally crucial items of information for Nebuchadnezzar’s foreign policy in the W: (1) the so-called ‘Court Calendar’ (*Hofkalender*), (2) the administrative documents from Babylonia referring to Tyrians, and (3) the Wadi Brisa inscriptions.

(1) In the royal inscription on a fragmentary prism (commemorating Nebuchadnezzar’s building activities on the Old Palace of Babylon) commonly known as the ‘Court Calendar’, a vast section is devoted to lists of provincial and imperial officials, which are very useful for the reconstruction of the administrative structures of the Neobab. state (Jursa [2010]). A *terminus post quem* for the text is due to a cursory reference to Nebuchadnezzar’s 7th year (Da Riva [2013a]), but this does not imply that the prism was made at that time, despite conflicting opinions on the subject. After the extensive list of officials and dignitaries who took part in the ceremonies when laying the foundation of the ‘South and Main Palace’ (called by Nebuchadnezzar the “House to-marvel-at-for-all-People”) at Babylon, the following subject rulers from the Levant are named: “The king of Tyre, the king of Gaza, the king of Sidon, the king of Arwad, the king of Ashdod, the king of Mir[...]; the king of [...]” (Da Riva [2013a], 217, VI’, 23’-29’). Taken together with all the previously listed categories, it is possible that – as in other contemporaneous documents – such foreign rulers were named “because the king assigns corvée work to these officials, lands and regions on the occasion of the construction of buildings of nation-wide significance” (*ibid.*, 204). In any case, the ‘Court Calendar’ indicates that the main Phoen. cities, as well as two Philistine outposts, remained under local rulers, albeit placed in a state

of vassalage to Nebuchadnezzar (whether at the outset or later in his reign).

(2) Tyre is the specific focus of a set of brief administrative documents from Babylonia, centred on the Eanna-temple of Uruk and other religious institutions. After a lengthy debate, the conclusion has been reached that the toponym *Šur-ru* mentioned in these texts – which are comparatively very few for the relevant period – must most likely refer not to a ‘Tyrian’ colony or enclave in Babylonia proper, but to the Phoen. city itself (cf. Kleber [2008], 142-151, with previous bibliography). One text of the corpus is to be dated to the 14th year of Nebuchadnezzar; whereas the main group (comprising texts from the Ebabbar temple in Sippar as well as from the Eanna) dates to years 35-42 of that king. Goods and material for both civilian and military use and context are attested here (whether incoming or outgoing); the former involve rations and animals (or their products) of different types, whereas the latter involve military materiel, at times explicitly connected to armed encampments. On the basis of the most commonly accepted dates for the siege (see above), it would seem that the later texts should be placed a few years after it ended. Thus, a series of conjectures on the possible relations of the Neobab. empire with the main Phoen. city-state are open, as well as on the specific role of the Bab. temple administrations in this connection (*ibid.*, 153f.): did a permanent Bab. military presence follow the end of hostilities? Or was there a second Tyrian revolt, which had to be put down (Zawadzki [2003])?

(3) The third and main textual item to be considered is represented by Nebuchadnezzar’s ‘Wadi Brisa’ rock inscriptions, in the N part of the *Beqa’ valley some 10 km from Riblah. They were engraved on opposite rock faces in different cuneiform scripts (one in the Old-Bab. monumental ductus, the other in contemporary Neobab.) within the ravine now known as Wadi esh-Sharbin, on a route linking the Beqa’ to the Lebanese mountains and the Mediterranean (Da Riva [2012], with prev. lit.); the possible date of these monuments (taking account of an extended period for their realization) may be fixed in the last decade of the king’s reign, between 572 and 562 BCE (*ibid.*, 19f.). In the nearby areas of Shir es-Sanam and Wadi es-Saba are other rock inscriptions of the same ruler, albeit illegible (cf. Da Riva [2013b]), whereas two more fragmentary inscriptions on stelae are along the rocky south. bank of the estuary of the *Nahr el-Kelb,

some 15 km N of Beirut (*Berytus), alongside Egypt. and Ass. counterparts (cf. Lipiński [2004], 1f., with previous literature; Da Riva [2009], for present-day conditions). Surely, these rock inscriptions placed in strategical locations along commercial and military routes, with their accompanying reliefs, functioned as symbols for secured and controlled areas, although not as markers of limits or frontiers (Da Riva [2010], 177). The long text of the twin Brisa inscriptions, as a cumulative inscription on various columns (*Sammel-inschrift*) bears a set of passages dealing with the environment of *Mount Lebanon and its environs. After a long sequence on other topics, relevant to construction works or to religious offerings in Babylon and elsewhere in his homeland, Nebuchadnezzar devotes a full subsection – present only in the Neobab. text – to his feats in the area of Mount Lebanon (or perhaps, more widely, the Levant). Initially, this area is described as depopulated and devastated by previous actions of a “foreign enemy” (whether the ASSYRIANS or the Egyptians; Da Riva [2012], 18), thus requiring the king’s regular armed intervention, with the result of reviving it:

“On that day, Lebanon, the mountain of cedars, the luxuriant forest of Marduk of sweet smell, whose excellent cedars, which [had] not [been used for the cultic] place(?) of another god, and had not been taken [for the palace] of another king, I cut [with my pure hands] and – king Marduk had called me (to bring this into effect) – (cedars) which (for) a palace of a ruler [...] Babylon [...], were fit for a symbol of royalty – (Lebanon) where a foreign enemy had exercised rulership, and whose produce (the enemy) had taken away by force, so that its people had fled, had taken refuge far away. With the strength of my lords Nabû and Marduk, I sent [my armies] regularly to Lebanon for battle. I expelled its (Lebanon’s) enemy above and below and I made the country content. I reunited the scattered people and I brought them back to their place.” (WBC IX 13-32).

After this, Nebuchadnezzar describes his activities in opening up roads to reach the rich cedar forests, where he gathers a vast booty of prize timber, to be shipped back to Babylonia through the logging roads of the area (cf. Da Riva [2009], 273).

“What no former king had done, I did: I cut through the high mountains, I crushed the stones of the mountains, I opened up passes, I prepared a passage for (the transport of) the cedars for the king Marduk. Strong cedars, thick and tall, of splendid beauty,

supreme their fitting appearance, abundant yield of Lebanon, I bundled together like reeds of the river(-bank) and I perfumed the Arahtu (with them), and I put them in Babylon like Euphrates poplars.” (WBC IX 33-46).

Finally, the king touches once more on his politically protective action in the local setting, and illustrates the function of his royal image (depicted in a fight against a lion) and his inscription to this aim. The reference to future rulers ends this ‘Lebanon’ section, and prepares the long conclusive set of curses and self-praise.

“I let the inhabitants of the Lebanon lie in safe pastures, I did not permit anyone to harass them. So that nobody will oppress them, I (installed) an eternal image of myself as king to (protect them), [...] I built [...] I [...] I put [...] . (col. X) [I reunited the scattered] people, in the totality of all lands, I wrote my inscription (and placed it) together with my royal image in the mountain passes, and I set it up for the future. May a future (king) read it, may he be always mindful to speak the gods’ praise!” (WBC IX 47-58; X 1-12).

Nothing is known of Bab. activity in the Levant during the short-lived reigns of Nebuchadnezzar’s successors, Awil-Marduk (562-560), Neriglissar (560-556), and Labaši-Marduk (556). Nabonidus (556-539), began his reign with campaigns to the W, which would bring him from *Cilicia to Edom, before his decided retreat to Tayma in North Arabia (Beaulieu [1989]). As the resumed chronicle of Bab. kings (see above) relates, “[The third (?) year, in the] month of Ab, [he marched] on the land of *Ammanānum* [and ...] the orchards, fruits as many as there were, [...] among them, [he brought] into Babylon.” (Glassner [2004], 234f.). This expedition to the *Anti-Lebanon could have had similar aims to the logging foray(s) of Nebuchadnezzar, but the fragmentary nature of the text does not allow clear-cut conclusions. No further data on the Levant and the Phoen. area are available for this last king of the Neobab. empire.

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Vanderhooft, D. S. (1999) *The Neo-Babylonian Empire and Babylon in the latter prophets*. Atlanta; Schaudig, H. (2001) *Die Inschriften Nabonids von Babylon und Kyros' des Großen samt den in ihrem Umfeld entstandenen Tendenzschriften. Textausgabe und Grammatik*. AOAT 256. Münster; Briant, P. (2002) *From Cyrus to Alexander. A history of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake; Perdu, O. (2002). *Recueil des inscriptions royales saïtes*. 1: *Psammétique I^{er}*. Études d'Égyptologie 1. Paris; Akkermans, P. M. M. G. and Schwartz, G. M. (2003) *The archaeology of Syria*. Cambridge; Eph'al, I. (2003) *IEJ*, 53, 178-191; Zawadzki, S. (2003) Nebuchadnezzar and Tyre in the light of new texts from the Ebabbar Archives in Sippar. In: Eph'al, I. *et al.* (eds) *Hayim and Miriam Tadmor Volume*. *ErIs*, 27, 276–281; Glassner, J.-J. (2004) *Mesopotamian Chronicles* (ed. B. Foster). Atlanta; Lipiński, E. (2004) *Itineraria Phoenicia*. StPhoen 18. Leuven/Paris/Dudley; Levin, Y. (2006) *JANES*, 30, 55-76; Lipiński, E. (2006) *On the skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age: Historical and topographical researches*. OLA 153. Leuven/Paris/Dudley; Sader, H. (2006) L'archéologie phénicienne en Orient: quel avenir? In: Vita, J. P. and Zamora, J. Á. (eds) *Nuevas Perspectivas I: La investigación fenicia y púnica*. Barcelona, 27-36; Bagg, A. M. (2007) *RGTC* 7/1; Kahn, D. (2008) *JEH*, 1, 139-157; Kleber, K. (2008) *Tempel und Palast. Die Beziehungen zwischen dem König und dem Eanna-Tempel im spätbabylonischen Uruk*. AOAT 358. Münster; Schaudig, H. (2008) *UF*, 40, 533-545; Zawadzki, S. (2008) Nebuchadnezzar's campaign in the 30th year (575 B. C.): a conflict with Tyre? In: Cogan, M. and Kahn, D. (eds) *Treasures on camels' humps. Historical and literary studies from the Ancient Near East presented to Israel Eph'al*. Jerusalem, 331-336; Da Riva, R. (2009) The Nebuchadnezzar rock inscription at Nahr el-Kalb. In: Afeiche, A.-M. (ed.) *Le site de Nahr el-Kalb*. BAAL Hors-Serie V. Beirut, 255-301; Jursa, M. (2010) Der neubabylonische Hof. In: Jacobs, B. and Rollinger, R. (eds) *Der Achämenidenhof / The Achaemenid Court*. Wiesbaden, 67-106; Da Riva, R. (2010) A lion in the cedar forest. International politics and pictorial self-representations of Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562 BC). In: Vidal, J. (ed.) *Studies on war in the Ancient Near East: Collected essays on military history*. Münster, 165-192; Schipper, B. U. (2010) *TA*, 37, 200-226; Da Riva, R. (2012) *The twin inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar at Brisa (Wadi esh-Sharbin, Lebanon): A historical and philological study*. *AfO Beiheft* 32. Vienna; Da Riva, R. (2013[a]) *ZA*, 193, 196-229; Da Riva, R. (2013[b]) *WZKM*, 103, 87-100; Fuchs, A. (2014) Die unglaubliche Geburt des neubabylonischen Reiches oder: Die Vernichtung einer Weltmacht durch den Sohn eines Niemand. In: Krebernik, M. and Neumann, H. (eds) *Babylonien und seine Nachbarn in neu- und spät-babylonischer Zeit*. Münster, 25-72; Steiner, M. I. and Killebrew, A. E. (2014) *The Oxford Handbook of the archaeology of the Levant, c. 8000-332 BCE*. Oxford; Da Riva, R. (2015) Enduring images of an ephemeral empire: Neo-Babylonian inscriptions and representations on the Western periphery. In: Rollinger, R. and Van Dongen, E. (eds) *Mesopotamia in the ancient world: Impact, continuities, parallels*. Münster, 603-629; Kahn, D. (2015) Why did Necho II kill Josiah? In: Mynářová, J. *et al.* (eds) *There and back again – the crossroads II: Proceedings of an international conference held in Prague, September 15-18, 2014*. Prague, 511-528; Gaß, E. (2016) *ZAW*, 128, 247-266; Van der Brugge, C. and Kleber, K. (2016) The Empire of Trade and the Empires of Force: Tyre in the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian Periods. In: Moreno Garcia, J. C. (ed.) *Dynamics of production in the Ancient Near East 1300-500 BC*. Oxford, 187-222.

F. M. FALES

Baga see MAURI

BAGAS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 2,111 and 5,233. The name is probably a variant of BAGASUS and BAGESUS.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 206.

BAGASUS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 5,410. The name is probably a variant of BAGAS and BAGESUS.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 206.

BAGESUS

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 10,459. The name is probably a variant of BAGAS and BAGASUS.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 206.

BAGRADA

Name of a Nubian leader in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 1,407 (cf. also 7,663), associated with Bagradas, Lat. name of the river *Medjerda.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 206.

Balezoros see BAALIMANZER

Banihu see KULAMUWA

Barca see BARCIDS

BARCAS

Gk Βάρκας.

B. is the name by which Plutarch (*Fab.* 17,1) calls MAHARBAAL (6).

Geus, K. (1994), 14.

BARCE

Name of a Sidonian woman in Sil. *Pun.* 4,356.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35.

BARCIDS

According to the most accepted interpretation, this name comes from the nickname *Barca*, Pun. *brq*, Lat. *Boccor*, “Lightning” (another hypothesis connects it with the Sem. root *brk*, with the meaning “the Blessed One”).

B. commonly refers to one of the most prominent Carthag. families [FIG. 23], which – according to one source (Sil. *Pun.* 1,71f.; cf. 15,546f.) – had come to Africa with Dido (*Elissa) or even earlier, possibly dating right back to the mythical *Belos.

The B. had acquired and possessed a considerable estate, possibly (according to G.-Ch. Picard) to be located not far from *Carthage, in *Byzacena, between Hadrumetum (*Sousse), Thapsus (*Ras Dimasse) and *Acholla.

There is evidence for only three generations of this family, even though a fourth must have existed. In fact, if it is true that Pun. nobility often imposed the father’s name on their firstborn, one can at least assume that the father of HAMILCAR (7) also named his firstborn son HANNIBAL (9) after his own father. However, Hamilcar, whose nickname ended up identifying the entire family, had three daughters and three sons, in that order, who make up the second generation known to us. The names of the daughters are unknown, but there is evidence that their father made all three of them instruments of political alliance. The first two daughters married members of the aristocracy, respectively, BOMILCAR (3) (App. *Hann.* 20,90), probably a

Suffete in Carthage, and HASDRUBAL (5) ‘the Elder’ (or ‘the Beautiful’) (App. *Hisp.* 4,16; Liv. 21,2), his father-in-law’s right-hand man, beloved of the people and the political mind behind the so-called *factio Barcina*. The third daughter was promised to NARAVAS, a Numid. leader, to make him Hamilcar’s ally during the war against the Libyans and the MERCENARIES (Plb. 1,78,1-9).

A second Carthag. lady of noble birth, *sororis filiam Hannibalis* (Liv. 29,29,12), was married first to OEZALCES, MASSINISSA’s elder (I [1]) uncle, and then to MAZAETULLUS, a powerful Numid. prince. It is disputed whether this sister of Hannibal really was the woman promised to Naravas, but – as St. Gsell has said (and it is hard to disagree) – the expression *Carthaginiensem nobilem foeminam* suggests that the granddaughter of the victor at Cannae was the daughter of a Punic. Thus there are three possibilities: either Oezalces’ bride was the daughter of another sister of Hannibal; or the wedding promised to Naravas never took place; or finally, before her marriage to the Numid., she had married again, this time to a citizen of Carthage, and the daughter came from that marriage.

BOMILCAR (3) the Suffete (Plb. 3,42,6; Liv. 21,27,2) also had a son, HANNO (22), who was the nephew of Hannibal (App. *Hann.* 20), under whom he fought, distinguishing himself several times during the war in Italy. He was one of the best generals of Carthage: he led the troops destined to take the *Volcae* from the rear at the crossing of the Rhone (Liv. 21,26,6) and

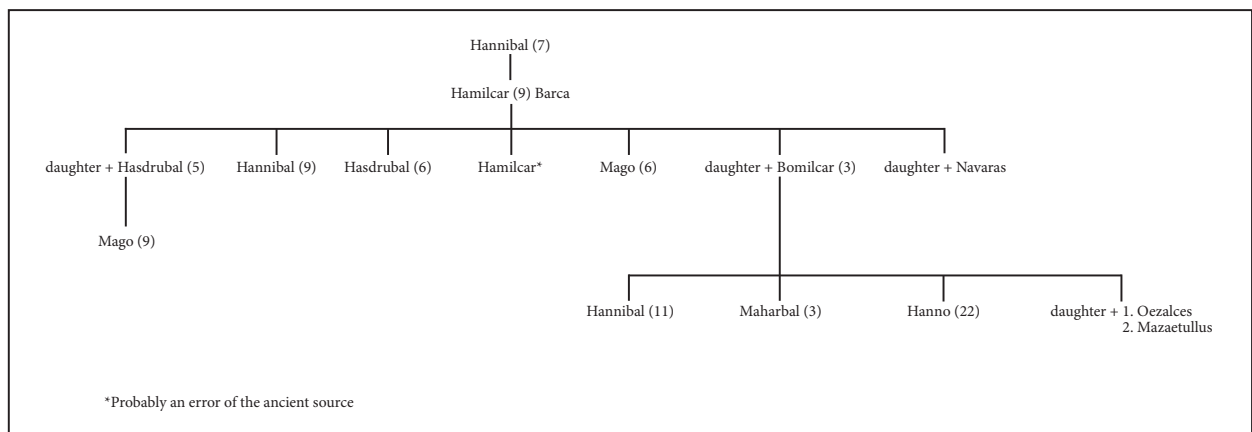


Fig. 23. The Barcids

commanded the right wing of the Pun. infantry on the battlefield of Cannae (Plb. 3,114,7). He also fought with varying success against several Rom. generals, some of whom are famous, such as Sempronius Longus and Pomponius Veientanus, Sempronius Gracchus (→GRACCHI [2]), Fulvius Flaccus and Marcus Atinius (see e.g. Liv. 23,37,10-11; 24,14-16; 25,13-14; 15,7-17; App. *Hann.* 26). Then he commanded the garrison of Metapontum (Liv. 27,42,16) and lastly, once back in Africa, perhaps he replaced the unlucky HASDRUBAL (8) of GISGO (5), again as a commander (App. *Pun.* 24).

More dubious is the ancestry of MAGO (9) the last in line of the B. A prisoner by the Romans in *Sardinia, it is said (Liv. 23,41,1f.) that he was *ex gente Barcina, propinqua cognatione Hannibali iunctus*. The mention of this connection has led to the supposition – with no definite proof – that he could be the son of the other sister and of Hasdrubal (5) ‘the Elder’.

The three sons of Hamilcar, plausibly all younger than their sisters, were Hannibal (9) (247 or 246), then HASDRUBAL (6) ‘the Younger’ (ca 245?) and finally MAGO (6) (ca 240?). If we believe Livy (24,41,7) and Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 3,61ff.; 97ff.; 104ff.; 130ff.; cf. Diod. 25,12), while in Spain, Hannibal followed the example of his brother-in-law, Hasdrubal (5) ‘the Elder’, and married IMILCE. She was an Iberian woman of noble lineage, a native of the city of *Cástulo, but either Hellenized or – more probably, at least judging by her name – Punicized. In turn, she had a child, who may have been called Hamilcar – but, as mentioned above, this is very uncertain. This son was sent to Carthage with his mother and then all traces of them disappear. In Carthage, the so-called *factio Barcina* (e.g. Liv. 21,2,3) embodied a democratic nationalist trend, displaying a more favourable attitude to Gk culture. In rapid succession, the leading representatives of Barcid lineage at the head of this faction and of Pun. possessions in Spain were Hamilcar (until 229), Hasdrubal (5) ‘the Elder’ (until 221) and Hannibal. Then, when Hannibal went to Italy, he left his brother Hasdrubal (6) ‘the Younger’ (Liv. 21,22,1) as his delegate.

The youngest of the B., Mago, who had left Carthage with his older brother, returned to report on the victories as far as Cannae. However, he was sent not back to Italy, but to Spain, to support his brother Hasdrubal Barca, together with Hasdrubal (8) of Gisgo. Also with the support of Massinissa’s NUMIDIANS, in 211

their three armies made separate surprise attacks on the Scipions. First Publius (→SCIPIONS [3]) and then Cnaeus (→SCIPIONS [4]) fell on the battlefield. In the following years, however, the Carthaginians were defeated decisively by Publius ‘the Younger’ (the future Africanus: →SCIPIONS [5]) and were forced to abandon the Iberian Peninsula. In 208, after the battle of *Baecula, Hasdrubal Barca left for Italy and the following year perished together with his whole army, defeated in battle near Metaurus. Finally, Mago was also defeated, together with Hasdrubal (8) of Gisgo, by Scipio ‘the Younger’ (207) at *Ilipa. He decided to join Hannibal but was unable to reach him. Having taken control of Genua (205), he tried to penetrate deeper into Italy but was forced to desist after being wounded during an unresolved clash at Cisalpina (203). Also, he had been recalled by messengers from Carthage. According to the most accepted tradition, Mago died on the journey back to his homeland (Liv. 28,46,7-13; 29,3,15, 4,6; 5,2; 30,18-19,5; other versions of Mago Barca’s last events: Nep. *Hann.* 8; App. *Pun.* 49; 59; Zonar. 9, 13).

HAAN III, 100ff. and *passim*; Picard, G.-Ch. (1967) *Hannibal*. Paris; Briscoe, J. (1989) The Second Punic War. In: *CAH VIII*². Cambridge, 44-80; Scullard, H. H. (1989) The Carthaginians in Spain. In: *CAH VIII*². Cambridge, 17-43; Hoyos, D. (1994) *RhM*, 137, 246-274; Hoyos, D. (2003) *Hannibal’s dynasty. Power and politics in the Western Mediterranean, 247/183 B.C.* London/ New York.

G. BRIZZI

BARHADAD

Aram. *brhdd*; Hebr. *bnhdd*; “Son of (the god) Hadad”. Theophoric PN of three Aram. kings.

1. King of Aram in north. *Syria, the son of Attarsumki, son of Adrame (*KAI* 201). B. reigned during the first half of the 8th cent. BCE. He is mentioned in the Old Aram. inscription engraved on a statue dedicated to the god *Melqart, found in the vicinity of Aleppo (*Bredj) [Fig. 24]. On the basis of that inscription and the Sfire treaties (*KAI* 222 A 1-6), the existence of an Aram. kingdom NE of Hamath, divided into upper and lower Aram, can be assumed. Also, contemporary Ass. sources relate Aram to Bit Agusi. The founder of that dynasty was Gusi, who reigned in the time of Ashurbanipal II (883-859).

2. B. I was the fifth king of *Damascus, whose reign can probably be dated to ca 900-880. He was the grandfather of king Hazael of Damascus. The *Old Testament tells us that he was allied to king Basha of ISRAEL, whom he betrayed when bribed by king Asa of JUDAH, and whose territory he devastated (1 Kgs 15,16-22).

3. B. II was the son and successor of king Hazael. His reign can be dated ca 803-775 BCE. Towards 800, he led a coalition against Zakkur of Hamath, but could not overcome him in battle (KAI 202 A 4-17) and a short time later was defeated also by the Ass. king Adad-nirari III (810-783), at Mansuate (796). The OT presents him as an opponent of Joash of Israel; weakened by the Ass. defeat, he was unable to conquer *Samaria (1 Kgs 20; 2 Kgs 6,24-7,20).



Fig. 24. Stela and inscription of Barhadad king of Aram dedicated to the god Melqart (Aleppo)

None of these kings is mentioned in Phoen. sources. Contacts with the PHOENICIANS were due to common commercial interests and a shared antagonism towards the ASSYRIANS.

Lipiński, E. (1972) Le Ben-Hadad de la Bible et l'histoire. In: *Proceedings of the First World Congress of Jewish Studies I*. Jerusalem, 157-173; Pitard, W. T. (1987) *Ancient Damascus. A historical study of the Syrian city-state from earliest times until its fall to the Assyrians in 732 B.C.E.* Winona Lake, 110-114, 138-144, 160-175; Pitard, W. T. (1988) *BASOR*, 272, 3-21; Sader, H. (1987) *Les états Araméens de Syrie depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur transformation en provinces assyriennes*. BTS 36. Wiesbaden/Beirut, 99-152; Dion, P. E. (1997) *Les Araméens à l'âge du fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales*. EBNS 34. Paris, 150-154, 204-208; Lipiński, E. (2000) *The Aramaeans. Their ancient history, culture, religion*. OLA 100. Leuven, 370-373, 394-400, 407; Hafþórrson, S. (2006) *A passing power. An examination of the sources for the history of Aram-Damascus in the second half of the ninth century B.C.* CB/OTS 54. Stockholm, 145-159, 173-184; Kahn, D. (2007) *ANES*, 44, 66-89; Lawson Younger, K. (2016) *A political history of the Aramaeans: From their origins to the end of their polities*. ABS 13. Atlanta, 533-536, 571-591.

H. NIEHR

BARIKSHAMASH

Phoen. *brkšmš*, theophoric PN, "Blessed of [the god] Shamash".

Name of a king of *Lapethos in *Cyprus (ca 350-332 BCE). The Phoen. PN occurs mostly during the Pers. period as an Aram. name, but this does not exclude a Phoen. origin. It remains an open question whether he simply had a Phoen. name in the dynasty of Lapethos or was a Phoen. ruler who was installed on the throne of Lapethos by king Artaxerxes III.

Robinson, E. S. G. (1948) *NC* 6th ser., 8, 43-65, esp. 60-65; Greenfield, J. C. (1987) Larnax Tēs Lapethou III Revisited. In: *StPhoen* 5, 391-401; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Lipiński, E. (2004) *Itineraria Phoenicia*. OLA 127 = *StPhoen* 18. Leuven, 80-87; Kutter, J. (2008) *nūr ilī. Die Sonnengottheiten in den nordwestsemitischen Religionen von der Spätbronzezeit bis zur vorrömischen Zeit*. AOAT 346. Münster, 272-275.

H. NIEHR

BARKATEL

By-form Urkatel.

In the story of UNAMON's journey, a character called *W3-r-k3-t'i-r* appears (WA 2,2). In the history of research, this name has been interpreted as Phoen. (A. Erman), Anatolian (W. F. Albright; E. Lipiński), Syrian (W. Helck) or Akkad. (E. Lipiński) or else as

a title (T. Beyl). It is debated whether he was a prince of *Sidon, *Ashkelon or *Tyre: the last hypothesis seems plausible, since he was trading with Sidon.

Scheepers, A. (1991) Anthroponymes et toponymes du récit d'Ounamon. In: StPhoen 11, 17-83, esp. 46-51; Lipiński, E. (2004) *Itineraria Phoenicia*. OLA 127 = StPhoen 18. Leuven, 37.109; Schipper, B. U. (2005) *Die Erzählung des Wenamun*, Fribourg/Göttingen, 190f.; Beyl, T. (2009) *Maarav*, 16, 191-200.

H. NIEHR

BARMOCAROS

Gk Βαρμόκαρος. A composite PN combining the Phoen. theonym *mlqrt* (*Melqart) and *brk* (less probably *bd*).

A person of unknown origin who, according to Plb. 7,9,1, swore an oath to sanction the treaty (→TREATIES) between HANNIBAL (9) and the Macedonian king, PHILIP V (215 BCE), together with MYRCANOS and MAGO (7).

PNPPI, 100; Geus, K. (1994), 14.

A. ERCOLANI

BARRAKIB

Theophoric PN, “Son of Rakib[-El]”, the last king of Sam'al (*Zincirli). After the death of his father Panamuwa II, who died as a vassal of the Ass. king TIGLATH-PILESER III during the campaign against *Damascus (733/732 BCE), B. managed to capture the throne of Sam'al after several dynastic struggles and reigned between 733/732 and 713/711. From the period of his reign comes the commemorative inscription for his father and royal predecessor, Panamuwa II, in the Samalian language (KAI 215), as well as several inscriptions in Aramaic. These documents show the absolute loyalty of the king to his Ass. master. His building activity in Sam'al is remarkable, particularly the north. building located on the citadel, which is considered to be the royal summer residence (cf. KAI 216). Furthermore, B. is depicted in Assyrianizing clothing on the relief sculpture of several orthostats at Sam'al. Particularly important for the royal ideology is an orthostat (KAI 218; Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin, VA 2817), where the moon-god of Harran – as a guarantor of oaths and treaties – is depicted between B. seated on



Fig. 25. Inscription of Barrakib king of Sam'al (Zincirli)

his throne and a scribe, thus alluding to the king's reliability (cf. KAI 216 and 217) [FIG. 25]. So far, it is not known why, after B., no other members of the dynasty had access to the throne of Sam'al and, instead, an Ass. governor ruled in that region in the following period.

Landsberger, B. (1948) *Sam'al*. Ankara, 60-72; Lawson Younger, K. (1986) *JANES*, 18, 91-103; Sader, H. (1987) *Les états Araméens de Syrie depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur transformation en provinces assyriennes*. BTS 36. Wiesbaden/Beirut, 165-172; Tropper, J. (1993) *Die Inschriften von Zincirli*. ALASP 6. Münster, 159-164; Dion, P. E. (1997) *Les Araméens à l'âge du fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales*. EBNS 34. Paris, 109-111; Lipiński, E. (2000) *The Aramaeans. Their ancient history, culture, religion*. OLA 100. Leuven, 244-247; Wartke, R.-B. (2005) *Sam'al. Ein aramäischer Stadtstaat des 10. bis 8. Jahrhunderts v. Chr. und die Geschichte seiner Erforschung*. Berlin/Mainz, 62-65; Lawson Younger, K. (2016) *A political history of the Aramaeans: From their origins to the end of their politics*. ABS 13. Atlanta, 419-422.

H. NIEHR

BATNOAM

Phoen. fem. theophoric PN *btn'm*, “daughter of the Pleasant One (or: Delight)”: *n'm* is a divine title, as well as the corresponding fem. *n'mt*.

Princess (probably, not queen) of *Byblos, mother of king Az(Z)IBAAL and wife of PALTIBAAL, (high) priest of *Baalat (→*Priesthood), she lived in the first half of the 4th cent. BCE. She is known only for her



Fig. 26. Sarcophagus of princess Batnoam (Byblos)

funerary inscription (*KAI* 11), finely engraved on a reused marble sarcophagus, discovered in 1929 at Byblos, in the vicinity of the Crusader castle and now preserved in the Beirut Archaeological Museum [FIG. 26]. No other historical information is available about her, but the text of her inscription is extremely interesting for its (albeit brief) description of her funerary clothing (→*Funerary world), which follows the tradition of the royal women of that dynasty. It comprised three basic elements: a ceremonial dress (*swt*), headgear or a sort of diadem (*mr'š*, literally: “headdress”) and gold foil (*mḥsm ḥrṣ*) covering her mouth (*lpy*).

PNPPI, 102.362; Dunand, M. (1931) *Kemi*, 4, 151-156; Friedrich, J. (1935) *OLZ*, 348-350; Dussaud, R. (1936) *Syria*, 17, 98f.; Maisler, B. (1936) *AfO*, 11, 239ff.; Dunand, M. (1939) *Fouilles de Byblos I*. Paris, 30 ff.; *TSSI* III, 99f., no. 26; *TUAT* II, 4, 588f.; Swiggers, P. (1980) *OLP*, 11, 111-116.

P. XELLA

BATON

HANNIBAL's (9) helmsman in Sil. *Pun.* 14,452. The name may be an abbreviation of the Phoen. theophoric PN *b'lytn* (“Baal has given”).

PNPPI, 328f.; Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 206; *NAN*, 22 (s.v. “bato”).

BERBER(S)

B. is a generic term conventionally applied to the indigenous peoples located to the W of the Nile Valley, through the Sahara Desert up to the Maghreb (Cyrenaica, Tripolitania, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco). Historically, the peoples of this vast region had specific

names (MAURI, NUMIDIANS, MASAESYLII, MASSYLII, GARAMANTES, GAETULI, etc.). The name B. does not date back to the local residents, but in all probability to the Arabs, who, having conquered those regions, used it for all the populations not of colonial origin they found there. In terms of language, B. and ‘Libyan’ (or ‘Numidian’) are virtually synonymous. Nowadays, the name B. is generally understood to be of foreign origin, whereas individual groups used particular names for themselves, principally *Imāzighen* (with phonetic and morphological variants), also known in antiquity.

Desanges, J. (1978) *L'Afrique romaine et libyco-berbère*. In: Nicolet, C. (ed.) *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen 264-27 avant J.-C.* La Nouvelle Clío 8,2. *Genèse d'un empire*. Paris, 627-656; Gebbia, C. (1990) *Essere ‘berbero’ nell'Africa tardoantica*. In: *AfRo* 7, 323-329; Brett, M. and Fentress, E. (1996) *The Berbers*. Oxford; Lancel, S. (2008²) *L'Algérie antique*. Paris, *passim*; Camps, G. and Chaker, S. (eds) *Encyclopédie Berbère*. 1984ff. Aix-en-Provence and *alibi*, *passim*.

P. XELLA

BERYAS

Carthag. soldier in Sil. *Pun.* 14,152ff.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 206; Fucecchi, M. (2009) *The shield and the sword*. In: Augoustakis, A. (ed.) *Brill's companion to Silius Italicus*. Leiden/Boston, 237.

BIN-ANA

Akk. *Bin-a-na*, etymology uncertain.

Name of a citizen of *Byblos who was perhaps a hostage in *Egypt according to the Amarna letter EA 170 (*Tell el-Amarna).

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 257f.; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 58, no. 51; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei “Piccoli Re”*. Brescia, 282f.

P. XELLA

BITIAS

One of the many characters – more mythical than historical – who followed →*Elissa (Dido) in her Mediterr. travels. He plays an important role in tradition concerning the foundation of *Carthage.

Sources: Liv. fr. 6; Verg. A. 1,738; Serv. A. 1, 343; Sil. Pun. 2,409.

DCPP, s.v. (G. Bunnens); Geus, K. (1994), 202, fn. 1222; NAN, 26.

A. ERCOLANI

BOCCHUS

Pun. *bqs/š*; Gk Βόκχος, the name of two kings of Mauretania (→MAURI).

PNPPI, 100.290f. (*bqšt*); HNPI, 325 (*bqs*).

1. King of Mauretania from the final decades of the 2nd cent. to 80 BCE ca, and father of one of the two wives of JUGURTHA, king of Numidia (→NUMIDIANS). According to Sallustius (*Jug.* 80-83), at the start of the Jugurthine war, in spite of his (rather weak, in view of the polygamy) family relationship with Jugurtha, B. offered the Romans the possibility of an alliance. Their refusal induced him to take the field, in 106, alongside his son-in-law, in exchange for the cession of west. Numidia. However, they were both repeatedly defeated in pitched battles (Sal. *Jug.* 97-101; Oros. 5,15,9-18), to such an extent that Jugurtha had to leave Numidia and take refuge with B. After protracted and risky negotiations, B. betrayed him, handing him over to Silla, *quaestor* of the Rom. commander Marius (Sal. *Jug.* 102-113). Silla himself had this episode depicted on his personal seal, and it also appeared on the coinage minted by his son Faustus (Sydenham, no. 879). Once formally acknowledged as an ally of the Rom. people, in the 90's, B. commissioned a group of statues, later erected in the *Capitolium*, which reproduced the depiction of him delivering Jugurtha to Silla (Plut. *Mar.* 32). Afterwards, this monument was demolished by Marius but Silla restored it. The fragments found in the area of S. Omobono probably come from it. We are unable to define with certainty the boundaries of B.'s kingdom, which must have expanded towards the E after Jugurtha's defeat. Even the year of B.'s death is uncertain. He must have died when rival Rom. troops were fighting in Mauretania (→MAURI) during the civil war between the supporters of Silla and of Marius. Of his sons we only know of VOLUX (1), who held important military positions, and his heirs BOGUD (1) and MASTANESOSUS.

Main sources: Sal. *Jug.* 80ff.; Plut. *Mar.* 8 and *Sull.* 3.

Sydenham, E. A. (1952) *The coinage of the Roman Republic*. London; Camps, G. (1991) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 10. Aix-en-Provence, 1544-1546; Coltelloni-Trannoy, M. (1993-1995) *BCTH*, 24, 59-82; Stein-Hoelkeskamp, E. (2013) *Klio*, 95, 429-446.

2. Son of MASTANESOSUS and probably the nephew of B. (1) and BOGUD's brother, he was king of part of Mauretania during the civil war between Caesar and POMPEIUS (Dio Cass. 41,42,7). He supported Caesar, fighting against the Numid. JUBA (1) and occupying Cirta (*Constantine) ([Caes.] *BAfr.* 25; App. *BC* 2,95). In 38 BCE, taking advantage of a popular uprising and relying on Octavianus' support, he drove out his brother Bogud, who favoured Antonius, from his part of the kingdom, becoming overall ruler (Dio Cass. 48,5,1-3). On his death in 33, in the absence of direct heirs, Mauretania has inherited by Octavianus (Str. 17,3,6; Dio Cass. 49,43,7), who in 25 conferred the crown on JUBA (2) (Dio Cass. 53,26).

Mazard, J. (1955) *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*. Paris, 61ff; Camps, G. (1991) cit.

U. LIVADIOTTI

BODASHTART

Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN, *bd'šrt*, "In the hands of Astarte" or "From the hand of Astarte", a reference to the person as a baby protected or given by the divinity; Gk Βουδάστρατος, Βοδόστωρ, and variants; Lat. BOSTAR.

King of *Sidon, the grandson of ESHMUNAZOR I (1), came to the throne after the premature death of ESHMUNAZOR II (2). He ruled between the end of the sixth and the first decades of the 5th cent. BCE. The chronology of his reign, like the dating of the dynasty of Eshmunazor I (→DYNASTIES), is disputed and is linked to the problem of the political situation and to the Phoen. name of the Sidonian TETRAMNESTOS, who took part in the battle of Salamis (Hdt. 7,98). B. is mentioned as "King of Sidon", without a genealogy, in a dedication to *Astarte dated the year of his accession to the throne (*CIS* I, 5). However, he is said to be the grandson of Eshmunazor I in several inscriptions, classifiable in two series (*KAI* 15 and 16). These were originally incorporated in the podium that supported the temple of *Eshmun in Bostan esh-Sheikh, and commemorated its construction and



Fig. 27. Inscription of Bodashtart king of Sidon *in situ* at Bostan esh-Sheikh (Sidon)

a restoration (excavations by M. Dunand) [FIG. 27]. He is also mentioned as a grandson of E. I. in a long text, now lost, listing a series of works, at least some of which were hydraulic, inscribed on a rockface lying along the bank of the river Awali (ancient Bostrenus; Xella and Zamora [2004]). The inscriptions of the first series of Bostan esh-Sheikh (without a date formula) and the Awali inscription (from the 7th year of B.'s reign) commemorate previous construction work in various districts of the centre of Sidon. They are also partly recorded in the inscription of Eshmunazor II. In inscriptions of the second series of Bostan esh-Sheikh (without a date formula), B. associated his legitimate son (*bn šdq*) YATONMILK with the throne.

PNPPI, 86-88.386-388; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Bonnet, C. and Xella, P. (2002) Les inscriptions phéniciennes de Bodashtart roi de Sidon. In: Amadasi, M. G., Liverani, M. and Matthiae, P. (eds) *Da Pyrgi a Mozia. Studi sull'archeologia del Mediterraneo in memoria di Antonia Ciasca. VO*, Quaderno 3/1. Rome, 93-104; Bordreuil, P. (2002) Dédicace du roi phénicien Bodashtart. In: *Art phénicien*, 80f.; Xella, P. and Zamora, J. Á. (2004) *BAAL*, 8, 273-299; Xella, P. and Zamora, J. Á. (2005) *ZDPV*, 121, 119-129; Zamora, J. Á. (2007) *Or*, 76, 100-113; Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. (2017 [2018]) Sur la chronologie des rois de Sidon de la dynastie d'Eshun'azor. In: Kerr, R. N. *et al.* (eds) *'His Word Soars Above Him'. Biblical and North-West Semitic studies presented to Professor Ch. R. Krahmalkov*. Ann Arbor (MI), 5-29.

M. G. AMADASI GUZZO

BODBAAL

Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *bdb'l*, "From/by the hand of Baal"; Akk. *Bu-di-ba-al*.

Name of a son of YAKINLU, king of *Arwad. After his father's violent death, he went to Nineveh

together with his brothers to honour the Ass. king ASHURBANIPAL and win his favour with rich gifts. In fact, that king, in the third year of his reign (665 BCE), had harshly repressed the attempts of *Tyre and Arwad to escape from Ass. domination, taking advantage of the Egypt. rebellion led by Pharaoh Taharqa.

PNPPI, 75.283-286; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Saporette, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 222; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 106ff.

F. MAZZA

BODMILQART

Phoen. *bdmlqrt*, "From/by the hand of Melqart", a very popular theophoric PN used almost exclusively in the Pun. world; Gk Βο(δ)μίλχας, Βῶχαρ; Lat. *Bodmilkar*, *Boncar(th)*, etc.

Among the many people bearing this name, one in particular must be highlighted. He is B. the son of Adonibal, the author of a votive inscription to *Baal Hammon in the *tophet of El-Hofra (*Constantine) (*SPC* 43) [FIG. 28], who held the important rank of *rb sprm*, "chef of the scribes" (→*Scribes).

PNPPI, 78-81; *SPC*, 30, no. 43.

P. XELLA



Fig. 28. Inscribed stela of Bodmilqart from the tophet of El-Hofra (Constantine)

BODO

Phoen. hypocoristic PN *bd'*, “In (his [= of the deity]) hand”; Gk Βό(ο)δεζ.

PNPPI, 74f.283-286.

1. Priest of the god *Reshep *hš* (→*Priesthood), the son of *yknšlm*, he is mentioned in a Phoen. inscription from *Kition (*IK* III, A 2), dating to the reign of king PUMAYYATON (4th cent. BCE).

DCPP, s.v. (1) (E. Lipiński).

2. Military commander and perhaps a senator, he won a great naval victory during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). In 260 BCE he managed to surprise the Rom. fleet in the harbour of Lipari and obtain its surrender (Plb. 1,21,6-8; Zonar. 8,10). A different version of these events is given by the sources of Rom. annalistic tradition (Liv. *Perioch.* 17; Val. Max. 6,6,2, etc.), according to which the consul Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina (→SCIPIONS [1]), the commander of the Rom. fleet, refused to surrender but was taken prisoner by deception.

Huss, W. (1985), 228; Geus, K. (1994), 15.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

BODSID

Phoen. theophoric PN *bdšd*, “From/By the hand of (the god) Sid”, rare and only attested in the Pun. world.

A character named B. – the reading *bršd* must be emended – is the author of a votive inscription addressed to the god *Baal Hammon in the *tophet of El-Hofra (*Constantine) (*EH* 82) [FIG. 29]. He must have had considerable authority since his title, *rb wtdr wkt'*, probably indicates that he was a chief (*rb*) of Numid. tribes (→NUMIDIANS) (interestingly, his name is authentically Pun.).

PNPPI, 88.283-286; *EH*, 71f., no. 82.

P. XELLA



Fig. 29. Inscribed stela of Bodsid (*EH* 82) from the tophet of El-Hofra (Constantine)

BOETHUS

Gk Βόηθος.

1. Carthag. sculptor and craftsman (cf. *Inscriptionen von Ephesos*, II, p. 511), probably of Gk origin, active in the first half of the 3rd cent. BCE. His works are mentioned by Paus. 5,17,4.

Thür, G. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos, Teil II-VII/2 (Repertorium)*, published online: 2013-05-01 (<https://doi.org/10.7767/zrgra.1982.99.1.381>); Geus, K. (1994), 15f.

2. Stoic philosopher of the 2nd cent. BCE. A pupil of Diogenes of Babylon, B. diverged from Stoic orthodoxy, *inter alia* considering the world as eternal and incorruptible. Of his works, *On Nature*, *On Destiny*, *On Askesis*, and a commentary to Aratus' *Phaenomena* are mentioned.

RE III,1, s.v. “Boëthos” (4) cols 601-603 (H. von Arnim); Goulet, R. (1994) Boëthos de Sidon. In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 2. Paris, 123-125.

3. Peripatetic philosopher of the 1st cent. BCE, a disciple of Andronicos of Rhodes, whom he possibly succeeded as headmaster at the Lyceum of Athens. The geographer Strabo studied the philosophy of Aristotle with him (Str. 16,2,24). He was a brother of DIODOTUS OF SIDON. Among his works was a commentary on Aristotle’s *Categories*.

RE III,1, s.v. “Boëthos” (9) cols 603f.; Schneider, J.-P. (1994) Boëthos de Sidon. In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 2. Paris, 126-130.

G. MINUNNO

BOGUD

Pun. *bg’t*; Gk Βόγος, Βογούας; Lat. *Bogus*, *Bogudes*; Numid. name of two kings of Mauretania (→MAURI).

HNPI, 319f.

1. Son and successor of BOCCHUS (1), at the end of 81 or the beginning of 80 BCE. With the assistance of POMPEIUS he defeated the Numid. king HIARBAS (2) (Oros. 5,21,14).

Majdoub, M. (1998) Pompéius Magnus et les rois Maures. In: AfRom 12, 1321-1324.

2. Probably a son of MASTANESOSUS, he ruled over Mauretania together with BOCCHUS (2) (prob. over the west. part: Plin. *Nat.* 5,2) during the Rom. civil wars. Allied to Caesar, in 49 BCE he fought in Iberia against his enemies ([Caes.] *BAlex.* 59 and 62), opposed the expansion of the Pompeians in North Africa ([Caes.] *BAfr.* 23) and had a decisive role in the battle of Munda (Dio Cass. 43,36-38). According to Suet. *Caes.* 52,2, Caesar’s friendship with B. did not stop him from having a relationship with B.’s wife, the queen Eunoë. When Caesar died, B. sided with Antonius and in 41 intervened in Iberia, where he besieged *Cádiz (cf. App. *BC* 5,26, who mistakenly calls him ‘Bocchus’). Shortly after, in 38, taking advantage of a revolt by his subjects, Bocchus (a supporter of Octavianus) succeeded in driving him from

his kingdom (Dio Cass. 48,45,1). He died in 31, fighting against Agrippa with the troops of Antonius (Dio Cass. 50,11,3; Str. 8,4,3).

Camps, G. (1991) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 10. Aix-en-Provence, 1557f.

U. LIVADIOTTI

BOGUS

Name, probably of Lib. origin (cf. BOGUD), of a seer mentioned by Silius Italicus, who describes him giving favourable *omina* for the Carthaginians (*Pun.* 4,131) and in the episode of his death (*Pun.* 5,402).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 206; *NAN*, 26 (s.v. “Bogud” and “Bogus”).

A. ERCOLANI

BOMILCAR

Phoen. and Pun. Bodmilqart, *bdmlqrt*, “From (by) the hand of Melqart”; Gk Βορμίλχαρ (Βοαμύλχας, Polybius’ codexes), Βομίλχας, etc.; Lat. *Bomilcar*, *Boncar*, *Bonchor* etc. The PN occurs frequently in inscriptions.

PNPPI, 75-81.283-286; *NAN*, 26.

1. Carthag. politician mentioned among the ambassadors present in Athens (*IG* II-III² 418; 330-300 BCE?). Possibly identical with B. 2.

Huss, W. (1985), 194, fn. 123; *DCPP*, s.v. (1) (K. Geus).

2. Carthag. military chief active in the war against AGATHOCLES. After Agathocles disembarked in Africa, B. was appointed supreme commander of the Carthag. army, together with HANNO (10). According to Diodorus (20,10,1-4), the choice of the two commanders was dictated by the rivalry between them and their families, which would have been a kind of guarantee against B.’s tyrannical aspirations. Despite his defeat by Agathocles, he retained his rank and in 308 attempted a failed coup d’état, because of which he was taken prisoner, convicted of high treason and put to death by *crucifixion (Diod. 20,44,1).

He remains a controversial character, both in modern history and in the ancient sources: Diod. 20,9,4; 10,1-13,1; 43,1-44,6; Just. 22,6,5; 7,7-11; Oros. 4,6,32.

Huss, W. (1985), 178, fn. 10.186f.195; *DCPP*, s.v. (2) (W. Huss); Geus, K. (1994), 16-18.

3. Said to be a Carthag. *basileus* (probably a Suffete [→*Suffetes]) in Plb. 3,42,6, the father of HANNO (22), he was an admiral (*nauarchos*) in the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). He fought in several military actions, at *Syracuse (213 and 212 BCE) and *Tarentum (211), where he tried in vain to liberate the inhabitants from a Rom. siege.

The most important sources include: Plb. 3,42,6; 9,9,11; Liv. 21,27,2; 23,41,10-12 and 49,5; 24,36,3-7; 25,25,11-13 and 27,2-12; 36,20,7-11; App. *Pun.* 24,98; Flor. 1,22,19.

Huss, W. (1985), 347.359.368f.; Geus, K. (1994), 18-20.

A. ERCOLANI

BOSTAR

Abbreviated form of the Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *bd'štrt*, "From/By the hand of Astarte" (→BODASHTART); Gk Βόσταρ; Lat. *Bostar* (there are many variants of this name).

PNPPI, 285f.; Vattioni, F. (1979) *AIONArchStAnt*, 1, 170 (s.v. "Bostares"); *NAN*, 27.

1. Commander of the Carthag. army. During the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS) he fell into the hands of the Romans after the defeat of (H)Adys/n (probably Uthina [*Oudhna]) and died in prison in ROME. Sources: Plb. 1,30,1-13; Diod. 23,11; 24,12,1 and 3; Eutr. 2,21,3; Oros. 4,8,16; Zonar. 8,13 and 15.

Huss, W. (1985), 235; *DCPP*, s.v. "Bodashtart" (2) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 20f.

2. Carthag. military commander during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), mentioned by Diod. 24,9,1 and sometimes identified with B. (1).

Geus, K. (1994), 21.

3. Character defined as *boetharchos* of the mercenary troops in *Sardinia by Plb. 1,79,2; he died in 240/239 BCE as a result of the uprising of the MERCENARIES.

Huss, W. (1985), 260f.; *DCPP*, s.v. "Bodashtart" (3) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 21.

4. Carthag. military commander during the II Punic War, who had the task of preventing Romans from crossing the Ebro in 217.

Sources: Plb. 3,98,5-99,8; Liv. 22,22,6-18; Zonar. 9,1.

Huss, W. (1985), 327, fn. 245; *DCPP*, s.v. "Bodashtart" (4) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 21f.

5. B. was a member of the embassy sent by HANNIBAL (9) to PHILIP V of Macedonia in 215 BCE, which was intercepted by the Romans at the temple of Hera Lacinia. Probably not the same person as B. (6).

The main sources include: Liv. 23,34,1-9; 38,1-8; App. *Mac.* 1,3; Eutr. 3,12,2-3 and Zonar. 9,4.

Huss, W. (1985), 342, fn. 61; *DCPP*, s.v. "Bodashtart" (5) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 22.

6. Appointed in 212 BCE as commander of the Pun. troops stationed in Capua during the II Punic War. Probably he was among the notables transferred to Rome after the surrender of *Carthage.

Sources: Liv. 25,15,3 and 18,1; 26,5,6; 12,10-19; App. *Hann.* 36,153; 43,185-186.

Huss, W. (1985), 364, fn. 228.372; *DCPP*, s.v. "Bodashtart" (6) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 23.

7. Character in Sil. *Pun.* 3,6,647ff. He brings back to HANNIBAL (9) the oracular response of Jupiter Ammon.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 206.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

BUTES

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 7,598.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 206.

C

CAECILII METELLI

A very important clan of Rom. plebeian nobles, who were becoming prominent after the second half of the 3rd cent. BCE. Its various members were involved in the Rom. conquest of *Sicily and Africa. Here the most prominent are described, in chronological order.

1. Caecilius Metellus, Lucius. Consul in 251 BCE, the following year he fought off the Carthag. attack on *Panormus, defeating in battle the overwhelming Pun. troops led by HASDRUBAL (4) (Plb. 1,40-41; Diod. 23,21; Flor. 1,18,27). In the engagement, C. seized 120 *Elephants, many of which were paraded the following year in his triumphal procession (Dion. Halic. 2,66,4; Liv. *Perioch.* 19,1). These pachyderms were then commemorated by being depicted on the coins of his descendants. In subsequent years, C. continued to fight in Sicily as *magister equitum* and then again as *consul*. He was *pontifex maximus* from 243 until his sudden death, in 221. Part of his funeral eulogy, given by his son Caius, is recorded by Plin. *Nat.* 7,139-140.

Van Ooteghem, J. (1967) *Les Caecilii Metelli de la République*. Bruxelles, 9-22.

2. Caecilius Metellus, Quintus. Consul in 109 BCE, he led the war against JUGURTHA with some positive outcomes, but without lasting success. In 107 his command was taken over by Marius. Even so, due to his results, he was given the nickname 'Numidicus' (conqueror of the NUMIDIANS) and the honour of the triumph in 106.

Main source: Sal. *Jug.* 43-62.

Van Ooteghem, J. (1967) *Les Caecilii Metelli de la République*. Bruxelles, 125-177; Fontanella, F. (1992) *Atene e Roma*, 37, 177-188; Briscoe, J. (2015) s.v. "Caecilius Metellus, Lucius". In: *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (<http://classics.oxfordre.com/view/10.1093/acrefore/9780199381135.001.0001/acrefore-9780199381135-e-1225>) [Accessed 29 December 2017].

3. Caecilius Metellus Scipio, Quintus. Consul in 52 BCE. Member by birth of the SCIPIONS clan, he was adopted by the son of Metellus (2). His daughter married POMPEIUS MAGNUS, whose tenacious supporter

he became against Caesar. After the defeat at Pharsalus, he assumed command of Pompeian forces in Africa, with king JUBA (1) as his ally. Defeated at Thapsus in 46, he committed suicide.

Main source for his African campaign: [Caes.] *BAfr.*

Van Ooteghem, J. (1967) *Les Caecilii Metelli de la République*. Bruxelles, 298-327; Linderski, J. (1996) Q. Scipio imperator. In: Linderski, J. (ed.) *Imperium sine fine. T. Robert S. Broughton and the Roman Republic*. Stuttgart, 145-186.

U. LIVADIOTTI

Cambyses see PERSIANS

CANAANITES

*Canaan, Phoen. *kn'n*; Hebr. *kn'n*; Akk. *kina'an*, *kinahhu*, *kinahnu*; Gk *Χαναάν*; Lat. *C(h)ana(a)n*.

The earliest evidence of C. is provided by the *Mari letters (ca 1750 BCE) (A 3552 Rev. 9); Canaan is mentioned for the first time in about 1500 BCE in the inscription of Idrimi, king of *Alalakh (line 19) and in other texts also from Alalakh (*AIT* 48,4f.; 54,25; 181,9 etc.). There is also evidence from Egypt. inscriptions, from letters from Hattuša and *Ugarit (*RS* 20.182 B 6.8; *KTU* 4.96,7) and mostly from the archive of *Tell el-Amarna (*EA* 8,13; 9,19-30; 36,15; 148,46). The etymological connection with the Akk. term *kinahhu* in the meaning of *Purple – to denote one of the most important products from *Lebanon – is not certain. On the basis of all these texts, the extent of the province of Canaan, which included *Palestine and Lebanon, becomes apparent. Canaan extended from the territory of *Gaza, where Gaza was also the main city, in the SW as far as the territory N of *Berytus; here, Canaan was bounded by Amurru (*Amorites) with its capital city Šumur (*Tell Kazel), while the E was bounded by the province of Upe, with Kumidi (*Kamid el-Loz) in the *Beqa' as its main town, and by the Dead Sea. As a consequence, during this period the term Canaan has precise boundaries and meaning: it defines the whole of Palestine and the north. coast of the Levant as far as Berytus, but does not include cities such as *Tripolis and *Byblos, and it is not limited to the coastal region [FIG. 30].

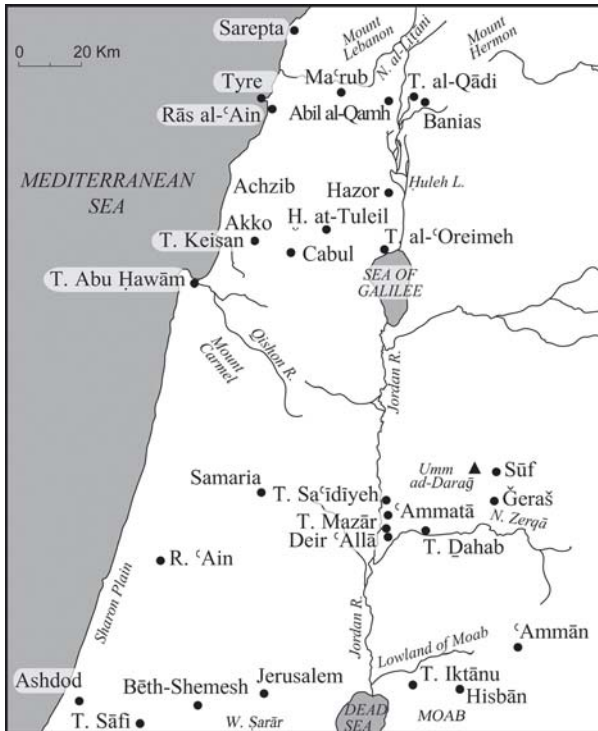


Fig. 30. Canaan with southern Phoenicia

It must therefore be stressed that neither “Canaan” nor “Canaanites” refers to ethnic and national entities; these terms do not identify either *Phoenicia or the PHOENICIANS, but denote a very large geographical unit of the Syro-Palestin. region which, during the LBA, constituted one of the three districts of the territory subject to Egypt. control.

Each principal town had an Egypt. commissioner, who was immediately subordinate to the Pharaoh. The local kings (e.g. of *Sidon, *Tyre, *Hazor, Sichem, *Jerusalem and Hebron) waged war against each other, so people left the cities and joined roving groups of Ḥapiru. But *Egypt never tried to intervene and sent neither troops nor weapons. When Egypt was forced to give up its possessions in the Levant after the upheavals of the SEA PEOPLES, there was a power vacuum in the province of Canaan. Consequently, the Phoen. royal cities and their hinterlands, as well as the kingdoms of ISRAEL and JUDAH and the Philistine royal cities (→PHILISTINES) became the major powers in the region. The *Old Testament has preserved a memory of the province of Canaan, since it uses this term as a name for Palestine (Gen 10,19; 37,1; Num 34,2-12; cf. Deut 1,7). In the OT, the term “Canaanite” also means “Phoenician merchant”

(Isa 23,8; Ezek 16,29; 17,4; Zeph 1,11; Zech 14,21; Prov 31,24; Job 40,30). The use of the term C. for Phoenicians is found in Mt 15,22, while Mk 7,26 mentions a “Syro-Phoenician” woman. The political or ethnic concept of Canaan in the OT was distinct from how it was perceived in theological and literary terms. Canaan is one of Ham’s four sons (Gen 10,6) and according to Gen 10,15-18 he is personified as the father of Sidon, i.e. the father of the Phoenicians and the HITTITES, with the peoples who inhabited pre-Israelite Palestine (such as Jebusites, Amorites, Girgashites, Hivites etc.) as only secondary. The ban on marriage, however, represents a negative aspect conferred on Canaan (Gen 24,3f. 37). In the books from Exodus to Judges the prohibition of an alliance with the C. and the motif of the (non-)expulsion of the C. from their land still recurs (Exod 23,23f.28-33; 33,2; 34,11-16; Num 33,51-56; Deut 7,1-5; 20,10-18; Josh 1-12; Judg 1; 2,1-5; 3,1-6). Thus, a dichotomy between Israel and Canaan arose, which is also emphasized by Israel claiming not to be autochthonous in Canaan, only coming into contact with its inhabitants through the conquest. In contrast, Ezek 16,3 invokes the Canaanite origin of Jerusalem as a criticism of Israel’s behaviour. To the negative image of Canaan corresponds an ideal concept of Israel in religious and political terms. The incompatibility of Israel and Canaan reflects the opposition between Yahweh and *Baal and their respective cults, peculiar to the Deuteronomistic history. While part of this representation has been retained in research, today it is possible to emphasize the fictional character of such a portrayal of Canaan. It is an attempt at self-definition using a fabricated foil. According to *Philo of Byblos (*PE* 1,10,39) *Chna changed his name to “Phoinikos”. However, even at the end of the 4th cent. CE, the African church father Augustine reports that the rural inhabitants of his diocese still considered themselves to be “Canaanites” (*Epistulae ad Romanos inchoata expositio* 13: *PL*, XXXV 2096). But even this alleged testimony of remote awareness from the past must be placed in its cultural and historical context.

In any case, C. as an ethnonym is absent from first-hand sources in the Phoen. language and cannot be considered as a self-designation of the Phoenicians. In fact, “Canaan” occurs only on coins minted in Berytus during the Hellenist. period (187-133) where we read: *l’dk’ š bkn’n*, or *l’dk’ m bkn’n*, which is difficult to interpret (either “Laodicea which is

located in Canaan” or “Laodicea, metropolis of/in Canaan”), although it may refer to a specific town (there are many cities in Asia Minor and the Hellenist. East with this name, e.g. in Phrygia or on the Syrian coast near *Ugarit [Lattakia]).

Dossin, G. (1973) *Syria*, 50, 277-283; Weippert, M. (1980) Kanaan. In: *RIA*, 5, 352-355; Hachmann, R. (1982) *ZDPV*, 98, 17-49; *DCPP*, s.v. “Bible” (A. Lemaire); *DCPP*, s.v. “Canaan” (G. Bunnens); Na’aman, N. (1994) *UF*, 26, 397-418; Finkelstein, I. (1996) *UF*, 28, 221-255; Rainey, A. F. (1996) *BASOR*, 304, 1-15; Hess, R. S. (1998) Occurrences of ‘Canaan’ in Late Bronze Age archives of the West Semitic world. In: Izre’el, S. *et al.* (eds) *Past links. Studies in the languages and cultures of the Ancient Near East*. Winona Lake, 365-372; Na’aman, N. (1999) *BASOR*, 313, 31-37; Belmonte Marín, J. A. (2001) *RGTC* 12/2, 162f.; Tammuz, O. (2001) *UF*, 33, 501-543; Liverani, M. (2006³) *Oltre la Bibbia*. Rome/Bari, 5-33; Niehr, H. (2010) ‘Israelite’ religion and ‘Canaanite’ religion”. In: Stavrakopoulou, F. and Barton, J. (eds) *Religious diversity in Ancient Israel*. London, 23-36; Na’aman, N. (2016) *UF*, 47, 129-146.

H. NIEHR

CANTHUS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 15,700. In this passage it is said that his name is glorified by the brothers *Philaeni.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35.

Cannae see PUNIC WARS

CAPUSSA

Pun. kbsn. Eldest son of OEZALCES, king of the Numid. MASSYLII (→NUMIDIANS). When his father died in 206 BCE, he took his place. However, although the succession conformed to standard practice, it was contested (in fact, Oezalces had reigned for only a few months, replacing his elder brother GAIA; the latter had sons – one of which was MASSINISSA I [1] – all younger than C.). Very soon a revolt spread against C. led by MAZAETULLUS, a Numid. tribal chief related to the royal family, who attacked and defeated C. in battle and replaced him on the throne with LACUMAZES, the youngest son of Oezalces (Liv. 29,29,7-11). The extremely few known examples of Numid. coins marked with the letters *kn* may belong to C.: if correct, they would be the oldest known Massylian coinage.

Thompson L. A. (1981) *Historia*, 30, 120-126; Camps, G. (1984) *BCTH(S)*, 15-16, 29-32; Camps G. (1993) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 12. Aix-en-Provence, 1770.

U. LIVADIOTTI

CARALIS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 9,380. The PN must be related to the name of the Sardinian city, Caralis (*Cagliari).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 206.

CARTHALO

Cf. Phoen. Milqarthilles, (*ml*)*qrthls*, “(Mel)qart has rescued”; Gk Καρθάλων; Lat. *Carthalo*. This Phoen. theophoric PN was very common and *Suffetes with this name also occur on inscriptions.

PNPPI, 311.

1. Carthag. priest (→*Priesthood) who was commissioned to devote to the god *Melqart of Tyre a tenth part (→*Tithe) of the spoils which his father, MALCHUS, had amassed in *Sicily around the mid-6th cent. BCE. He hesitated to side with his father, who had rebelled against *Carthage, who then executed him by *Crucifixion (Just. 18,7,7-15; Oros. 4,6,8).

DCPP, s.v. “Carthalon” (1) (K. Geus); Geus, K. (1994), 23f.

2. Commander of the Carthag. fleet (*nauarchos*, according to Plb. 1,53,7 and 54,2) during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), between 255 and 249 BCE. He was involved in military actions with varying outcomes in the areas of *Agrigentum, *Trapani, *Panormus, *Gela and *Camarina. Probably because of the mutiny by the MERCENARIES, whom he had failed to control, he was replaced by HAMILCAR (9) Barca.

Sources: Plb. 1,53,1-54,7; Diod. 23,18,2-5; 24,1,6-11; Oros. 4,10,3-4; Zonar. 8,14-16.

DCPP, s.v. “Carthalon” (2) (W. Huss); Geus, K. (1994), 24-26.

3. Carthag. general active during the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), he led several victorious operations

against the Romans in 217 and 216 BCE. He may have been the commander of Tarentum until the capture of that city in 209, when he was killed.

Main sources: Liv. 23,15,4-10 and 49,13; 27,16,5; App. *Hann.* 49,211-212; Eutr. 3,16,1; Oros. 4,18,5.

DCPP, s.v. “Carthalon” (3) (K. Geus); Geus, K. (1994), 26f.

4. Character of uncertain origin, is known as a Carthag. mediator, who, after the battle of Cannae (216 BCE), attempted to present peace terms to the Rom. Senate on behalf of HANNIBAL (9).

Sources: Liv. 22,58,7 to 9; Dio Cass. 16 fr. 57,36; Zonar. 9,6.

DCPP, s.v. “Carthalon” (4) (K. Geus); Geus, K. (1994), 27.

5. Carthag. official responsible for recruiting in Spain in the year 216 BCE (if Madvig’s proposal to replace *dictator* with *Carthalo* in Liv. 23,13,8 is accepted).

Geus, K. (1994), 28.

6. Carthag. official during the II Punic War. According to Livy (25,17,7), on the orders of HANNIBAL (9), he brought the head of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (→GRACCHI [2]) into the Rom. camp.

Geus, K. (1994), 28.

7. Carthag. *boetarchos*, he urged Lib. peasants to revolt in 153 BCE in a territorial district that was in dispute with MASSINISSA I (1) (Liv. *Perioch.* 48; App. *Pun.* 68,306-307; 74,341).

DCPP, s.v. “Carthalon” (8) (K. Geus); Geus, K. (1994), 28f.

8. Carthag. statesman with democratic and nationalistic ideals, who contributed to the expulsion of the pro-Massinissa party from the city in 151 BCE (App. *Pun.* 68,305-306; 70,316).

DCPP, s.v. “Carthalon” (7) (K. Geus); Geus, K. (1994), 29.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

Cato see PORCIUS CATO, MARCUS

CHARON

Gk Χάρων.

Carthag. historian (*FGrHist* 1077), according to Suida (χ 137 Adler). He wrote a work on the tyrants of Europe and Asia, as well as four books on the lives of famous men, and four on the lives of women. He lived in either the Hellenistic or the imperial period.

RE III,2, s.v. “Charon” (9) col. 2180 (E. Schwartz).

G. MINUNNO

CHREMETES

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 1,403.

Geus, K. (1994), 207.

CINYPS

A young soldier, one of the favourites of HANNIBAL (9), in Sil. *Pun.* 12,226ff.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 35; Fucecchi, M. (2010) The shield and the sword. In: Augoustakis, A. (ed.) *Brill’s companion to Silius Italicus*. Leiden/Boston, 233.

CIRTA

Soldier of HASDRUBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 15,447. His name is related to the North African TN Cirta (El-Hofra [*Constantine]).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 207.

CLAUDII

A very important Rom. noble patrician family, many members of which, as senators and commanders of armies played an important role in the course of the PUNIC WARS. Here its most important members are listed in chronological order.

1. *Claudius, Appius*. Military tribune sent to Messina in 264 BCE by CLAUDIUS (2) Caudex to remove the Carthag. garrison (Dio Cass. fr. 43, 5 = Zonar. 8,8).

Càssola, F. (1962) *I gruppi politici romani nel III secolo a.C.* Rome, 205f.

2. *Claudius Caudex, Appius*. *Consul* in 264 BCE. In effect, his decision to provide help for the Mamertines in Messina, started the I Punic War (Enn. *Ann.* 7,223 Vahlen²: *Appius indixit Karthaginiensibus bellum*). After crossing the Straits using a fleet supplied by his Gk allies, he forcibly removed from the city both the besieging Syracusans and the Carthag. troops. However, on his return to ROME the following year, he was not accorded the triumph, possibly for formal reasons, either because there had been no actual declaration of war or perhaps because his successes were inconsistent (on this topic our sources are contradictory: Plb. 1,11,9-12,4 and 1,15, with a conflicting version by Philinus).

Broughton, T. R. S. (1951) *The magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 1. New York, 214; Gabba, E. (1990) La prima guerra punica e gli inizi dell'espansione transmarina. In: Schiavone, A. (ed.) *Storia di Roma. 2. L'impero mediterraneo, I. La repubblica imperiale*. Turin, 55-67; Hoyos, D. (1998) *Unplanned wars. Origins of the First and Second Punic Wars*. Berlin/New York, 47-115.

3. *Claudius Pulcher, Publius*. Probably the son of Appius Claudius 'the Blind' (PYRRHUS' famous adversary). During the I Punic War in 249 BCE, he was sent as a *consul* to *Sicily in command of the land army. In an attempt to assist the Rom. troops involved in the siege of *Lilybaeum, he organized a fleet with which he tried to raid the port of *Trapani, but suffered an epic defeat (Plb. 1,49,3-51,12). This is why, for many years, the Romans declined to fit out a navy of their own. On his return to Rome, he had to relinquish his command to a *dictator* and was then put on trial, although for what is not clear (later tradition blamed him for sacrilegious behaviour). He died after being condemned for high treason.

Bleckmann, B. (2011) Roman politics in the First Punic War. In: Hoyos, D. (ed.) *A companion to the Punic Wars*. Singapore, 176-179.

4. *Claudius Marcellus, Marcus*. Member of a plebeian branch of the *gens* Claudia, he was one of most successful military commanders in the war against HANNIBAL (9). Already in the preceding years C. M. had shown himself to be an able and courageous combatant, as a young man in the I Punic War, then as *consul*, in 222 BCE, defeating the Insubrian Gauls in Cisalpine Gaul. In 216 *praetor* in office (for the second time), he was appointed to reorganize the Rom.

troops who survived the disaster at Cannae. From then onwards, in spite of his advanced age, he was given military commands, without interruption. In the following years (in which he was elected *consul* twice: first in 215 having to resign immediately for breaches of procedure, and then in 214) he succeeded in stemming the operations of Hannibal in Campania. His effective defence of Nola proved to be an extremely important result for the Romans also in terms of morale. In the autumn of 214, he was transferred to *Sicily. In 211, after a two year siege, he succeeded in taking *Syracuse, which had gone over to the side of the Carthaginians. The event was celebrated with an *ovatio*, a sort of minor triumph, when C. M. transported many works of Gk art to Rome, making an enormous impression on its citizens. In 210 he held the consulate for the fourth time: then he was sent to *Apulia* (where he remained in command of operations the following year as well). In spite of his failed engagement with Hannibal at Venosa, the following year he was re-elected *consul* for the fifth time. Sent at the head of a consular army to pursue Hannibal, he was killed in an ambush: however, differing accounts of the details of his death began circulating immediately. The main sources include *Vita Marcelli* by Plutarch and Liv. 23 (defence of Nola), 24 (siege of Syracuse) and 27 (death).

Caltabiano, M. (1975) La morte del console Marcello nella tradizione storiografica. In: Sordi, M. (ed.) *Storiografia e propaganda*. Milan, 65-81; Carawan, E. M. (1985) *CJ*, 80, 131-141; Georgiadou, A. (1992) Pelopidas and Marcellus. In: *ANRW* II 33, 6, 4222-4257; Flower, H. I. (2003) Memories of Marcellus. History and memory in Roman Republic culture. In: Eigler, U. et al. (eds) *Formen römischer Geschichtsschreibung von den Anfängen bis Livius. Gattungen – Autoren – Kontexte*. Darmstadt, 39-52.

5. *Claudius Pulcher, Appius*. Son of C. (3), as a military tribune, he fought against the Carthaginians at Cannae, in 216 BCE (Liv. 22,53,1-4; 54,5); then as a *praetor* in Sicily in 215 (Liv. 23,41,10-12) and as a *propraetor* after the arrival of C. M. (4) probably as his legate in 214-213 (Plb. 8,1,7; 3-7; Liv. 24,21; 27; 29-30; 33; 36; 39). As a *consul* in 212 and as a *proconsul* the following year, he besieged *Capua (Liv. 24,3,7-9.12-15.18-20.22; 26,1,5-6,8; App. *Hann.* 37). He died after that city fell, in 210, having been wounded in the chest during the siege (Liv. 26,16).

Broughton, T. R. S. (1951) *The magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 1. New York, 250.254.260ff.267.

6. Claudius Nero, Caius. In 214 BCE he fought against HANNIBAL (9) as a legate of C. Marcellus (4); then, in 212 as a *praetor* and in the first half of 211 as a *propraetor*, he took part in the siege of Capua. After capturing that city, in the second half of 211 and in 210 he was in *Spain, where he replaced the two SCIPIONS (3-4). There he succeeded in entrapping HASDRUBAL (6) and his army, although they managed to escape during negotiations for a surrender (Liv. 26,17,1-3; App. *Hisp.* 17). As a result he was recalled to fight in south. Italy. In 207, elected as *consul*, he was sent to pursue Hannibal, while his colleague Livius Salinator was entrusted with heading the new Carthag. army that Hasdrubal was leading into Italy, over the Alps, to join Hannibal. When he intercepted a message in which Hasdrubal had warned Hannibal of his expected arrival, with a bold manoeuvre, C. N. broke out with some of his troops from his own encampment, without letting Hannibal notice. As their guide, by forced marches at night and climbing back over the Apennines, he travelled over 500 km, re-joining the army of Livius Salinator, near Senigallia. Now reunited and with overwhelming numbers, the Rom. forces intercepted the Carthag. troops in the Valley of Metaurus, and massacred them. The sources mention 54,000 dead and more than 5,000 prisoners. C. N. was able to return to his encampment even before the news of the Carthag. defeat reached Hannibal.

The main sources are: Plb. 11,1-3; Liv. 27,43-51; App. *Hann.* 52-54; Fron. *Strat.* 1,1,9 and 2,9; 2,3,8 and 9,2; 4,7,15; Flor. 1,22,50-54; Eutr. 3,18; Oros. 4,18,9-16.

Broughton, T. R. S. (1951) *The magistrates of the Roman Republic*, I. New York, 267.274.280.294; Luni, M. (ed.) (2002) *La battaglia del Metauro*. Urbino.

7. Claudius Quadrigarius, Quintus. In the early decades of the 1st cent. BCE, he composed his *Annales* of Rom. history, in which he dealt at length with the Punic Wars (the first in book III, the second in books V and VI, and the third in books VII and VIII). Only ninety or so fragments of his work survive. Dramatic elements and a penchant for exaggeration (especially in describing battles) must have been typical of his narrative, on which Livy seems to have drawn extensively.

Morisco, G. (2006) *Vichiana*, 8, 299-307; Ambrosetti, M. (2010) *Q. Claudio Quadrigario, Annali. Introduzione, edizione critica e commento*. Rome.

Clitomachus: Gk Κλειτόμαχος, assumed name of the Carthag. philosopher →HASDRUBAL (13).

Cornelii Scipiones see SCIPIONS

Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Publius see CAECILII METELLI (3)

COTHON

Etymologically identical with *cothon (probably from the Sem. root *qtn*), used to denote an inner protected Pun. harbour; the name C. occurs in Silius Italicus, who mentions two persons called C., one a soldier of HANNIBAL (9) (*Pun.* 2,164) and the other a skilled seaman and steersman (*Pun.* 6,357).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 207.

A. ERCOLANI

CUPENCUS

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 4,535.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 207.

CYDNUS

Name of a soldier of the Carthag. fleet in Sil. *Pun.* 14,434.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 207.

Cyrus see PERSIANS

D

DAMUSI

Name of the king of *Qarthadasht in *Cyprus mentioned in ESARHADDON's foundation inscription (¹*Da-mu-ú-si* LUGAL ^{uru}*Qar-ti-ḥa-da-as-ti*: *AfO* Beih. 9, 60, line 69) dated to 673 BCE, among the vassal kings "from the Land of Hatti and from the shore of the sea" who supplied the Ass. king with wood and other materials for the construction of Esarhaddon's new royal palace in Nineveh (cf. also ASHURBANIBAL; ASSYRIANS). It has been suggested that the name of this Cypro-Phoen. sovereign could be related to that of *Adonis, through the Mesopot. god Damu.

Lipiński, E. (1983) La Carthage de Chypre. In: *StPhoen* 1-2, 209-234, esp. 213ff.; PNA 1/II, 375, s.v. "Damûsu" (R. Jas); Cannavò, A. (2007 = 2010) *RSF*, 35, 179-190; RINAP 4, 23: 1 v 69.

P. XELLA

Danuna see SEA PEOPLES

DARDANUS OF PHOENICIA

Gk Δάρδανος.

According to Pliny (*Nat.* 30,9) much of Democritus's knowledge was derived from D., whose books he had searched for even in D.'s tomb. It has been suggested that D. is the same as the mythical eponym of the Dardanians, who was connected with the mysteries of Samothrace. If so, D. could have been considered as coming from *Phoenicia because of his connection with *Cadmus, whose wife Harmonia was a sister of D. (Mnaseas, quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium, s.v. *Dardanos*). However, according to the Stoic philosopher Posidonius, the atomistic theory of Democritus was anticipated by Mochos of Sidon. Consequently, D. may be a completely different person, through whose work (written in Greek?) Democritus' atomistic theory could be connected to the Phoen. tradition from which it was supposed to derive.

RE IV,2, s.v. "Dardanos" (11) col. 2180 (E. Wellmann).

G. MINUNNO

DARIUS

Gk Δαρεῖος.

1. D. I, king of Persia (521-486 BCE), son of Istaspe. ascended the throne although he probably did not belong to the same dynastic line as his predecessor, Cambyses. Once on the throne, D. moved the capital to Persepolis. Between 499 and 493, D. had to face a revolt from the Gk cities of Ionia. According to Herodotus, Histiaeus, tyrant of Miletus, justified his instigation of the revolt by stating that he knew D. had been intending to deport Ionians to *Phoenicia and PHOENICIANS to Ionia. Having put down the rebellion, using the Phoen. contingents already in the Pers. navy, D. started the I Persian War against Greece. In one tradition, D. sent an embassy to *Carthage, asking for support for his projected expedition against Greece and banning human sacrifices, the consumption of dog flesh, and imposing to cremate the dead rather than bury them (→*Taboo). The main sources include *Hdt.* 6,3 and *Just.* 19,1,10-13.

RE IV,2, s.v. "Dareios" (1) cols 2184-2199 (H. Swoboda); Briant, P. (1996) *Histoire de l'Empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*. Paris, 119-173; Briant, P. (2001²) *Darius, les Perses et l'Empire*. Paris.

2. D. II, king of Persia (423-404 BCE). He supported Sparta against Athens in the Peloponnesian War, and so obtained the return of the Gk cities in Asia Minor under Pers. rule. D. placed the Satrap Tissaphernes in command of a fleet of 147 Phoen. ships (→*Ships and Navigation) to intervene in the Aegean sector (Thucydides). The fleet reached Aspendos, but proceeded no further and was then sent back to *Phoenicia, possibly on the pretext of a threat from *Egypt (cf. *Diod.* 13,46,6). Diodorus (14,98,1) states that D., king of the Persians, was a friend of ABDAMON (1), king of *Tyre.

RE IV,2, s.v. "Dareios" (2) cols 2199-2205 (H. Swoboda); Lewis, D. M. (1958) *Historia*, 7, 392-397; Lateiner, D. (1976) *TAPhA*, 106, 267-290; Briant, P. (1996) *Histoire de l'Empire Perse de Cyrus à Alexandre*. Paris, 605-629.

3. D. III → PERSIANS; ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

G. MINUNNO

DEMONICOS

The name D., Phoen. *dmwnks* or *dmnks*, a transcription of Gk Δημόνικος/Δᾶμόνικος, was adopted by several kings or princes of *Cyprus during the 5th-4th cent. BCE.

The mintage of *Lapethos is proof of the existence of several kings named D. in the dynastic succession proposed by scholars. The presence of Gk royal names written in Phoenician alternates with Phoen. names such as SIDQIMILK or BARIKSHAMASH: this helps to strengthen the idea that a Phoen. power, well-assimilated to its Cypr.-Gk context, ruled on Lapethos during the classical period. However, the evidence is scarce and disparate and hard to reconcile; consequently, it is problematic to identify or differentiate the various characters.

It would seem that the following can be identified.

1. D. I (Lapethos), at the turn of 6th-5th cent. A stater dated to ca 500, with the motif of Athena's head on both sides, bears the Phoen. legend [*lmks m(lk)*] *dmwnks*: "[belonging to king] *Dēmonikos/Dāmonikos*", a transcription of the Gk name Δημόνικος/Δᾶμόνικος.

2. D. II (Lapethos), at the beginning of the 4th cent. Several staters dated ca 390 (Greenfield [1987], 304, figs 2-3), with Athena, standing (with no legend), on the obverse, and on the reverse a naked Heracles walking to the right, with *leonté*, bow and club, with the legend [*lmlk*] *dmnks*. An example in the British Museum bears a clearer and more detailed legend: [*l*] *dmnks mlk lpš*: "[Belonging to] D., king of Lapethos". The motif on the reverse – *Melqart/Heracles as an 'attacking warrior god', also depicted on *Kition coins from the 5th and 4th cent. and very frequent in sculpture – is not enough to make him a king of Kition, as some scholars have proposed.

3. D. III ? (Lapethos), in the second half of the 4th cent. According to a Phoen. inscription from Larnaka-tis-Lapethou (*LL III*: Honeyman [1938]; Greenfield [1987]), PRAXIPPOS king of Lapethos is "the son of D.". We do not know whether he is D. III or D. II (2). If he is D. II (the father of Praxippos, who ruled from ca. 360 to 346), his reign would have lasted at least 30 years.

4. Also in relation to Cyprus, the PN D. (Δημόνικος) is known in Greek as the addressee of the exhortative discourse *To Demonikos* (*Salamine X*, nos 287-288). For a long time it was attributed to the Athenian Isocrates (4th cent.) and included in the *Cypriot Discourses* together with the discourses *To Nicocles* and *Evagoras* dedicated to the king of Salamis. However, this fourth discourse seems to be spurious (Blass, F. [1887], 278). The subject of the discourse makes this D. the son of a certain Hipponicos, who died prematurely, leaving a young son, for whom his friend Isocrates would have written advice, teaching him how he should live (Mathieu and Brémond [1928], 122). The grammarian Tzetzes (*Chiliades* 11, v. 659: Yon [1978], no. 287) speaks of a certain D., the son of EVAGORAS, king of Cyprus, as follows: "after Evagoras' death, (Isocrates) wrote a large number of exhortations to his son named D.". But the possibility that this D., the son of Hipponicos, a rich Cypriot, could have been a foster child of Evagoras I – who would have ensured his education – linked to the throne of NICOCLES, remains mere conjecture. Ultimately, we do not know much about him, even if he is to be connected to D. / *dmnks* king of Lapethos, or to a possible (but unlikely) D., king of Kition.

Blass, F. W. (1887) *Die Attische Beredsamkeit*. Leipzig; Mathieu, G. and Brémond, É. (eds and transl.) (1928) *Isocrate I, Demonikos (I)*. Paris, 121-135; Honeyman, A. M. (1938) *Le Muséon*, 51, 285-298; Hill, G. (1940) *History of Cyprus*, I, Cambridge; Masson, O. and Sznycer, M. (1972) *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*. Paris, 97-100; Greenfield, J. C. (1987) Larnax tēs Lapithou III revisited. In: *StPhoen* 5, 391-401; *Salamine X*: Chavane, M.-J. and Yon, M. (1978) *Salamine de Chypre X. Testimonia Salamina* 1. Paris.

M. YON

DIODORUS OF TYRE

Gk Διόδωρος.

Peripatetic philosopher of the 2nd cent. BCE, a disciple of Critolaus (Cic. *Orat.* 1,45) and his successor as headmaster of the school in Athens (Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1,130). According to D., goodness consisted in honesty combined with absence of pain (Cic. *Fin.* 5,14; *Tusc.* 5,85; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 2,21).

RE V,1, s.v. "Diodoros" (44) col. 707 (E. Martini); Goulet, R. (1994) Diodoros de Tyr. In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 2. Paris, 795.

G. MINUNNO

DIODOTUS OF SIDON

Gk Διόδοτος.

Peripatetic philosopher who lived in the 1st cent. BCE, the brother of BOETHUS of Sidon. Our only source is Strabo (16,2,24), who mentions the two brothers among the most illustrious characters in Sidon.

RE V,1, s.v. “Diodotos” (12) col. 715 (E. Martini); Goulet, R. (1994) Diodotos de Sidon. In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 2. Paris, 797.

G. MINUNNO

DIONYSIUS OF TRIPOLIS

Gk Διονύσιος.

Prince of *Tripolis in *Phoenicia, D. was executed by POMPEIUS in 64 BCE (Joseph. *AJ* 14,39). There is an hypothesis that he is the dynast portrayed on a denarius minted by A. Plautius.

Kropp, A. J. M. (2013) *Images and monuments of Near Eastern dynasts, 100 BC-AD 100*. Oxford, 18 (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/trc/roman_republican_coins.aspx no. 431) [Accessed 15.08.2017].

U. LIVADIOTTI

DIOTIMOS

Gk Διότιμος.

The son of Abdelonim (*'bd'lnm*) (→ABDALONYMUS), king of *Sidon. His original Phoen. name is not preserved. He dedicated an unspecified maritime monument (a lighthouse?) to the goddess *Astarte “for the salvation of all the sailors” (*'l hy k[l mlhm]*), as stated in the bilingual (Phoen./Gk) inscription from *Cos found in 1982 [FIG. 31].



Fig. 31. Bilingual inscription from Cos

Snzyer, M. (1999) *Semitica*, 49, 103-116; Lipiński, E. (2004) *Itineraria Phoenicia*. OLA 227 = StPhoen 18. Leuven, 149-155; Xella, P. (2010) *SemClass*, 3, 85-89.

P. XELLA

DORIEUS

Gk Δωριεύς; Lat. *Dorieus*.

A Spartan prince who lived in the second half of the 6th cent. BCE. He was one of king Anaxandridas' sons and after his brother Cleomenes was appointed to the throne, he left the city and landed in North Africa where he founded a colony in the region of Kinyps near a river with the same name (present day Oued Caam, not far from Cyrene). This enterprise, which can be dated to about 515, failed after three years due to opposition by the Carthaginians and the Maci (a local tribe). The settlement was destroyed and D. went back home with his army (Hdt. 5,42). After supporting the Crotoniates in the war against the Sybarites (Hdt. 5,44) and encouraged by the Oracle of Delphi, D. went to *Sicily where he revived the colony of *Heraclea, located on the west. tip of the island, in the vicinity of *Eryx. The expansion of that colony alarmed the ELYMIANS of *Segesta as well as their Carthag. allies, who in 510 ca, attacked it and razed it to the ground (Diod. 4,23). In the conflict, D. died. However, the result of his efforts was to strengthen the presence of *Carthage on the island, encouraging it to carry out the first organized military operation there for several decades. In fact, in the following years, certain clauses in the first treaty (→TREATIES) between Carthage and ROME (Plb. 3,22) ratified Pun. control over west. Sicily.

DCPP, s.v. (C. Bonnet – E. Lipiński); Huss, W. (1985), 62ff.74; Krings, V. (1998) *Carthage et les Grecs*. Leiden/Boston/Köln, 161-215; Braccisi, L. (2000) Per una riconsiderazione dell'avventura di Dorieo. In: *Terze Giornate Internazionali di Studi sull'area elima*. Atti, I. Pisa/Gibellina, 167-179.

S. F. BONDI

DRACES

Soldier of HASDRUBAL (6) in Sil. *Pun.* 15,467.468.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 35.

DUILIUS, CAIUS

Consul in 260 BCE, who was sent to *Sicily to confront the Carthaginians at the head of ground troops

while his fellow officer, Cornelius Scipio (Asina) (→SCIPIONS [1]) was entrusted with the command of the first fleet in Rom. warfare. It comprised twenty triremes and a hundred or so quinqueremes, all built (according to Rom. literary tradition in only two months) using as a model a Carthag. vessel that had run aground on the Calabrian coast and had ended up in Rom. hands (Plb. 1,20,9 and 21,4). In another version, which is less reliable, D. was given command of the fleet right from the start of operations (Zonar. 8,10). At all events, after the enemy unexpectedly captured Cornelius in the waters of Lipari, D. took over supreme command of the naval forces as well with part of which he moved against the PUNICS commanded by HANNIBAL (3), gaining an unexpected victory in the battle offshore of *Milazzo. About thirty Carthag. ships (including the admiral, having seven banks of oarsmen) were captured and at least a dozen were sunk. Ancient tradition insisted on connecting this unexpected victory (which modern criticism, instead, tends to consider as less important) with the use of machinery nicknamed the ‘crow’. This was a sort of mobile gangway, equipped with a hook, which made it possible to harpoon the enemy ships and allow the troops carried on the Rom. vessels to cross onto the enemy’s, effectively transforming the naval battle into an infantry engagement. In ground operations as well, D. also obtained important successes in *Sicily, liberating *Segesta from an enemy siege and conquering Makella (*Montagnola di Marineo), a stronghold of uncertain location. However, it is not clear whether these operations on land took place before or after the naval battle of Milazzo. Thanks to these victories, on his return to ROME, D. was able to celebrate the triumph, over the Siculi and over the Pun. fleet (the first naval victory in the history of Rome: *Inscr. It.* XIII 1.77). Part of the immense booty brought back was used to build the Temple of Janus in the Forum Holitorium (Tac. *Ann.* 2,49,1). Furthermore, as one of the honours granted to D., a column adorned with the *rostra* that had been removed from the Pun. fleet was erected right in the forum (*columna rostrata*: Plin. *Nat.* 34,11; Quint. *Inst.* 1,7,12; Serv. *G.* 3,29, who mentions two, probably by mistake). An Augustan age copy – possibly not an exact replica – of the inscription that was to adorn this column, was found in 1565 (*CIL* I² 25 = VI 1300 = *ILS* 65 = *Inscr. It.* XIII.3 69). The text, in somewhat archaic Latin, records the amount of the booty acquired by D. in his campaign and the number of Carthag. ships either captured or

sunk, using Rom. terminology to define the Pun. commander Hannibal as *dictator*.

The main literary source for reconstructing D.’s expedition is Plb. 1,21-23. Cf. also Liv. *Perioch.* 17,2; Val. Max. 7,3 *ext.* 7; Plin. *Nat.* 16,56; Front. *Strat.* 2,3,24; Flor. 1,18,7-9; Dio Cass. 11, fr. 43,16; Eutr. 2,20,1-2; [Aur. Vict.] *Vir. Ill.* 38,1-2; Oros. 4,7,7-10; Zonar. 8,10-11.

Sordi, M. (1967) *RFIC*, 95, 260-268; Gendre, M. and Loutsch, C. (2001) C. Duilius et M. Atilius Regulus. In: Coudry, M. and Späth, T. (eds) *L’invention des grands hommes de la Rome antique. Die Konstruktion der grossen Männer Altroms (Actes du Colloque du Collegium Beatus Rhenanus, 16-18 Septembre 1999)*. Paris, 131-172; Kondratieff, E. (2004) *SCI*, 23, 1-39; Bleckmann, B. (2011) Roman politics in the First Punic War. In: Hoyos, D. (ed.), *A companion to the Punic Wars*. Singapore, esp. 172f.

U. LIVADIOTTI

DYNASTIES

Royalty was the norm in Phoen. city-states up to the Hellenist. period, with a few exceptions when government was by *Suffetes. It was unique, for life and hereditary, hence the need to form lasting d. The Phoen. kings took every possible precaution to ensure succession by their descendants and to protect themselves against dynastic crises. [FIGS 32.1 and 32.2]. The practice of consanguineous royal marriages was already documented in *Ugarit and a Phoen. example is the Sidonian dynasty ‘of ESHMUNAZOR’ I (1), where TABNIT (ca 550-540 BCE) married his sister (or half-sister) Emmiashtart.

Between Tabnit’s death and the birth of ESHMUNAZOR II (2), the queen mother made the interregnum secure. She was the coregent during the minority of her son, who ruled for just under 14 years (ca 539-525). As he died too young to have an heir, the succession of the dynasty was made secure by a collateral branch: BODASHTART was the son of a sibling of Tabnit and Emmiashtart. The dynasty was saved, but this did not prevent an internal crisis, namely the rivalry between Emmiashtart and her nephew Bodashtart, who removed his aunt from power.

Another way of consolidating the dynasty was by the crown prince sharing power at the end of his father’s reign, e.g. Bodashtart (ca 524-510) shared power with YATONMILK. In the dynasty ‘of BAALSHILLEM I’, after ABDAMON and BAANA, BAALSHILLEM II (401-366) shared power with his son ABDASHTART I (Gk Straton).

The kings of *Tyre in the 8th and 7th cent. are mentioned in Ass. annals, without their patronyms. The chronology of the kings of Tyre given by Josephus is the most detailed, but it remains approximate. ABIBAAL was the 1st king of the Tyrian dynasty in the 10th cent., possibly already in contact with David. His son HIRAM I (ca 969-936) succeeded him, then his son Balbazeros (according to Joseph. *AP* 1,121, Phoen. BAALIMANZER I: ca 935-919) and then his son ABDASTRATOS (ca 918-910). He was assassinated by his nanny's four sons and replaced by the eldest, METHOUSASTARTOS (ca 909-898). His brother ASTHARYMOS (ca 897-889) succeeded him and was killed by his brother, PHELLES (ca 888). This 2nd dynasty ended because a priest of Astarte, ITTOBAAL I (ca 888-856), then seized power. His son Balezoros (according to Joseph. *AP* 1,124, Phoen. BAALIMANZER II: ca 855-830) succeeded him, then his son MATTAN I (ca 829-821). PYGMALION, whose patronym remains unknown, succeeded him (ca 820-774). Josephus mentions another Tyrian d. of the 5th cent.: Merbalos (Phoen. MAHARBAAL) (ca 555-552), whose patronym remains unknown seized the throne, followed by his brother HIRAM III (ca. 551-532), then, perhaps, by Ittobaal IV. In 480, Mattan III was in power, possibly succeeding Hiram IV. Perhaps AZ(Z)IMILK (ca 349-333/2) belonged to the same d. as his predecessor Abdashtart (Gk Straton). Little is known about the d. of *Arwad: AZ(Z)IBAAL I succeeded his father YAKINLU ca 662; Maharbaal

was in power in 480, possibly succeeding his father Az(z)ibaal II; perhaps Abdashtart (Straton) succeeded his father GERASHTART (Gk Gerostratos) (339-333). The d. of *Byblos are slightly better known. The 1st d. known begins with AHIROM ca 1000. His son ITTOBAAL (ca 1000-970) succeeded him. Undoubtedly, YAHIMILK (ca 970) belonged to a new dynasty. He was followed by his son ABIBAAL (ca 945 BCE), then by his other son ELIBAAL (ca 924 BCE), and finally by his grandson SHAPATBAAL I (ca 900 BCE). Another d. is known in the Persian period: URIMILK II (ca 475) and his grandson YEHAWMILK (ca 450), as his father YAHARBAAL never reigned. The last d. was of AZ(Z)IBAAL, son of the priest PALTIBAAL and of BATNOAM, who seized power ca 400. His successors URIMILK III and AYNEL (Gk Enylos) seem to have belonged to the same dynasty.

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 349; Green, A. R. (1983) David's relations with Hiram: Biblical and Josephan evidence for Tyrian chronology. In: Meyers, C. L. and O'Connor, M. (eds) *The word of the Lord shall go forth: Essays in honor of D. N. Freedman*. Winona Lake, 382-387; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (1993) *Syria*, 70, 109-115; Elayi, J. (2004) *Trans*, 27, 9-27; Elayi, J. (2006) *Trans*, 32, 13-43; Lemaire, A. (2006) *CRAI(BL)*, 1699-1716; Sagona, C. (ed.) (2008) *Beyond the homeland: Markers in Phoenician chronology*. Leuven/Paris/Dudley; Henige, D. (2009) *Trans*, 38, 35-64; Elayi, J. (2010) *Trans*, 39, 69-78; Elayi, J. (2013) *Histoire de la Phénicie*. Paris, 323-325.

J. ELAYI

Dates	Kings of Byblos	Kings of Beirut	Kings of Sidon	Kings of Tyre
ca 2600-2300 ca 2046-2038 ca 1773 ca 1772-1764 ca 1737-1733 ca 1721-1710 ca 1721-1710 end 17th - start 16th cent end 17th - start 16th cent end 17th - start 16th cent start 16th cent - 16th cent. 16th cent. ca 1360-1330 ca 1300-1200 ca 1213-1203	Baalat-rum ? Ibdati Abishemu I Ibshemuabi Reyen (Yakin-Ilu) Inten (Yantin-Ammu) Ilimma-yapi Abishemu II Yapa-Shemuabi Akery Akay (Egliya) Kain Rynty Rib-Adda Ili-Rapih	 Yapaḥ-Adda Ammunira	 Yabni- Zimrida Addu-Yashma Addumu Anniya ? Yapaḥ-Adda Adda-	 Baal-Shiptu I Abi-Milku Baal-Shiptu II Baal-Targumu

Fig. 32.1. Chronology of the 'Proto-Phoenician' kings (according to J. Elayi)

Dates	Kings of Arwad	Kings of Byblos	Kings of Sidon	Kings of Tyre
ca 1090		Zakarbaal	Ualet or Makmal	Ualet or Makmal
1050-1000		Ahirom (ca 1000)		Abibaal (bef. 970)
1000-950		Ittobaal (ca 1000-970) Yahimilk (ca 970-950)		Hiram I (ca 970-936) Balezoros (ca 935-918)
950-900		Abibaal (ca 943) Elibaal (ca 922)		Abdastratos (ca 918-909) Methousastratos (ca 909-897)
900-850	Mattanbaal I (853)	Shapatbaal I (ca 900)		Astharymos (ca 897-889) Phelles (ca 889-888)
850-800				Ittobaal I (ca 888-856) Balezoros (ca 848-830)
800-750				Mattan I (ca 830-821) Pumayyaton (ca 821-774)
750-700	Mattanbaal II (ca 734-732)	Shapatbaal II (ca 737-732)		Milkiram ? (ca 750) Ittobaal II (ca 740) Hiram II (ca 739-730) Mattan II (ca 729)

700-650	Abdileti (ca 701) Mattanbaal III (ca 673) Yakinlu (ca 670-660) Az(z)ibaal I (after 660)	Urimilk I (ca 701) Milkyasap (ca 673)	Ittobaal (ca 701) Abdimilkutti (ca 677) <i>Assyrian province</i> (677-610)	Luli (ca 728-695) Baal I (ca 677-671)
650-600		Adon ? (ca 603-602)		
600-550			Eshmunazor I (ca 575-550)	Ittobaal III (ca 591-573) Baal II (ca 572-563) <i>Periods of the Judges</i> (563-556) Eknibal/ Kelbes/ Abbar (ca 563-562)
				Mattan/Gerashtart (ca 561-556)
				<i>Return of the kings</i> Baalazor (ca 556) Maharbaal (ca 555-552) Hiram III (ca 551-533) Ittobaal IV ? (after 532)
550-500			Tabnit (ca 550-540) Emmiashtart (ca 539) Eshmunazor II (ca 539-525) Bodashtart (ca 524-515) Yatonmilk ? (after 515) Anysos ? (before 480) Tetramnestos (480)	
500-450	Az(z)ibaal II ? (before 480) Maharbaal (480)	Shapatbaal III (ca 500) Urimilk II Yaharbaal ? Yehawmilk (ca 450)	Baalshillem I (ca 425) Abdamon Baana	Hiram IV ? (before 480) Mattan III (480) Maharbaal II (after 480)
450-400		Elipaal		
		Az(z)ibaal (ca 400)	Baalshillem II /Sakton (401-366) Abdashtart I /Straton (365-352) Tennes (351-347) Evagoras (346-343) Abdashtart II (342-333) Abdalonim/ Abdalonymos	
400-350		Urimilk III Aynel/Enylos		Abdashtart (after 354-350) Az(z)ibaal/Azemilkos (349-333)
350-333	Gerashtart/Gerostratos (339-333)			
		Aynel/Enylos ?		
After 333	Gerashtart/Gerostratos Abdashtart ?			Az(z)imilk/ Azemilkos

Fig. 32.2. Chronology of the Phoenician kings (according to J. Elayi)

E

EDOMITES

The word Edom is Sem.: “Red”; Hebr. *ʾdwm*; Akk. *Udūmmu*; Gk Ἰδουμαία; Lat. *Idumaea*.

The country of the E. extends from the river Zered in the N to Ras en-Naqb in the S. From Egypt. inscriptions between the 14th and 11th cent. BCE, we know of the existence of Shasu-nomads in Edom. These were local nomads with limited home territory. A later expansion of the country of Edom extended as far as the Negev, to the border of the Pers. province of Yehud. This happened against the background of the repression of the E. by the NABATAEANS advancing from North Arabia. The fundamentally weak monarchy of the E. was often subject to foreign powers as a vassal. Of importance for Edomite trade were, on the one hand, the border of the Dead Sea with the port of *Eilat, and, on the other hand, the possibility of using the ‘King’s Highway’, which ran through Moab (→MOABITES) and Ammon (→AMMONITES) to *Damascus, or across the Jordan and through Beth-Shean to the W and on to *Lebanon. Furthermore, there was a trade route to the W, through *Kuntillet-ʿAjrud – a caravan station between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean – ending in *Gaza. Phoen. and Hebr. inscriptions have been found at Kuntillet-ʿAjrud. The E. were trading partners of the PHOENICIANS in the port of Eilat. The trading partnership between king SOLOMON and king HIRAM of Tyre in Ezion-geber, mentioned in the *Old Testament, is no more than legendary (1 Kgs 9,26f.; 10,11f. 21f.) and came several centuries later. The period when king Jeroboam II reigned (787-747) seems to be preferable. Phoen. inscriptions of the 5th and 4th cent. BCE suggest that there was a Phoen. settlement in *Tell el-Kheleife. Also Ezekiel (27,16) and Amos (1,9-10) provide evidence for Phoen. trade with Eilat. After the 6th cent. BCE, the E. invaded the Negev and spread through the remnants of the kingdom of JUDAH, as did the Phoenicians from the N. Commercial goods exchanged between the E. and the Phoenicians included copper from Feinan, slaves from Africa and frankincense from South Arabia. They also had diplomatic relations with Tyre (Jer 27,3).

Naveh, J. (1966) *BASOR*, 183, 27-30; Müller, H.-P. (1971) *WO*, 6, 189-204; Delavault, B. and Lemaire, A. (1979) *RSF*, 7, 1-39,

esp. 28-30; Lemaire, A. (1987) Les Phéniciens et le commerce entre la Mer Rouge et la Mer Méditerranée. In: *StPhoen* 5, 49-60; Knauf, E. A. and Lenzen, C. J. (1987) Edomite copper supply. In: Hadidi, A. (ed.) *Studies in the history and archaeology of Jordan*. 3. Amman, 83-88; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1992) *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d’Israël et de Juda*. OLA 46 = *StPhoen* 12. Leuven, 116f.132-136.158.223.268-270.283-287; Edelman, D. V. (1995) *You shall not abhor an Edomite for he is your brother. Edom and Seir in history and tradition*. Atlanta; Renz, J. (1995; 2017²) *Die althebräischen Inschriften*. 1. Darmstadt, 47-64; Lipiński, E. (2004) *Itineraria Phoenicia*. OLA 127 = *StPhoen* 18. Leuven, 136.191.196; Anderson, B. A. (2017) *Brotherhood and inheritance: A canonical reading of the Esau and Edom tradition*. New York.

H. NIEHR

ELIBAAL

Phoen. theophoric PN *ʾlbʾl*, “My god is Baal”. King of *Byblos in the closing years of the 10th cent. BCE, the son of YAHIMILK, brother of ABIBAAL and father of SHAPATBAAL I. E. is the dedicator of a votive inscription (*KAI* 6 = *TSSI* III, 21-22) engraved on the fragmentary statue (bust) of Pharaoh Osorkon I (ca 924-889), dedicated to the “Mistress of Byblos” (*bʾlt gbl*: →*Baalat), his lady, with a request to make his life and his kingdom long [FIG. 33]. On the back



Fig. 33. Bust of Pharaoh Osorkon I with the inscription of Elibaal king of Byblos (Byblos)

of the statue, in hieroglyphic script, are the titles of the Pharaoh, defined as “powerful bull, beloved of Ra”, which is the *terminus post quem* for the dating of E.’s reign.

PNPPI, 61.266f.288-290; Dussaud, R. (1925) *Syria*, 6, 101-117; Dunand, M. (1926-1932) *Fouilles de Byblos*, I. Paris, 17f.; Montet, P. (1928) *Byblos et l’Égypte*. Paris, 54, pls. XXXVI-XXXVII; Lipiński, E. (1995), 70ff.; *Art phénicien*, 61f., no. 45.

P. XELLA

ELIMLK

Akk. DINGIR-*mil-ku*, corresponding to the Phoen. theophoric PN *’mlk*, “Mlk is (my) god” or “El/My god is king” (it does not occur in inscriptions).

Name of an Ass. officer, possibly of Phoen. origin, who was eponym in the year 886/885 of king Tukulti-Ninurta III.

DCPP, s.v. (E. Lipiński); *RIMA* 2, 171.

G. MINUNNO

ELIPAAL

Phoen. theophoric PN *’lp’l*, “My god/El has made”. King of *Byblos in the closing years of the 5th cent. BCE, only known thanks to his coin legends, “E. king of Byblos” (*’lp’l mlk gbl*).

PNPPI, 61.393; Hill, G. F. (1910) *Phoenicia. A catalogue of the Greek coins in the British Museum*. London, 94, nos 2-3; *DCPP*, s.v. “Elipa’ol” (E. Lipiński); Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 15. Paris, 228f., nos 7-9 and *passim*.

G. MINUNNO

Elipaol see ELIPAAL

Eloulaios see LULI

Elpaal see ELIPAAL

ELYMIANS

A local people in west. *Sicily, who settled in an area lying between the territory of the Sicani to the E (Thuc. 6,2,3) and Phoen. colonies to the W (Thuc. 6,2,6).

First mentioned in connection with events of the 6th cent. BCE, the E. retained their autonomy as citizens until the formation of the EPARCHY. The sources mention the following as cities of the E.: *Segesta and *Eryx (Thuc. 6,2,3), *Entella (Serv. A. 5,73; *Paraphr. Lyc.* 961-964; *schol. Lyc.* 472; 952; 964), which was, however, occupied by Ital. mercenaries in 404 (Diod. 14,9,9), and perhaps also Halyciae (*IG I* 12). Ancient ethnographic tradition traced the E. back to Italic (Hellanic. *FGrHist* 4 F 79b = Diod. 1,22,3), Ligurian (Philist. *FGrHist* 556 F 46 = Dion. Halic. 1,22,4) or even Trojan (Thuc. 6,2,3; Lycophr. 951-977; Cic. *Verr.* 2,4,72; Verg. A. 5,700-778; Dion. Halic. 1,52-53) origins. By the 6th cent. the E. had already reached a high level of *Hellenization, but Gk historical sources also say that they had especially close connections with the PHOENICIANS (Thuc. 6,2,6: de La Genière [1978]; Bondi [1988-1989]). In the 6th cent., siding with the Phoen. colonies, the E. prevented various attempts by the Greeks to penetrate the region: by Pentathlus of Cnidus, in 580 (cf. Antioch. *FGrHist* 555 F 1 = Paus. 10,11,3-5, who mention the E. explicitly, and Diod. 5,9,2-3, who only refers to the Segestans) and by the Spartan DORIEUS, in 510 (cf. Hdt. 5,39-42; 7,158; Diod. 4,23,1-3 and Paus. 3,16,4-5, who again only mentions the Segestans). By the 5th cent., at the latest, the Elymian region seems to have attained some sort of close inner cohesion, around Segesta as the hegemonic city (Musti). The use, first in Segesta and then in Eryx, of legends on coins in the local language – written in the Gk alphabet but otherwise only occurring as graffiti on pots in the 6th and 5th cent., mostly from Segesta (Agostiniani) – dates to this period. In the same years, Segesta was involved in various territorial disputes with nearby cities, especially with Gk *Selinus. In order to cope, they asked for outside help on several occasions and so instigated the second Athenian expedition to Sicily in 416-415 (Thuc. 6,6 and 8-25; Diod. 12,82-84; but for the connections between Athens and the E. see also *IG I* 11 and 12) and the Carthag. intervention in 409 (Diod. 12,43,2-5). Afterwards, the various Elymian cities continued to exist for some time, with alternating fortunes, first as part of the Pun. EPARCHY and later within the Rom. province.

Van Compernelle, R. (1950-1951) *Phoibos*, 5, 183-228; Agostiniani, L. (1977) *Iscrizioni anelleniche di Sicilia*. I. *Le iscrizioni elime*. Florence; de La Genière, J. (1978) *MEFRA*, 90, 133-148;

Nenci, G., Tusa, S. and Tusa, V. (eds) (1988-1989) *Gli Elimi e l'area elima fino all'inizio della prima guerra punica. Atti del Seminario di Studi (Palermo/Contessa Entellina, 25-28 maggio 1988)*. Palermo; Bondi, S. F. (1988-1989) *Gli Elimi e il mondo fenicio-punico*. In: Nenci, G., Tusa, S. and Tusa, V. (eds) cit., 133-143; Nenci, G. (1988-1989) *Per una definizione dell'area elima*. In: Nenci, G., Tusa, S. and Tusa, V. (eds) cit., 21-26; Musti, D. (1988-1989) *La storia di Segesta e di Erice tra il VI ed il III secolo a.C.* In: Nenci, G., Tusa, S. and Tusa, V. (eds) cit., 155-171; *Giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima. Atti (Gibellina, 19-22 settembre 1991)*. Pisa/Gibellina 1992; *Seconde giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima. Atti (Gibellina, 22-26 ottobre 1994)*. Pisa/Gibellina 1997; De Vido, S. (1997) *Gli Elimi. Storie di contatti e di rappresentazioni*. Pisa; Nenci, G. (1999) *Siti e insediamenti nel territorio elimo*. In: Barra Bagnasco, M., De Miro, E. and Pinzone, A. (eds) *Magna Grecia e Sicilia. Stato degli studi e prospettive di ricerca. Atti dell'incontro di studi (Messina, 2-4 dicembre 1996)*. Messina, 211-222; *Terze giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima. Atti (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23-26 ottobre 1997)*. Pisa/Gibellina 2000; *Quarte giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima. Atti (Erice, 1-4 dicembre 2000)*. Pisa 2003; Albanese Procelli, R. M. (2003) *Sicani, Siculi, Elimi. Forme di identità, modi di contatto e processi di trasformazione*. Milan; Spatafora, F. and Vassallo, S. (eds) (2004) *Das Eigene und das Andere. Griechen, Sikaner und Elymer. Neue archäologische Forschungen im antiken Sizilien*. Palermo.

B. LIETZ

Emmiashtart: the mother and coregent of
→ESHMUNAZOR II (2) of Sidon.

EPARCHY

In the language used by Gk sources to define Carthag. regulations, the term E. (Gk ἐπαρχία) with the meaning “territorial domain”, is used to denote the possessions of *Carthage under the direct control of the hegemonic power in the central-west. region of *Sicily. The east. borders of that territory are largely indicated by a series of fortresses situated between the rivers Belice and Platani, forming a sort of *limes* along the N-S geographical axis between *Thermaï on the Tyrrhenian coast and *Heraclea Minoa on the south. coast of the island. Archaeological research and analysis of the literary sources are in agreement that the constitution of the Carthag. E. in Sicily was defined only in the late 4th cent. BCE, in essence after the events connected with the enterprise of TIMOLEON the Corinthian (ca 345-339) on the island. Previously, in fact, Carthage, whose earliest interventions in the region can be dated to the mid-6th cent., had not initiated a real policy for coordinated management of the territories affected by the presence of the PHOENICIANS (unlike what happened at the same time in North Africa and in

*Sardinia). It was limited to a type of supervision that was military in nature, and to bilateral relations with Phoen. villages and even, after the defeat suffered at *Himera in 480, distanced itself completely from Sicilian events for some seventy years. Evidence for the substantial change affecting Carthag. politics in Sicily from the second half of the 4th cent. comes from the presence of numerous Pun. rural villages in the central-west. part of the island and from the chain of *phrouria* (already mentioned, the most important of which was *Monte Adranone) to the east. borders of the E. Evidence is also provided by the cessation, before the end of that same cent., of all autonomous coinage in the Pun. towns of the island, to be replaced by ‘provincial’ issues characterized by legends referring explicitly to a class of Carthag. officials (*mḥšbm*, i.e. “accountants”) or to a coordinated operational programme of the whole controlled area (*bʾršt*, “in the territories”). Note, finally, that the term E. coincides substantially with the definition of province in the language adopted from Lat. literary sources.

Anello, P. (1986) *Kokalos*, 32, 115-179; Anello, P. *et al.* (1990-1991) *Kokalos*, 36-37, 161-265; Cataldi, S. (2003) Alcune considerazioni su eparchia ed epicrazia cartaginese. In: *Quarte giornate internazionali di studi sull'area elima. Atti (Erice, 1-4 dicembre 2000)*. Pisa, 217-252; Pani, C. (2011) Il sistema di roccaforti cartaginesi nella Sicilia centro-occidentale. In: *Lavori e studi promossi dal DISMA (2008-2010)*. *Daidalos*, 11, 5f.

S. F. BONDI

EPIPALOS

E. was king of *Amathus (*Cyprus) during the 4th cent. BCE, according to the evidence from a single coin. A stater dating to ca 360 has the Gk legend *e-pi-pa-lo* [= Ἐπίπαλω], written twice in the Cypr. sinistrose syllabary, on both the obverse and the reverse (*ICS* [1983²], 211, no. 202). This name seems to be a *hapax* in Greek (Egetmeyer [2010], 309). Probably it is the Gk transcription of the Phoen. PN Abibaal (*ʾbbʾl*), which is well documented in *Phoenicia (e.g. the Tyrian king ABIBAAL, the father of HIRAM I in the 10th cent.). This type of stater bearing the depiction of a lion is part of a series generally attributed to the kings of Amathus during the 4th cent. Nothing else is known about him.

Perdrizet, P. (1898) *RN*, 207f.; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Egetmeyer, M. (2010) *Le dialecte grec ancien de Chypre*, I: *Grammaire II: Répertoire*. Berlin.

M. YON

Eqwesh see SEA PEOPLES

ESARHADDON

Akk. *Aššūr-aḫu-iddina* “Assur has given a brother”. King in the Neoass. period (681-669 BCE), the last son of SENNACHERIB (→ASSYRIANS) [FIG. 34].

In 677, based on the chronological references that can be inferred from his official chronicles and from the Bab. chronicles, he led a military campaign towards the West, which was mainly an attack on *Sidon. In fact, its king, ABDIMILKUTTI, the successor of ITTOBAAL (4), had formed an anti-Ass. alliance with Sanduarri, king of *Cilicia, a region that in this period represented a privileged area for Phoen. commercial interests. Sidon was conquered, undergoing extensive looting and devastation. Both Abdimilkutti and Sanduarri were killed in 676 and their heads exhibited as trophies during E.’s triumphal procession in Nineveh. The destruction of Sidon was followed by the deportation of its inhabitants, some to Assyria, while the rest, together with other peoples from the surrounding cities who had taken part in the revolts, were settled in a new trading colony built in the vicinity and named Kar-Esarhaddon. The whole region was annexed by the empire under the direct control of the Assyrians, who reorganized the province under the leadership of their own governor. More specifically, the cities of *Ma’rubbu and *Sarepta were removed from the territory previously controlled by Sidon to the S, towards the river *Litani. They were assigned to BAAL I (1), king of *Tyre, probably as a concession for his not having joined the anti-Ass. rebellion. Of particular interest is the detailed list of the loot taken by the Assyrians: besides the king of Sidon’s own wife, sons and daughters as well as his courtesans, gold and silver goods, weapons, precious stones, textiles in wool and linen, skins and elephant tusks, ebony and boxwood and every other valuable item were all seized as booty. After these events there were some years of relative peace. During this period there is only one report stating that Baal of Tyre, together with other vassal kings “from the Land of Hatti and from the shore of the sea” – including MILKYASAP of *Byblos and MATTANBAAL III (3) of *Arwad – supplied the Ass. king with wood and materials for the construction of his new royal palace in Nineveh.

However, the situation was made even more onerous for Tyre with the tax imposed by E., in addition to the previous annual tribute. This was probably one of the reasons that led Baal of Tyre, during the 10th year of E.’s reign (671), to make an alliance with other small kingdoms on the Syro-Palest. coast, among them *Ashkelon, to shake off the Ass. yoke. They were relying on the support of Taharqa, the famous pharaoh of *Egypt. Even though going through a particularly weak phase, Egypt often offered support and refuge to the rebels. Accordingly, E. seized the opportunity to teach Egypt a hard lesson as well. Consequently, E.’s army went all the way to *Memphis and subjugated the princes of the Delta, while Taharqa retreated to *Thebes in Upper Egypt. During the expedition, Tyre was completely encircled and all its supply routes, by land or sea, were blocked. However, from the historical records, the impression is gained that the siege did not result in the conquest of the city, especially the defensive part on the island opposite the coast. Instead, it forced king Baal to renew his submission to the Assyrians.

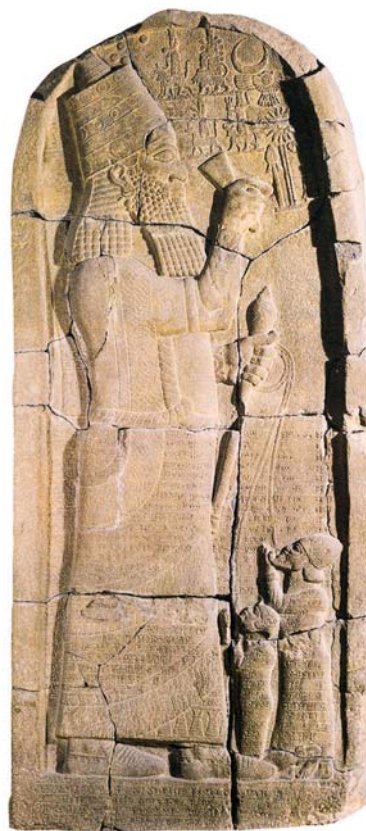


Fig. 34. Esarhaddon king of Assyria holding two royal captives (Zincirli)

A treaty (→TREATIES) between the Phoen. king and E. certainly refers to these events. Although it has reached us in a somewhat incomplete state, it contains facts of considerable interest for understanding the politics of Assyria in this period and the state of increasingly limited autonomy in which Tyre now found itself. The clauses imposed by the Assyrians were particularly harsh, especially regarding the limitations on its trading activities and its freedom. On the whole, the independence of Tyre and of the whole Phoen. region in general was greatly reduced, with one single territory placed under the control of various Ass. provincial governors. These governed Sumur (*Tell Kazel) to the N, Sidon (Kar-Esarhaddon) in the centre and Tyre (Ushu) to the S. Only Arwad, Byblos and the island of Tyre were left with limited autonomy, even though it was tempered by having to pay an increasingly burdensome tribute as they were still vassals.

Pettinato, G. (1975) *RSF*, 3, 145-160; Liverani, M. (1988) *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia*. Rome/Bari, 805-807; Parpola, S. and Watanabe, K. (1988) *Neo-Assyrian treaties and loyalty oaths*. Helsinki (no. 5: Treaty with Baal king of Tyre); Saporetto, C. (1990) *Appendice I*. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. LVIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 75-82.190-218; PNA 1/I, 145-152, s.v. “Aššūr-aḫu-iddina” (B. N. Porter – K. Radner); Luukko, M. and Van Buylaere, G. (2002) *The political correspondence of Esarhaddon*. Helsinki; RINAP 4, *passim*.

F. MAZZA

ESHMUNADON

Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *ʾšmnʾdn*, “Eshmun is [my] lord”.

Name of a person with the title “minister plenipotentiary/prefect of Tyre” (*skn šr*), the son of another E. He is mentioned in an inscription dated to the 4th-3rd cent. BCE, inscribed on a slab, now lost, most probably from *Kition, the earliest Phoen. colony from *Tyre on the island of *Cyprus. The reference to his function is significant because it provides additional proof of the close and ancient ties between the Phoen. metropolis and the town of Kition, where E. was probably a member of the court of one the kings in that period.

PNPPI, 70.260f.; Masson, O. and Sznycer, M. (1972) *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*. Genève/Paris, 69-75; DCP, s.v. (E. Lipiński).

F. MAZZA

Eshmunazar see ESHMUNAZOR

ESHMUNAZOR

Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *ʾšmnʾzr*, “Eshmun has helped”. Name of two kings of *Sidon belonging to a dynasty (→DYNASTIES) that probably ruled during the second half of the 6th cent. BCE (the chronology is uncertain and the debate on this is still open).

PNPPI, 72.375f.

1. E. I, king of *Sidon and priest of *Astarte (→*Priesthood) around the second half of the 6th cent. (575-550?), he was the father of TABNIT and queen Emmiashtart (cf. KAI 13 = TSSI III, 27). On acceding to the throne, king BODASHTART referred to E. I as belonging to a collateral dynastic line. There is no other information about him.

2. E. II (about 539-525?) left a funerary inscription (KAI 14 = TSSI III, 28) engraved on his sarcophagus [FIG. 35], from which we learn that he was born after



Fig. 35. Sarcophagus of king Eshmunazor II of Sidon (Sidon)

the death of his father TABNIT and reigned as coregent with his mother, Emmiashtart. According to that text, he lived for only 14 years, leaving no offspring. His inscription provides other interesting historical information. The expressions used suggest that he died in unclear circumstances, perhaps confirmed by the fact that he was not buried in the royal necropolis together with the other rulers of his dynasty. Moreover, E. claims that, together with his mother, he built several sanctuaries in Sidon, three in the city itself – dedicated to Astarte and ‘Baal of Sidon’ (= *Eshmun?) – and another located at the “Ydlal-source”, in the suburbs – dedicated to Eshmun, powered by the waters of the *Awali river (ancient Bostrenus). This last sanctuary had to undergo various modifications and it is not certain that its foundation dates back to this king, who may only have restored an earlier shrine. Also according to the funerary inscription, the king of Persia gave E. and his mother the plain of Sharon, including *Jaffa and Dor (*Tel Dor), which were then added to Sidonian territory, in exchange for “the striking deeds” (*lmdt šmt*: line 19) E. had performed for him. Considering that E. was only a youth, it is difficult to interpret the expression as referring to specific actions: it is more plausible to think of generic support and loyalty given to the king by E. and the dynasty to which he belonged.

Xella, P. and Zamora, J. Á. (2005) *ZDPV*, 2005, 119-129; Xella, P. and Zamora, J. Á. (2004) [2005] *BAAL*, 8, 273-299; Xella, P. (2007) *OrNS*, 76, 93-99; Niehr, H. (2013) Die phönizische Inschrift auf dem Sarkophag des Königs Ešmunazor II. aus Sidon (KAI 214) in redaktionsgeschichtlicher und historischer Sicht. In: Loretz, O., Ribichini, S., Watson, W. G. E. and Zamora, J. Á. (eds) *Ritual, religion and reason. Studies in the Ancient World in honour of Paolo Xella*. AOAT 404. Münster, 297-309.

P. XELLA

ETEOCYPRIOTS

The modern term E. is used for the speakers of a language that has not yet been deciphered, found locally on *Cyprus, and especially at *Amathus, between the 8th and 4th cent. BCE and transcribed by means of the local Cypr. syllabary. The term E. is a calque on Homeric “Eteocretans”, literally, “true Cretans” (Gk ἐτεός; “true, genuine”), cited in Hom. *Od.* 19,176 and by other classical writers (Str. 10,4,6; Diod. 5,64,1) as an autochthonous population of

*Crete. The term was first proposed by J. Friedrich in 1932, specifically in relation to the language of some syllabic inscriptions (two of which are digraphic bilingual texts) found in Amathus. The term suggests identifying the speakers of this language, which is neither Greek nor Semitic, with the pre-Gk population of the island. The existence of Gk literary traditions that connect the inhabitants of Amathus with the local mythical person *Cinyras (Theopomp. *FGrHist* 115 fr. 103) and ascribe an autochthonous origin to them ([Scyl.] 103) supports the aptness of the term, which O. Masson has called “une heureuse suggestion” (*ICS*, 85). However, it does not seem possible to identify a material culture corresponding to an ethnic group that is different from the Cypr. population at the time and presumably autochthonous, either at Amathus or elsewhere. The E. are archaeologically ‘invisible’. For this reason, various doubts have been raised concerning the validity of the hypothesis that Eteocypriot is a language of the pre-Gk population of Cyprus and concerning the chronological and temporal spread of its use. For A. T. Reyes, Eteocypriot is “a phenomenon peculiar to the circumstances of fourth-century Cyprus”, having no connection with the autochthonous element, while for M. Given, Eteocypriot, read in a post-colonial key, should be interpreted in the light of British imperial power in the first half of the 20th century. In fact, Eteocypriot is documented, however sporadically, from the 8th cent. and however much its connection with Amathus is undeniably distinctive, the earliest documentation (from the archaic period) suggests that this language was spread throughout the whole south-west. region of the island (comprising the regions of Amathus, *Paphos and *Kourion). It is only in the classical period that Eteocypriot seems to become exclusive and peculiar to Amathus, with indications that the royal power used this language for the purposes of politics and identity.

Linguistic analyses of Eteocypriot have not established any definite affinity with any other known languages. In any case, the corpus is limited, a factor that is a fundamental obstacle to deciphering the language. New readings of previously known inscriptions and new finds are liable to rekindle and modify the terms of the debate.

Friedrich, J. (1932) *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler*. Berlin, 49-52; Consani, C. (1988) Bilinguismo, diglossia e digrafia nella Grecia antica, I. Considerazioni sulle iscrizioni bilingui di Cipro.

In: Campanile, E., Cardona, G. R. and Lazzeroni, R. (eds) *Bilinguismo e biculturalismo nel mondo antico*. Pisa, 35-60; Reyes, A. T. (1994) *Archaic Cyprus: a study of the textual and archaeological evidence*. Oxford, 13-17; Petit, T. (1997-1998) *AfO*, 44-45, 244-271; Given, M. (1998) *JMedA*, 11, 3-29; Petit, T. (1999) *JMedA*, 12, 108-120; Egetmeyer, M. (2009) *Pasiphae*, 3, 69-90; Steele, P. M. (2013) *A linguistic history of ancient Cyprus*. Cambridge, 99-172; Perna, M. (i.p.) La grande inscription d'Amathonte (ICS 194+195): une nouvelle étude épigraphique. Rapport préliminaire. In: Cannavò, A. and Thély, L. (eds) *Les royaumes de Chypre à l'épreuve de l'histoire*. BCH Suppl. Athens.

A. CANNAVÒ

ETRUSCANS

Heteronyms: Gk Τυρσαιοί, Τυρραιοί; Lat. *Tusci*; autonym (transmitted by Dion. Halic. 1,30,3): Rasenna (?).

A people of ancient Italy who, during the 1st mill. BCE, at the end of a long and complex formative process, developed a flourishing urban civilization in the mid-Tyrrhenian region of the Peninsula (Latium, Umbria, Tuscany), as well as in several strategic areas in north. and south. Italy (Emilia Romagna, Campania) [FIG. 36]. Before they became part of the Rom. state, both politically and culturally, the E. succeeded in exerting a deep cultural influence on broad sectors of Italian territory (Serv. A. 11,567; Liv. 1,2; 5,33), chiefly on the Italic populations of Latium (LATINS, Falisci, Sabini). Thanks to their advantageous geographical position (large housing developments close to the coastline, the proximity of rich mineral deposits) and to some social, economic and cultural predispositions (advanced technical knowledge in matters of navigation and all the branches of technical expertise in general, a penchant for commercial exchange), early on the E. came into contact with the civilizations of *Phoenicia, Greece and *Magna Graecia. All these exerted a strong cultural influence on them, which they transformed in their own original way (*Orientalizing and *Hellenization). These relationships were fostered and at the same time conditioned by the fact that Greeks, PHOENICIANS and other Levantine peoples had already come into contact with the E. well before they began their own colonization towards the W. Yet, the E. were already well settled in the lands of central Italy, on a par with several Italic peoples. As a result, Greeks and Phoenicians were unable to found colonies in the central Mediterr. region further to the N of the Gulf of Naples and *Sardinia. However, they

were able to establish a cultural and commercial network of relations with the Etr. and Italic communities in Campania and central Italy which controlled vast, rich lands extending towards the sea.

As the classical sources (both literary and historical) refer exclusively to the Greeks and Romans, they illustrate this relationship with the E. and the peoples of the Levant in a very fragmented and completely fortuitous way, i.e. only when others (Greeks and/or Romans) are involved. In spite of these limitations, the written documentation contains some very interesting information for the history of the relationships between the E. and the Phoenicians and the PUNICS. Much of this information goes back to the period when *Carthage reigned supreme in the central Mediterranean and it refers directly or indirectly to that great North African metropolis.

The most important item of information is reported by Herodotus in the first book of his *Histories* (Hdt. 1,165-167) and refers to the naval battle in the Sea of Sardinia in about 535, with the Greeks of ALALIA (originally from Phocaea) on one side, and the Carthaginians and E. on the other. From a passage in this valuable excerpt by the 'Father of History' we learn that the Etr. city involved in the conflict was *Caere. We also learn that the Caeretans committed a very grave crime on that occasion by stoning the Phocaeans captured at sea. This is why they were forced to expiate their crime by instituting funeral games in honour of the prisoners they had killed, which were still celebrated in the time of Herodotus. Even if some aspects of this episode are still obscure, it remains an historical event. It indicates the existence of a political and commercial alliance between the Carthaginians and the maritime Etr. cities (especially Caere) which was sealed to counter the initiative of the Phocaeans after the founding of Marseille (ca 600).

In a famous passage in his main political writing, Aristotle (*Pol.* 3,9 [1280a 35]) also alludes to actual trade agreements between E. and Carthaginians. There, he also considers the Etr.-Carthag. treaty as paradigmatic for exclusively commercial inter-ethnic agreements (TREATIES). These agreements regulated commercial exchanges between peoples in contact, above all defining the areas in which navigation for commercial purposes was permitted (or prohibited). This was certainly the nature of the first Rom.-Carthag. agreement, recorded by Polybius (3,22-26), which some historians believe goes back to the earliest years of the republic.

According to Herodotus (6,17), the guerrilla war in the Straits of Messina against the E. and Carthaginians, led by admiral Dionysius of Phocaea – who had left his fatherland, then under attack by the PERSIANS, to seek his fortune in the W – belongs to a later period, more specifically 494. Once again, the passage is of interest as it mentions E. and Carthaginians working together against the Greeks. This is a real leitmotif of Gk histories, especially of Syracusan propagandist history, which indicates that the Etr.-Carthag. threat had moved S. At the time of the conflict between Athens and *Syracuse (end of the 5th cent.), not by chance, yet again we find E. together with Carthaginians in an account by Thucydides (6,88,6), in his description of the attempt by Athens to mobilise them against their powerful Sicilian rival.

Judging from the historical accounts, one of the few exceptions to this picture of good diplomatic and commercial relations between E. and Carthaginians, may be the attempt by the E. to colonize a fabulously wealthy Atlantic island (Madeira, perhaps) in competition with the Carthaginians. The report is erudite in nature (it comes from the late writer Stephanus of Byzantium) and is difficult to interpret historically, although it is of great interest. If trustworthy, it must refer to a period that can hardly be later than the archaic period because afterwards, the hegemony of Carthage in the west-central Mediterranean was gradually diminishing.

In a profoundly changed historical setting, at the end of the 4th cent., Carthaginians and E. are yet again remembered together in events that unfold in Sicily, but this time on opposite sides. Diodorus Siculus (20,61,6-7) reports that this time it was the Syracusans of AGATHOCLES who asked the E. to intervene because they were besieged by the Carthaginians. This event, dated precisely to 307, is considered by some historians as upsetting the traditional Etr.-Carthag. coalition, if not a real Etr. volte-face towards Carthage. This interpretation is correct if the episode is considered as a real political and diplomatic agreement between Syracuse and the Etr. cities and not a simple case of enrolling mercenary troops. In the event, in any case, as many as eighteen warships left Etruria. According to some historians, this Tyrrhenian fleet came from the coastal cities of north. Etruria (Populonia or Roselle), which were more threatened by Pun. operations in *Corsica. Other scholars, instead, think that it was a city in south. Etruria that sent its own ships and troops to

Sicily to assist Agathocles. It may have been Tarquinia, but it is also considered as having been Caere. At the time, that city had initiated a season of intense cultural relations with the Sicilian world, which on the Etr.-Caeretan side could also have had repercussions on religious ideology (e.g. the introduction of the Gk cult of Hera to Caere). Judging from the historical sources, however, the picture of relations between E. and Carthaginians in *Sicily in the second half of the 4th cent. is anything but clear and consistent, beyond the specific episode of 307. Between the periods of TIMOLEON and Agathocles, in fact, the political and military situation in Sicily seems particularly confused. Actually, a few years earlier (311/310), there are Etr. MERCENARIES in the pay of Carthage against Syracuse (Diod. 19,106,2), in mixed contingents that also included elements with other ethnic origins. Evidently there were both official agreements between state communities acting for the common good and more extemporaneous local initiatives, envisaging the engagement of mercenary troops available at that moment in the region. Agathocles himself made use of Tyrrhenian mercenary troops on other occasions (Diod. 20,11,1; 21,3,1; 64,2). This shows that, in these actions between Greeks and Carthaginians, we again find E. now siding with Carthage, now siding with the Greeks of Sicily, although it is impossible to say, when mercenaries were employed, whether they were treaties or changes of allegiance.

In the final period of Mediterr. history in which written tradition tells us about Etr.-Pun. relations – the period of the PUNIC WARS – we find instead Etr. cities ‘officially’ siding with ROME against Carthage. In the detailed accounts by Livy and other writers, they appear as faithful allies of Rome. For Scipio’s expedition to Africa in 205 (→SCIPIONS [5]), they supplied *pro suis quisque facultatibus* (in effect, they made troops, grain and weapons available to the Rom. fleet).

Besides the account by Livy, we know however, from several allusions by Polybius and Zonaras, that HANNIBAL (9) tried to break the Etr.-Rom. front and incite the coastal cities of Etruria against ROME, in the decisive moment of the war against the Romans. We are not told whether he succeeded, but probably the attempt failed and in any case, Hannibal has left no trace of this move in written documents.

If this is the main information on Etr. relations with *Phoenicia, particularly with Carthage, that can be



Fig. 36. Etruscan Italy

extracted from the historical sources, the picture that emerges from archaeology is much more complex. From the available material culture there emerges a situation of very close connections between the E. and peoples of the ANE since the dawn of the first mill. At that time, the channels of maritime communication from E to W (and vice versa), which had temporarily deteriorated with the collapse of the late Mycen. world, were reopened. In these first phases of a long-distance relationship between the E *Aegean and the W, to judge from funerary outfits and other archaeological indicators, *Cyprus probably had an important role. The driving force behind these exchanges was the trade in raw materials, particularly metals. These relationships became increasingly more intense after the Greeks from Euboea settled in the Island of *Ischia, in the Bay of Naples (ca 770), founding a settlement with a marked commercial aptitude in which Sem. peoples also operated. From the last quarter of the 8th cent., beginning a period that scholars have significantly defined as 'Orientalizing', the more progressive communities in Etruria able to exploit the mineral resources present in their own territory, became a market that was very receptive to exotic goods from the E. At the request of the rich local aristocracy, evidently able to offer their own natural wealth (metals), ships from many ports of the east. Mediterranean – including the ports of Phoen. coastal cities – brought in huge quantities of very refined goods. Produced in Mesopotamia, *Syria and *Anatolia, Phoenicia itself and *Egypt, on *Crete, Cyprus and *Rhodes, these goods were luxury furniture, tableware made of precious metal, objects in ivory, glass and other exotic materials as well as perishable wares such as perfume and textiles.

The great island crossroads of the east. Aegean, Rhodes in particular, besides being important production centres, were at the forefront of selling many of these east. wares, some of which had an Egyptianizing appearance, in west. markets. At the same time, besides these goods, many Levantine craftsmen (Phoenicians, Syrians, Cypriots, etc.) landed in Etruria, often exiles from necessity, and went to the courts of local princes. Thanks to imports from the E and to the presence of these skilled specialists, repositories of outstanding technical knowledge (e.g. goldsmiths), Etr. craftsmanship received a real stimulus for renewal and for making its own expressive forms more Or. in nature. In this way, the foundations were laid for

many technical innovations and for modernising the figurative repertoire. These two elements make the Etr. art of the Orientalizing period so original and fascinating. In a considerable number of sectors it is thought, more or less plausibly that, directly or indirectly, east. craftsmanship had an effect on Etruria. These include monumental sculpture, goldsmithing, toreutics, pottery and even hydraulic engineering. For some scholars, even the shape of the Etr. amphora (an ogive body on a small flat base) used in this period to transport commodities, could have been patterned on Phoen. models. This may be shown by the presence in the Etr. lexicon of a *Kulturwort* – *naplan* (= "leather bottle") – borrowed from Semitic.

Furthermore, the Or. influence evident in the Tyrrhenian area of Etruria, between the end of the 8th cent. and the middle of the 7th cent., is not restricted to products by artisans and artists in the sphere of style and fashion. In fact, in this period, especially in the economically more developed sections of Etr. Latium, the adoption of Or. models shows that some ancient Near Eastern ideologies had clearly penetrated the local fabric. This includes ceremonies and religion: the adoption of the custom of the *banquet couché* (→*Banquet) the ceremonial use of wine which has similarities to the rite of the *Marzeah, the widespread use of drinking the 'Syrian' way (i.e. spiced wine) and so on. Therefore, it was a considerable cultural process that affected not only the outer shell of Etr. civilization but, especially in some quarters (the ideology and symbolism of power, displaying one's social class) penetrated deeply into the local mind-set, interfering with local cultural traditions and beliefs that went back to prehistoric times (Villanovian).

After the first half of the 7th cent., this great cultural openness towards the E was considerably reduced, in scope and intensity, in the Tyrrhenian region. This was certainly at the same time as the collapse of Phoen. cities due to Ass. oppression, which had lost much of their capacity for enterprise either politically or commercially. It is not surprising, therefore, that with the arrival of recent (640-580) Orientalizing tendencies, when cultural influence from the Near East was weakening, in Etruria the trend for adopting external models gradually favoured Gk civilization instead (Hellenization). However, this does not mean that in this period connections with the Phoen. world were broken, since, as archaeology shows, it was in this particular period that the close commercial network connecting E. and Phoenicians was created.

And we know from historical sources that, on the Sem. side, the protagonists were Carthage and the Phoen. colonies of Sardinia and Sicily. To this period (640-580/550) belong the conspicuous Etr. imports (especially, ceramics for tableware, transport amphorae and then objects in bronze) documented in Carthage, *Tharros, *Nora, *Bithia, *Othoca, *Motya, *Panormus, *Solunto and various sites with Phoen. culture in south. Spain. According to some scholars, these were largely Etr. goods taken to their destinations by Phoen. (and/or Gk) ships that frequented ports in the mid-Tyrrhenian and from there left with cargoes of Etr. goods. Whatever the vectors of this commercial coming and going may have been, in this case we have the reverse of the ancient and later Orientalizing trend, namely, Etr. goods arriving in Phoen. markets at the request of the local (Phoen.) clientele.

However, judging by the archaeological evidence, the widespread marketing of Etr. goods in areas under the Phoenicians was not accompanied by an Etr. cultural penetration comparable to the influence exerted by the E. elsewhere in the Mediterranean (e.g. south. France). On the other hand, it is revealing that the Phoenicians of Sicily and Sardinia used tableware produced in Etruria, principally bucchero drinking vessels. After the second half of the 6th cent., archaeology indicates a decline in Etr. imports into Sicily, Sardinia and the commercial towns of south. Spain. The commercial and political relations between E. and Phoenicians in the central Mediterranean probably remained very intense, as proved by the written sources mentioned at the start and by some exceptional inscriptions. In fact, some **tesserae hospitales* found in Rome and Carthage as well as the famous gold plates from *Pyrgi (pseudo-bilingual inscriptions in Etr./Phoen. found at Caere) are clear proof that there were very close connections between E. and Punics, both private and public, between 550 and the beginning of the 5th cent. Probably in this period there were small Pun. communities in the whole of Latium and those in Caere and Tarquinia were particularly active. In some cases it has even been proposed that there were graves of Phoenicians resident in Etruria (at Caere and Populonia), marked by the presence of ordinary Phoen. pottery.

According to some scholars studying ancient Rome and the Etr. world, some sanctuaries in the mid-Tyrrhenian region (Rome/Sant'Omobono, the Gk sanctuary of Gravisca, the monumental sanctuary of

Pyrgi) show, even in this period, strong Near Eastern influence on the ideology of the power of the dominant class and on local religious practices (hierogamic rites, local figure of Heracles modelled on *Melqart of the Phoenicians, a set of myth and ritual on the burial of deities and the *Dying god, the institution of sacred *Prostitution). Even if today some scholars tend to reassess some of these hypotheses (e.g. on sacred prostitution), the general historical and archaeological context provides real evidence of a deep cultural interaction between E. and Punics in the mid-Tyrrhenian region in this period between the reigns of Servius Tullius and of Tarquinius 'the Proud' (in Rome). As we know, it ended with the first treaty between Rome and Carthage, recorded by Polybius. Even though not explicitly mentioned in the historical sources, it is probable that in this period, and especially towards the end of the 6th cent., the historical scene was set for a vast political and commercial threefold alliance involving Caere, Rome and Carthage. In this agreement, Caere offered Rome what Rome still lacked: a powerful fleet and organized ports. In the eyes of her Rom. ally, Caere became creditable as the ideal intermediary in relations with the powerful North African city. This hypothesis appears to be confirmed indirectly by an episode related by Livy (1,60,1-2), which historians consider as reliable. It is the request made by the deposed Rom. king, Tarquinius 'the Proud', for asylum in the Caeretan community (which, as we know, was then ruled by the philo-Carthag. tyrant THEFARIE VELIANAS mentioned in the plates of Pyrgi).

For the following periods (the classical and Hellenistic periods) we have scant but important archaeological evidence of Etr.-Pun. relations. It consists of some Tyrrhenian pottery imported into Pun. areas, a quantity of Pun. coins found at various sites in central Italy and some exceptional examples of artistic craftsmanship (marble sarcophagi) shared by Etr. and Pun. élites. In this period (5th-3rd cent.), the principal Etr. ports on the Tyrrhenian coast were certainly still frequented by Pun. merchants, as is confirmed by epigraphic evidence (a Neopun. inscription found at Populonia), and probably the reverse is also true (Etr. merchants in North Africa) as shown by the extraordinary inscription found in Algeria (ancient Numidia: →NUMIDIANS).

It is always epigraphy that, in substance, confirms the information transmitted by historical sources concerning the period of the Punic Wars (the anti-Carthag.

Etr.-Rom. treaty [→TREATIES]). In fact, a significant Tarquinian funerary inscription reveals the identity of a veteran from the wars of Hannibal (9), a certain Laris Felsnas, who died at the ripe old age of 106. In his epitaph, dating to 175-150, he remembers an event in his youth relating to Hannibal. Initially considered to be an Etr. mercenary in the pay of the Punics, this person, who originally came from central Etruria and died at Tarquinia, has now been correctly identified as one of the heroic Perugian combatants from Casilino, then allies of the Romans, who attempted to stop Hannibal's advance towards Capua in 216.

When Rome took Carthage at the end of the III Punic War, with the final assimilation of Etr. communities into the Rom. world, Etr.-Pun. relationships also officially ended. Paradoxically, one of the underworld deities invoked by the Rom. conqueror in front of the smoking ruins of Carthage in his famous oath – transmitted by Macrobius (*Sat.* 3,9-11) – was Veiove, the Rom. equivalent of the Etr. chthonian god Śuri, worshipped at the sanctuary of Pyrgi in Caere.

The final interesting evidence for Etr.-Pun. relations is more connected with Rom. than with Etr. history. It comes in the form of boundary cippi (→STELAE and CIPPI) inscribed in Etr. and found between 1907 and 1915 in North Africa (Tunisia, valley of Oued-Milane). From palaeography, they can be dated approximately between the end of the 2nd cent. and the beginning of the 1st cent. BCE. This is the archaeological proof that some colonies of Etr. origin had settled as an autonomous community, inland from *Tunis, following the distribution of lands at the end of the 2nd cent. BCE. It was probably to these colonies that Caius Marius turned when he planned his expedition to Italy.

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EUPHRATES OF TYRE

Gk Εὐφράτης.

Philosopher of the 1st-2nd cent. CE, a friend of Pliny the Younger and of Dio of Prusia. E. was an adversary of Apollonius of Tyana. Although Philostratus calls him ‘the Tyrian’, E. was actually born in Epiphaneia in *Syria (Hamath). Pliny met him in Syria: E. had probably moved to *Tyre only after his marriage. Later on he lived in ROME, and died under the emperor Hadrianus.

RE VI,1, s.v. “Euphrates” (4) col. 1216 (H. von Arnim); Grimal, P. (1955) *Latomus*, 14, 370-383; Frede, M. (1997) *BICS*, Suppl. 68, 1-11; Robiano, P. (2000) Euphratès (Mestrius). In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 3. Paris, 337-342.

G. MINUNNO

EVAGORAS

Gk Εὐαγόρας; syllabic Cypr. Gk *E-u-wa-ko-ro* (= Εὐαγόρος); Lat. *Evagoras*.

1. E. I was probably born between 440 and 434 BCE (Mathieu and Brémond [1938], 153 no. 1) and was king of *Salamis in Cyprus from 411 to 374.

E. is known in the literary tradition from texts which evoke his historical role (Theopompus, Diodorus of Sicily, etc.: see *Salamine* XIII, 109-129, nos 240-271), and from the very idealized portrait drawn by Isocrates of Athens in his ‘praise’ discourse (IX) *Evagoras*, written around 374, with E. as the protagonist. In addition, there is numismatic and epigraphic evidence.

E. I introduced mintage in gold, probably in order to safeguard the royal economy (Markou [2011], 269). There are coin legends in alphabetic Gk together with syllabic Cypr. Gk: e.g. a silver stater – on its reverse a recumbent goat and the head of Heracles wearing the *leonté* (lion’s head) – has his name and title in the syllabic script: *e-u-wa-ko-ro pa-si-le-wo-se* (= Εὐαγόρω βασιλῆφος, genitive), and his name (abbreviated) in the Gk alphabet: EY (Masson [1961], 322, no. 325b, pl. LV, 8-9; see *Salamine* XIII, 129, fig. 10). An incomplete digraph inscription from the end of the 5th cent., found at Salamis, bears the name [E]YFAΓO[PAΣ ΣA/Λ]AMINIOΣ ..., “Evagoras of Salamis” (inv. Sal. 12: *Salamine* XIII, no. 17, lines 1-2), providing the first occurrence on stone of the Gk alphabet. The signs in syllabic Cypriot

[-li-ka-o-] are difficult to interpret: Masson ([1983], 418, no. 318d) prudently proposes a sinistroverse reading to be restored [Κι]λικᾶο[ς] (genitive of the name Κιλικᾶς?).

E. is the beneficiary of two Athenian decrees (*Salamine* XIII, nos 247 and 250; cf. no. 248), which unfortunately are fragmentary. The one found on the Acropolis (*IG* I², 113) makes him a “citizen of Athens”, probably around 410. The other, found between the theatre of Dionysos and Herod Atticus’ Odeon (*IG* II², 10b add. 397), dated 393/392, honours him with several privileges (eulogy, crown etc.). He had his statue on the Athenian Agora alongside those of his friend Conon and the latter’s son, Timotheus (Paus. 1,3,2: *Salamine* XIII, no. 249), and “very close to Zeus Soter” (Isoc. *Evagor.* 57). As is well known, Zeus was both the king’s ancestor and the protector god of Salamis. As for E.’s origin and family, he claimed to belong to the royal dynasty of Teucrides, considered to be descended from Teucros. Teucros was the stepbrother of Ajax (Hom. *Il.* 8,284; 12,370) and the great grandson of Zeus by Aeacus and Telamon (cf. Isoc. *Evagor.* 13-15, who dedicated a long excursus to this divine origin), whilst her mother Hesione was a Trojan princess. According to the legendary tradition of the *Nostoi* (“Returns”), when Teucros returned from the Trojan War, he founded the city of Salamis in Cyprus, giving it the name of his homeland, Salamis of Attica, the stronghold of his father Telamon. This mythical origin, staged and claimed by E. in the name of a dynastic continuity which would be at least seven centuries old (e.g. Paus. 2,29,4: *Salamine* X, no. 129 = no. 241), was intended to legitimize his power. At the same time, it recalled his distant kinship with Athens, on which he played throughout his career, to conceal the maternal line of Teucros. But in his genealogy he seems also to have included *Kinyras, the mythical king of Cyprus, whose daughter Teucros married (Paus. 1,3,2: *Salamine* X, no. 249): this ancestry justified his pretensions to the territory of the whole island. Some members of his family, as well as possibly the name of his bride, are known. A passage by Lucian (*Im.* 27: *Salamine* X, no. 243) mentions “a certain Leto, the bride of Evagoras, king of the Cypriots”: this king is probably E. I, as historians often refer to him, whilst E. II never occupies a sufficient place to deserve this title when exercising royal power in the island. His children were “beautiful and numerous” (Isoc. *Evagor.* 72). Two sons are

known: PNYTAGORAS, murdered at the same time as his father in 374 (Theopomp. fr. 103: *Salamine* X, no. 242.12), and NICOCLES, probably younger, who succeeded him. The existence of 'DEMONICOS' named as a son of E. by the late grammarian Tzetzes (12th cent. CE) (*Salamine* X, no. 287) is not confirmed by any credible testimony. Two of his grandsons (?) were kings: E. II was a son of Nicocles; Pnytagoras, the successor of E. II, was the son of Pnytagoras, murdered in 374 (*Salamine* X, 139, no. 3). Among the great grandchildren of E. I, NICOCREON, the son of Pnytagoras, was the last king of the Teucrid dynasty, whilst Nithaphon, who accompanied ALEXANDER THE GREAT to India in 327 (Arr. *Ind.* 18,8: *Salamine* X, no. 300), and who was another son of Pnytagoras, never was a king.

E.'s rise to power came during the second half of the 4th cent., when Salamis was under Phoen. rule. Possibly this situation was due to the expansionist policy of the kingdom of *Kition, neighbour and traditional competitor of Salamis, of which E. had perhaps then taken control. By 411, for some years power had been in the hands of a certain ABDAMON/Abdymon, "from Kition" (Ἀβδύμονα τὸν Κιτιέα: Theopomp. fr. 103: *Salamine* X, no. 242.2), or "Tyrian" (Ἀβδήμονα τὸν Τύριον: Diod. 14,98,1: *Salamine* X, no. 262, perhaps to be understood in the general sense of "Phoenician". Exiled to Soloi in *Cilicia, E. organized his return with a group of 50 partisans; he disembarked clandestinely and, "breaking through a postern in the bulwark", entered the palace, which he seized (Isoc. *Evagor.* 28-30). Then he assumed power and restored the Teucrid dynasty in Salamis, which was to rule for a cent. From 411/410, E.'s political activity extended beyond the limits of the small kingdom of Salamis. In the clashes between Greeks, he deliberately chose to side with Athens, which he regarded as his natural ally in the name of their mythical kinship. Thus he welcomed Conon, who was defeated in 405 by the Spartan Lysander at *Aigos Potamoi* (the last important engagement of the Athenian and Spartan fleets in the Peloponnesian War), as well as other Athenians. He played a remarkable role in the conflicts with the Great Persian King (suzerain of the island, to whom he paid tribute) and the Gk powers. For some time allied with Artaxerxes II Mnemon, when the latter supported Athens against Sparta, he took part in the battle of Cnidus (394), where the Spartan fleet was defeated. But his position vis-à-vis the Pers. king

became ever more tense, resulting in the 'Cypriot War': hostilities lasted a decade. Then E. refused to pay tribute to the Pers. king and began to extend his dominion over the island: however, he faced opposition from many quarters, e.g. from Kition, Amathus and *Soloi, which appealed to the Great King. E. was an ally of Athens, which sent him a fleet and troops under the command of Chabrias in 388; from Achoris, the king of *Egypt with whom he agreed a treaty in 388; from the Satrap of Caria Hecatomnus (the father of Mausolus); from the king of the Arabs, who "sends to him a respectable contingent" (Diod. 15,3-4: *Salamine* X, no. 266). E. also tried to extend his power beyond Cyprus. Having taken possession of several cities of *Phoenicia (in particular, *Tyre), he urged the Cilicians to revolt. But in 386 the peace of Antalcidas – the 'King's peace' – which split the east. Mediterr. area by recognizing the rights of the PERSIANS over Asia, and the islands of Clazomenai and Cyprus – caused him to lose Athenian support. Finally, the Pers. army disembarked on the island, under the command of Tiribazes and Orontes. In spite of his alliance with *Paphos, E. suffered severe defeats and was also defeated at sea by MILKYATON, king of Kition, as confirmed by an inscribed base of a trophy recently found at Larnaca (Yon and Szzyrmer [1992]). In 380 E. negotiated a peace agreement with Artaxerxes II, according to which he had to withdraw from all his territorial conquests, retaining power only over Salamis, and he agreed to pay a tribute to the Great King. However, he insisted on keeping his royal status ("To obey not as a slave to his master, but as a king to a king", Diod. 15,8,2; 9,2; 10,2: *Salamine* X, nos 268 and 269). As for his internal management, E. seems to have exercised an absolute monarchy, closely involving both court and royal family (the children are called τοὺς δ' ἄνακτας, τὰς δ' ἀνάσσεις, "princes and princesses": Isoc. *Evagor.* 72). A curious passage by Clearchus of Soloi (a pupil of Aristotle, 4th-3rd cent.: *Salamine* X, no. 246) describes a surveillance system put in place by "a species of aristocratic parasite" (τὸ τῶν εὐγενῶν κολάκων γένος), who spy on people in markets and public places, and report everything to "the so-called Princes" (τοὺς καλουμένους ἄνακτας), i.e. the royal family and its entourage. This police system – which apparently goes back to the most ancient period of the city – was probably in use under E. His portrayal by Isocrates (e.g. § 49-50) as an ideal prince, loving moderation, justice and

culture, is really only a mask. In fact, this image (in praise of a recently deceased king) is an ideological model that Isocrates wanted to set as an example for Nicocles when he succeeded his father in 374.

It seems that E. was a great builder: he enlarged the city, rebuilt the ramparts, created a port etc. (Isoc. *Evagor.* 47); as yet, however, no architectural evidence has been identified on the site (Yon [2014], 37f.). His other claim to fame as a philhellene is that he favoured Gk culture in Salamis, welcoming to his court artists and men of letters from Greece, and encouraging many Greeks to settle in Salamis. His son and successor Nicocles was a student of Isocrates at Athens, who dedicated his “Cypriot Discourses” to him.

Towards the end of E.’s reign, the internal politics of Salamis were troubled. The wars had left the finances of the kingdom in a parlous state – “When I came to power, I found the royal palaces empty of their wealth and all the resources dissipated”, says Nicocles – and the royal family was unpopular (Isoc. *Nicocl.* 31-33; 45). Life at court seems to have been very turbulent, marked by palace intrigues and bedroom gossip that was to end badly. In 374, E. and his son Pnytagoras were sharing the favours of a woman whom Pnytagoras had abducted “without either of them knowing”. The eunuch Thrasydaïos (Diodorus [15,47,8] mistakenly calls him “Nicocles”), a man of Elea who intervened in this case, “engineered their death” (cf. Theopomp. fr. 103,12, who calls her “the daughter of Nicocreon”; and Aristotle [*Pol.* 5,1311a-b], according to whom she was the wife of Thrasydaïos: *Salamine* X, nos 242, 244; cf. 245). E.’s eldest son, Pnytagoras, also died, and Nicocles, another son, succeeded him in 374.

Mathieu, G. and Brémond, É. (1938) (eds and transl.) *Isocrate*, II, *Evagoras* (IX). Paris, 140-168; Hill, G. (1940) *A history of Cyprus*, I. Cambridge; *Salamine* X = Chavane, M.-J. and Yon, M. (1978) *Salamine de Chypre*, X. *Testimonia Salamina* 1. Paris; *ICS* (1983²); *Salamine* XIII = Pouilloux, J., Roesch, P. and Marcillet-Jaubert, J. (1987) *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, *Testimonia Salamina* 2: *Corpus épigraphique*, Paris; Markou, E. (2011) *L’or des rois de Chypre. Numismatique et histoire à l’époque classique*, Athens; Yon, M. and Sznycer, M. (1992) *RDAC*, 156-165; Zournatzi, A. (1996) *Τεκμήρια*, 2, 154-181; Christodoulou, P. (2014), *CCEC*, 44, 191-215; Yon, M. (2014) *CCEC*, 44, 29-44.

2. E. II, king of Salamis of Cyprus from 361 to 351 BCE. A member of the royal dynasty (Teucrïdes) of Salamis of Cyprus, who is said to be a descendant of

the hero Teucros, he succeeded Nicocles on the throne of Salamis ca 316. Some scholars have considered him to be a young son of E. I (e.g. Hill [1949] 143, fn. 3 and 146)), but most probably he was the son of Nicocles and the grandson of E. I. His mintage resumed the types of Nicocles, with Aphrodite’s head on the obverse and Athena’s head wearing a helmet on the reverse. The coin legends – where present – bear abbreviations of his name and royal title in the Gk alphabet: e.g. a golden tenth of stater, BA (= *basileus*) on the obverse, RYA (*Evagoras*) on the reverse; silver didrachma, EYA on the obverse, BA on the reverse (Hill [1904], 59-60); on small bronze coins, Athena’s head is on the obverse, and on the reverse there is a ship’s prow with the legend ΣΑΛ (= *Salamis*), or a bull’s forehead with the simple initial Σ (Hill [1904] 60-61). On the other hand, the series of small uninscribed bronzes bearing a lion on the obverse and a horse on the reverse, long attributed to E. II, have recently been credited to his contemporary and neighbour, PUMAYYATON, king of Kition (Callot [1992]). E. II was dethroned in 351/350 by Pnytagoras, a relative (cousin ?) of his, who seized power in Salamis. He then fled to Asia, and Artaxerxes III Ochus named him Satrap. Supported by the Great King, he tried to take over the throne of Salamis. With the help of Idrïeos of Caria (the brother of Mausolos) – whom the king had entrusted with repressing the ‘Uprising of Satraps’ – who had conquered the island, E. II disembarked on Cyprus with an army of 8,000 mercenaries, and 40 ships commanded by the Athenian strategist Phocion. They laid siege to Salamis by land and from the sea. As a result of slander, however, the Great King abandoned E. II and supported Pnytagoras; E. II noted his failure and went into retirement, to justify these accusations and regain the confidence of the Great King (Diod. 16,42,46: *Salamine* X, nos 289-290). The king of *Sidon was Tennes (Τέννης), Phoen. *t’*, a difficult name to interpret (some scholars, e.g. E. Lipiński, propose an equivalence with →TABNIT, which is difficult to sustain). When Tennes rebelled against Achaemenid domination, the Persians captured the city, which was then destroyed by fire. Artaxerxes III had Tennes executed and made Sidon lose part of its territory (Diod. 16,41-45). In 346 the Great King entrusted the throne of Sidon to E. II, then in exile in Salamis. The new king struck a large amount of coins, retaining the monetary types of his predecessor Tennes. Finally, though,

his mismanagement exasperated the Sidonians, who forced him to recall STRATON II (3), the heir of the previous ruling Phoen. family (Diod. 17,47,1). E. II then fled to Cyprus, but was captured and put to death in 343.

Testimonia Salaminia 1. Paris; Callot, O. (1992) Note de numismatique chypriote. In: Karageorghis, V. and Ioannides, G. K. (eds) *Studies in honour of Vassos Karageorghis, Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί*, 1990-1991. Nicosia, 297-300; *DCPP*, s.v. (2) (M. Yon); Markou, E. (2011) *L'or des rois de Chypre. Numismatique et Histoire à l'époque classique*. Athens; Elayi, J. (2013) *Histoire de la Phénicie*. Paris, 288-293.

Hill, G. (1949) *A history of Cyprus*, I. Cambridge; *Salamine X* = Chavane, M.-J. and Yon, M. (1978) *Salamine de Chypre X*.

M. YON

F

FABII

Name of an ancient Rom. *gens*, active in politics in the Rom. republican age. Some of its members played an important part in the events relating to the PUNIC WARS.

1. *Fabius Buteo, Numerius*. Consul in 247 BCE, he took part in the naval siege of Drepanum (*Trapani) during the I Punic War.

RE VI,2, s.v. "Fabius" (55) cols 1760f. (F. Münzer).

2. *Fabius Buteo, Marcus*. Brother of (1), consul in 245 BCE, he may have gained a naval victory over the Carthaginians, with rich booty, but part of the fleet was then shipwrecked (Flor. 1,18,30-32: this information has not been handed down anywhere else and seems to be the result of confusion). There are doubts about his presence among the delegates sent to the embassy in *Carthage in 219 (cf. RE cit., no. 116, col. 1817). Towards the end of 216, after the battle of Cannae, he was nominated as *dictator* to complete the senatorial ranks.

Relevant sources: *Fasti Capitolini*; Liv. 33,22,10-23,8; Plut. *Fab.* 9,3-4.

RE VI,2, s.v. "Fabius" (53), col. 1760 (F. Münzer).

3. *Fabius Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator, Quintus*. His official *cognomina* seem to have been only *Maximus* and *Verrucosus*, whereas his unofficial name was *Cunctator*, derived from *unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem* etc., a passage by Ennius (12,370ff. Vahlen). Consul in 233, 228, 215 and 214 BCE, censor in 230, possibly *dictator* in 221 but definitely in 217, he died in 203. In the history of ROME, his name is connected with his delaying tactics after the Rom. defeat near Lake Trasimeno (217) during the II Punic War. His tactic of avoiding open conflict and adopting a sort of guerrilla warfare was considered unproductive by the plebs, which preferred the aggressive approach used by TERENTIUS VARRO, who attempted a pitched battle against the troops of HANNIBAL (9) at Cannae (216) but once again with

disastrous results. In the light of these facts, Q. F. M.'s strategy was re-evaluated and he was repeatedly given command of successive military operations. These led to regaining control of Italic territories in the S, resulting in the recapture of *Tarentum in 209. During the II Punic War, in the Senate, he also opposed the politics of Scipio (→SCIPIONS [5]), intent on conducting the war against Carthage directly on African soil, supporting a more cautious approach instead.

The main sources include: *Fasti Capitolini*; CIL XI 1828 (= ILS 56); Liv. 22,8-40 *passim*; Plb. 3,86ff.; Appian. *Hann.* 11ff.; Plut. *Fab.*; Dio Cass. 14,57.

RE VI,2, s.v. "Fabius" (106) cols 1814-1830 (F. Münzer); Càssola, F. (1962) *I gruppi politici romani nel III secolo a.C.* Trieste; Erdkamp, P. (1992) *AncSoc*, 23, 127-147; Feig Vishnia, R. (2007) *SCI*, 26, 19-37; Nardelli G. (2012) *GIF*, n.s. 3, 45-61.

4. *Fabius Maximus, Quintus*. Son of (3); the sources (Liv. 22,23,7f.; Val. Max. 4,8,1 etc.) tell us that he was involved in military operations in the II Punic War during his father's dictatorship in 217 BCE. He took part as a tribune in the battle of Cannae (216), retreating to Canusium after the defeat (Liv. 22,53,1). Elected consul in 213, he was given command of the troops in Apulia, previously under his father (Liv. 24,43,5; 44,1 and 9); he was the one who recaptured Arpi (Liv. 24,45,1-47,11 etc.).

RE VI,2, s.v. "Fabius" (108) cols 1791f. (F. Münzer).

A. ERCOLANI

FEN(E)KHU

Egypt. *fnḥw*.

The name already occurs in texts from the OK, but its meaning is not univocal and a diachronic semantic development must be assumed. Throughout history, the F. are listed among the enemies of *Egypt in contexts that often refer to the Syro-Palest. milieu, e.g. a classical Egypt. literary text such as *Sinuhe*. The word F. is from same root as a term denoting ropes and strings (with the same semantic marker), and another term generally translated "carpenter", "furniture maker". These similarities have led scholars to believe

that the term F. generically indicated enemy prisoners. There may also be an allusion to the craftsmanship of the people of the Lebanese coast from whom the Egyptians used to buy timber. The term F. corresponds to the PHOENICIANS mentioned in the Decree of Raphia (reign of Ptolemy IV), written in hieroglyphics, Demotic and Gk. The term F. in the hieroglyphic text corresponds to Demotic Kharu and to Gk *phoinikes*.

Gauthier, H. and Sottas, H. (1925) *Un décret trilingue en l'honneur de Ptolémée IV*. Cairo, 6,8,25; Gauthier, H. (1925-1931) *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*. II. Cairo, 161; Green, M. (1983) *ChrÉg*, 58, 38-59; Vandersleyen, C. (1987) L'étimologie de *phoinix*, 'phénicien'. In: *StPhoen* 5, 19-22; Hannig, R. (2006) *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II. Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit*. I. Mainz am Rhein, 965.

G. CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI

FLAMINIUS NEPOS, CAIUS

F. N. (265 ca-217 BCE) was a Rom. *senator* considered to be the most important champion of 'democratic' sectors in the 3rd cent. and a decided supporter of the politics of agrarian expansionism at the expense of the Celtic populations in the Po Valley. The judgement made on him in the ancient sources, which depict him as an inept and radical demagogue, is heavily prejudiced by the hostility of the Senate. In 232, as a tribune of the plebs, he supported the colonization of the Gallic territory in the area of Rimini (Plb. 2,21,7, Cato fr. 43). This provoked a reaction from the Celtic peoples in the Po Valley, who invaded Rom. territory in 225. As a *consul*, F. defeated these Gauls on the Adda in 223 and drove them back to beyond the River Po (Plb. 2,32-33). In view of these military successes, in 217 during the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS) F. was again elected *consul* in order to fight against HANNIBAL (9), who had just come down into the Po Valley. F. installed himself in Arezzo to defend the crossing-places of the Apennines in Tuscany and Emilia. However, Hannibal was able to circumvent his position and cross into Umbria. So F. then marched S in an attempt to catch up with his enemy, but he and his whole army fell victim to an ambush that Hannibal had laid on the (probably north.) banks of Lake Trasimeno (Plb. 3,81,9-85,6, Liv. 22,3-7;

Plut. *Fab.* 3,2-3; App. *Hann.* 10). The sources date the battle as the 23rd of June (Ov. *Fast.* 6,767), which corresponds to mid-April. According to ancient historical tradition, it was a Celtic knight who killed him.

Susini, G. (1960) *Ricerche sulla battaglia del Trasimeno*. Cortona; Develin, R. (1979) *RhM*, 122, 268-277; Brizzi G. and Gambini, E. (2007) *RSA*, 37, 77-100; Feig Vishnia, R. (2012) *ZPE*, 181, 27-45.

U. LIVADIOTTI

FULVIUS CENTUMALUS MAXIMUS, CNAEUS

Member of a noble plebeian family. As a *praetor* in 213 BCE during the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS) he led military operations against the Carthaginians in Campania, especially in the region of Suessula. *Consul* in 211, he was in ROME, busy with conscription, when the vanguard of the army of HANNIBAL (9) appeared at the gates of the city. Together with his colleague P. Sulpicius Galba Maximus and the city *praetor*, Calpurnius Piso, F. organized the defence of the city, several times deploying the army outside the walls (Plb. 9,6-7; Liv. 26,9-10; Eutr. 3,14,1). After Hannibal's retreat, F. moved to Apulia, where he retained command of the army in the following year as well, but as a *proconsul*. While he was involved in secret negotiations with the philo-Rom. faction of the city of Herdonia (which defected to the Carthaginians after the battle of Cannae), his encampment came under a surprise attack from Hannibal, who overwhelmed the Rom. army using an encircling manoeuvre (Liv. 27,1; Fron. *Str.* 2,5,21; Plut. *Marc.* 24,4; App. *Hann.* 48; Eutr. 3,14,5). The V and VI legions were torn to pieces and the losses as calculated in the sources oscillate between 7,000 and 13,000 (even as many as 17,000 according to Oros. 4,18,3). F. himself fell in battle. Some modern historians have suggested that this battle is the same as the one fought (according to Livy) two years earlier, with a similar result and in the same place.

Huss, W. (1985), 358f.362.377ff.

U. LIVADIOTTI

Fulvius Petinus see AEMILIUS PAULUS (1)

G

GABAR

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 9,382ff. The PN derives from the Sem. root *gbr*, “to be strong”, and also “man”.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35.

Gabbar see KULAMUWA

GAETULI

Gk. Γαίτουλοι; Lat. *Gaetuli*. The term is of uncertain etymology.

The G. were an indigenous North African people mentioned by the classical writers rather vaguely and with conflicting information. They were largely nomadic, in an area N of the Sahara desert and S of the coastal fringe that included Mauretania (→MAURI), Numidia (→NUMIDIANS) and the Rom. *Provincia Africa*.

HAAN V, 109-112.137.165f.,177.194; Desanges, J. (1978) L'Afrique romaine et libyco-berbère. In: Nicolet, C. (ed.) *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen 264-27 avant J.-C.* La Nouvelle Clío 8,2: *Genèse d'un empire*. Paris, 627-656; Fentress, E. W. B. (1982) *MEFRA*, 94, 325-336; Slim, H. *et al.* (2006) *Histoire générale de la Tunisie, I. L'antiquité*. Tunis, 163ff.

P. XELLA

GAIA

Pun. *g'yy*; Gk Γαῖα (inscriptions from *Delos); Lat. *Gala* (in some manuscripts by Livy).

King of the Numid. MASSYLII, son of ZELALSEN and father of MASSINISSA I (1). In 213 BCE, encouraged by the Carthaginians, he took up arms against Masaesylan SYPHAX (→MASAESYLII), king of the NUMIDIANS, a Rom. ally, and with the aid of Pun. troops defeated him in battle and drove him out of Africa (Liv. 24,48-49). He died in 206, while his son Massinissa was fighting alongside the Carthaginians in Iberia (Liv. 29,29,6). After his death, following Numid. custom, he was succeeded by his brother OEZALCES. Then, when he died, a period of struggle for succession began. In the space of only a few

years, his nephews CAPUSSA and LACUMAZES and finally his son, Massinissa rapidly succeeded each other on the throne.

KAI II, 109-113, no. 101; Camps G. (1998) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 20. Aix-en-Provence, 2954f.

U. LIVADIOTTI

GALA

Soldier in the army of HASDRUBAL (6) who, according to the account by Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 15,463-466), fell in Spain in 208 BCE at the battle of *Baecula at the hand of C. LAELIUS (1), companion of Scipio Africanus (→SCIPIONS [5]).

Although it is possibly a figment of the author's imagination, both character and episode are significant in the classical perspective on human sacrifices in the Pun. world. As a child, G. had to be offered in sacrifice to the gods, but his mother saved him by replacing him with another child. As a consequence, his death in battle is considered as a kind of rebalancing of his destiny: the pact with the gods had not been observed and the deities recovered what had been taken from them improperly (Sil. *Pun.* 15,466: *sed stant nulla diu deceptis gaudia divis*). Beyond the unlikely historicity of the story, the witness in question is relevant because of its underlying ideology. Also due to the incidental character of the episode, it is difficult to consider it a simple literary topos, or simply to ascribe it to anti-Carthag. propaganda.

Picard, G.-Ch. (1974) Le tophet de Carthage dans Silius Italicus. In: *Mélanges de Philosophie, de Littérature et d'Histoire ancienne offerts à Pierre Boyancé*. CEFR 22. Rome, 569-577; Geus, K. (1994), 201; Xella, P. (2009) *SEL*, 26, 79f.

P. XELLA

GARADUS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 7,601.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994) 210.

Garama see GARAMANTES

GARAMANTES

The G. were a Saharan people who lived in Wadi el-Ajal, modern Fezzan (Libya). The name comes from Garama, modern Jerma, the capital of their kingdom. Mentioned by Herodotus and in other Gk and Lat. sources – often as stereotypical aggressive raiders – in fact the G. founded the earliest proto-state formation in the central Sahara, which flourished from the 5th cent. BCE to the 5th cent. CE. The Garamantian kingdom flourished thanks to the introduction from east. Egypt. oases of complex irrigation technology (*foggara*), which allowed intensive exploitation of the agricultural area of the oasis and thanks to the control of the main trans-Saharan caravan routes, which from the east. Mediterranean reached as far as the bend in the river Niger. In recent years (1997-2011), systematic archaeological research carried out in the area around the capital of the kingdom and in south. Fezzan (Wadi Tanezzuft, Tadrart Acacus, oases of Ghat, Barkat and Fewet), has recovered the remains of a true and original form of urbanization, with a complex social organization. Under the stimulus of commercial contacts and the growing potential of trans-Saharan traffic from the first centuries CE, this civilization also developed its own architecture, reinterpreting and reworking Mediterr. and Nilotic technologies and models in its own original way. During this period, monumental buildings with column porches of coastal derivation arise in Jerma. Previously interpreted as temples, their actual function is still obscure: Are they divine dwellings or do they comprise the seat of power of the dominant élite? Alongside these buildings, there are royal necropolises characterized by structures with various configurations, from the stepped tombs to the pyramids built with bricks from such tombs and the mausoleums (*Mausoleum) of clear Mediterr. derivation. The rich funeral goods with large quantities of ceramics, fine glass and precious furnishings imported from the N, together with locally manufactured objects – such as hand-made ceramics and quartzite saddle-shaped querns, are evidence of a structured social hierarchy, which is also confirmed by classical sources, which mention the presence of a *rex* in Jerma (Tac. *Ann.* 4,23), a settlement defined as *clarissimum oppidum ... caput Garamantum* (Plin. *Nat.* 5,36). The extension of the Garamantian kingdom during its most expansive period included a vast region stretching from Wadi al-Ajal to Wadi

Shati and then as far as the Murzuk region to the NE, and probably Ghadames to the NW; Wadi Tanezzuft had already been its southernmost border since the 1st cent. CE.

Recent systematic archaeological investigations, supported by studies of satellite imagery, have made it possible to identify a dense network of fortified settlements (*qsur*) due to the need for a more capillary rural exploitation of the territory, in the heart of the kingdom, and more effective and direct control of trade routes in peripheral areas such as the Tanezzuft Wadi and the east. side of Tadrart Acacus.

The end of the Garamantian kingdom seems to be linked to the drastic decline in trans-Saharan trade, following the collapse of the Rom. empire, and the shift of trade towards the E (Traghen and Murzuk) during the Islamic period, which reduced the role of the capital as a centre of power, and impoverished its territory. However, the settlement was inhabited without interruption until the Italian colonial era in the 1930s, when, for health reasons (a high incidence of malaria), the site of ancient Garama was finally abandoned.

Daniels, C. M. (1970) *The Garamantes of Southern Libya*. London; Liverani, M. (ed.) (2005) *Aghram Nadharif. The Barkat oasis. (Sha'abiya of Ghat, Libyan Sahara) in Garamantian times*. AZA Monographs 5. Florence; Liverani, M. (2007) *Athenaeum*, 95, 633-662; Mattingly, D. J. (ed.) (2003) *The archaeology of Fazzān*. 1: *Synthesis*. London; (2007) 2: *Gazetteer, pottery and other finds*, London; (2010) 3: *Excavations of C. M. Daniels*. London; (2014) 4: *Survey and excavations at Old Jarma (ancient Garama) carried out by C. M. Daniels (1962-1969) and the Fazzān Project (1997-2001)*. London; Mattingly, D. J. (2011) The Garamantes of Fazzan. An early Libyan state with trans-Saharan connections. In: Dowler, A. and Galvin, E. R. (eds) *Money, trade and trade routes in pre-Islamic North Africa*. London, 49-60; Mori, L. (ed.) (2013) *Life and death of a rural fillage in Garamantian times. Archaeological investigations in the Oasis of Fewet (Libyan Sahara)*. Florence.

L. MORI

GARAMUS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 2,110, who died during the siege of *Saguntum. His name is related to the name of the GARAMANTES.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36; *NAN*, 49.

GAUDA

Numid. prince, son of MASTANABAL and grandson of MASSINISSA (1) (*CIL* II 3417 = *ILS* 840) (→NUMIDIANS). Sallustius (*Jug.* 65,1) describes him as sickly and

slightly demented: perhaps this is why MICIPSA (1) excluded him from the direct line of inheritance to the Numid. throne. Having rushed to the assistance of the Romans during the war against JUGURTHA, he helped to spread discontent against Caecilius Metellus (→CAECILII METELLI [2]) and to favour the rise of Marius. As a result, after Jugurtha was captured, Marius induced the Senate to make him a ruler over the east. part of Numidia (the west. sector went to BOCCHUS [1]). It was during his reign that the Rom. veterans from the war against Jugurtha were settled in the valley of *Medjerda. G. died before 88 BCE, the year in which his son HIEMPSAL II (2) came to power (Plut. *Mar.* 40). From a dedication by the citizens of *Syracuse we know that he had another son, called Masteabar (possibly to be identified as Mastanabal II), who to some extent also inherited his father's throne.

Kontorini V. N. (1975) *AC*, 44, 89-99; Huss, W. (1989) *AncSoc*, 20, 210-212; Camps G. (1998), s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 20, Aix-en-Provence, 2995f.

U. LIVADIOTTI

GELESTA

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 10,85. The goddess Juno takes on his appearance and provides Hannibal with advice on strategy during the battle of Cannae (→PUNIC WARS).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36; Keith, A. M. (2010) *Engendering Orientalism in Silius's Punica*. In: Augoustakis, A. (ed.) *Brill's companion to Silius Italicus*. Leiden/Boston, 361.

A. ERCOLANI

Gelon see HAMILCAR (1)

GEMINUS OF TYRE

Gk Γέμινος.

One of three authors mentioned by Artemidorus of Daldis (2,44) as having written about miraculous cures and prescriptions given during *Incubation, esp. by Serapis. G. wrote three books. The correction to "of Tyre" in the text by Artemidorus is now generally accepted.

RE, VII,1, s.v. "Geminus" (2-3) col. 1051 (K. Tittel; H. Gossen); Winkler, J. J. (1982) *ClPhil*, 77, 245-248.

G. MINUNNO

GERAS

Phoen. *grš* (cf. *EH* 157,4); Gk Γέρας. PN perhaps related to the extended form *gr'strt* (see GERAISTRATOS), "Client of Astarte".

G. was a Carthag. technician who, according to Athenaeus Mechanicus (Wescher [1897], 9-10), may have invented the battering ram mounted on wheels and used during the siege of *Cádiz (see Vit. 10,13,1-2). However, this information is dubious and chronologically uncertain.

PNPPI, 299; Wescher, C. (1897) *La Poliorcétique des Grecs*. Paris; Geus, K. (1994), 29f.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

GERAISTRATOS

Phoen. *gr'strt*, Gk Γηράστρατος, Γηρόστρατος, "Client of Astarte", theophoric PN of several historical characters.

PNPPI, 106f.298f.

1. G. son of Abdelim, according to Josephus (*Ap.* 1,157) governed *Tyre as a Suffete (→*Suffetes) for 6 years together with MATTAN (5) (ca 562-557 BCE). Source: Joseph. *Ap.* 1,157.

2. King of *Arwad in the second half of the 4th cent. BCE. While ALEXANDER THE GREAT was marching towards *Phoenicia, G. like other Phoen. and Cypr. kings, was with the fleet commanded by Autophradates (*Arr. An.* 2,13,7-8; 20,1). STRATON (5), son of G., offered to surrender Arwad, *Marathos, Sigona, Mariamme and the other lands under their control to the Macedonian. When G. heard what had happened, he left Autophradates and went back to *Phoenicia, and then presumably took part in the siege of Tyre.

Elayi, J. (2007) *NC*, 99-104; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans.* 19. Pendé, 156ff.162ff.

3. A G., father of the dedicator of an inscription placed in the sanctuary of *Melqart in *Lapethos in 250 BCE (*KAI* 43), had the title "Great (One) of the land" (*rb rš*). Abdashtart, G.'s father, was also given this title, as was Yatonbaal, G.'s son. It may be

the equivalent of “*strategos* of the island”. If so, G. would have held this office in *Cyprus from 295/294 – when Ptolemy I recaptured the island – until 280, when the office was passed on to Yatonbaal.

Parmentier, A. (1987) Phoenicians in the administration of Ptolemaic Cyprus. In: *StPhoen* 5, 403-412.

G. MINUNNO

GERATMILK

Phoen. theophoric fem. PN “Client (f.) of Milk”, very rarely attested also in the masc. form (*grmlk*).

A G., priestess (→*Priesthood) of the goddess *štrt hr* (→*Astarte), is attested in an archaic funerary inscription dated to the 8th cent. BCE, engraved on a crater of unknown origin. The bones of the deceased are mentioned, but the continuation of the text is difficult to interpret. According to E. Puech, a certain Ittobaal (a Tyrian king?) authorized the celebration of a solemn mourning ceremony in honour of G., including a ritual lament. At all events, it is evident that the deceased was a high-ranking woman of her time.

PNPPI, 298f.; Puech, E. (1994) *Trans*, 8, 47-69; Bonnet, C. and Xella, P. (1996) L'identité d'Astarté-*hr*. In: *Studi Moscati*, I, 29-46.

P. XELLA

GERATMILQART

An important priestess (→*Priesthood) of a goddess called “Our Lady” (probably, *Tinnit). Her name occurs in a funerary inscription [Fig. 37] from *Carthage (*CIS* I, 5942: *qbr grtmlq<r>t hkhnt š rbtn*).

PNPPI, 107.298f.; Puech, E. (1994) *Trans*, 8, 52f.

P. XELLA



Fig. 37. Funerary inscription of the priestess Geratmilqart (Carthage)

Germa see GARAMANTES

GERSAPHON

Akk. *Gi-ri-ša-pu-ni*, corresponding to the Phoen. theophoric PN *gršpn*, “Client of Saphon”.

Ass. official possibly of Phoen. birth, after whom an eponym was named in 660 BCE, under →ASHURBANIPAL.

PNPPI, 107.401f.; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); *PNA* 1/II s.v. “Gir-Šapūnu” (3) 426 (D. Schwemer).

G. MINUNNO

GESTAR

Lat. form probably to be connected with the Phoen. theophoric PN *grštrt*, “Client of Astarte” (see GERAS, GERASTRATOS).

PNPPI, 386f.; Vattioni, F. (1979) *AIONArchStAnt*, 1, 176; *NAN*, 50 (s.v. “Gestaris”).

1. Name of a Pun. senator in Sil. *Pun.* 2,327.

Gibson, B. (2010) Silius Italicus: a consular historian. In: Augoustakis, A. (ed.) *Brill's companion to Silius Italicus*. Leiden/Boston, 47-72, esp. 67-71.

2. Name of soldiers in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 4,627 and 12,262.

Geus, K. (1994), 210.

A. ERCOLANI

GIBALOS

Gk Γίβαλος.

It corresponds to the Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *grb'l*, “Client of Baal”.

Name of an official in the service of Zenon towards the first half of the 3rd cent. BCE, who, in turn, was an administrator in the service of Apollonius, a minister under Ptolemy II of Egypt (→LAGIDS).

PNPPI, 103.298; Pestman, P. W. (ed.) (1981) *A guide to the Zenon archive*. Leiden, 309 (P. Cair. Zen III 59411); *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński).

G. MINUNNO

GIDDENES

Fem. character in →PLAUTUS's *Poenulus*, the nurse of ADELPHASIVM and ANTERASTULIS. Her name is the Latinized form of the Pun. PN *gdn'mt*.

PNPPI, 122.294f.; *NAN*, 50 (s.v. "giddinis").

A. ERCOLANI

GILLIMAS

PN of uncertain origin (Pun. or Numid.?).

G. was part of the embassy sent from *Carthage to ROME in 149 BCE – together with GISGO (9), HAMILCAR (17), MAGO (14) and MISDES – to dissuade the Romans from military action against Carthage (Plb. 36,3,6-4,9; App. *Pun.* 76,354-355; Liv. *Perioch.* 49).

Geus, K. (1994), 30.

A. ERCOLANI

GISGO

Theophoric PN *grskn*, "Client of Sakon"; Gk Γέσκων, Γίσκων, Γίσκων; Lat. *Gisco*, *Gisgo*, *Gisaco*; the name of several characters in Carthag. history.

PNPPI, 104-106.298; *NAN*, 50f. (s.v. "gisaco" and "gisgo").

1. Member of the Magonid (→MAGONIDS) family (he was the son of HAMILCAR [1] defeated at *Himera in 480 BCE). After having contributed to the expansion of Carthag. territory in North Africa, G. was tried, it would seem, because of his father's defeat. Sentenced to exile, G. moved to *Selinus where he died in about the mid-fifth cent.

Main sources: Diod. 13,43,5; Just. 19,2,16.

Geus, K. (1994), 30f. (1).

2. Carthag. commander operating in *Sicily against TIMOLEON. He was exonerated and exiled after his brother HAMILCAR (3) was condemned to death. After his defeat at the river Crimisus in 342 BCE, G. was recalled to military service with full powers and on this occasion he showed clemency to his oligarchical

adversaries. In the spring of 341, in response to the appeal made by the tyrants Mamercus and Icetas, he led an expedition in Sicily. In spite of G.'s successes – he retook Messina – Mamercus and Icetas were defeated by Timoleon and the ensuing stalemate led to a treaty in 339 (TREATIES).

Main sources: Diod. 16,81,3-4; Plut. *Tim.* 30,4-6; 34,1-2; Polyæn. 5,11; Just. 21,4,8; 22,7,10; Oros. 4,6,20.

Geus, K. (1994), 31f.

3. Father of HAMILCAR (6), he fought against AGATHOCLES, but the chronology shows that he is not the same person as G. (1).

Source: Justin. 22,3,6.9; 22,8,2.

Geus, K. (1994), 33.

4. Father of the HANNIBAL (3) who was in command of *Agrigentum during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS).

Source: Zonar. 8,10.

Geus, K. (1994), 33.

5. A Carthaginian who, at the end of the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), as the commander in charge of *Lilybaeum, was commissioned to organize the transportation of MERCENARIES to Africa. G. made them leave in small groups, making it possible to pay their wages gradually, as they were reaching their destination, so that he could discharge them before the next contingent arrived and avoid a dangerous gathering of mercenaries close to Carthage. In spite of this precaution, the situation he feared occurred and when the mercenaries started to protest. G., whom they liked, was sent to *Tunis to negotiate. In one heated discussion, G. replied to the insistent mercenaries that they should demand their wages from MATHO, one of the leaders of the revolt. Then G. and his followers were arrested and imprisoned. This act certainly led to the outbreak of the War of the Mercenaries. Afterwards, also out of fear that someone would help G. to escape, it was decided to execute him as well as the other Carthag. prisoners, even though some of the rebels disagreed, as G. deserved a favour for what he had done earlier. After being tortured and having their hands cut off, they were thrown alive into a pit. The rebels then rejected the

request from the Carthaginians for the return of the bodies of G. and the others.

Main sources: Plb. 1,66,1-5; 1,68,13-70,6; 1,79,13-81,3; Diod. 24,13; 25,3,1; Liv. 21,51,1.

Geus, K. (1994), 33-35.

6. A G. who, together with BOSTAR (5) and MAGO (8), was sent by HANNIBAL (9) to PHILIP V, king of Macedonia, in 215 BCE. However, the ship on which they were travelling to Macedonia was captured by the Romans. G. and the other ambassadors were sent first to Cuma, where one of the *consules* was, and then to Rome. Having examined their case, the Senate had them imprisoned. It is possible that this person is the G. mentioned by Plutarch as a man on a par with Hannibal and as present at the battle of Cannae.

Sources: Liv. 23,34,1-9; 38,1-7; see Plut. *Fab.* 15.

Geus, K. (1994), 35.

7. Member of the Carthag. Senate who championed the continuation of the war with Rome (the II Punic War) even after the battle of *Zama. While G. was still speaking, Hannibal (9), who was against this view, seized him and dragged him off the platform.

Sources: Plb. 15,19,2-3; Liv. 30,37,7-8.

Geus, K. (1994), 35.

8. He held public office in 151 BCE, when he instigated the Carthag. people to fight against Rome, forcing the Rom. ambassadors who had come to settle a dispute between Carthage and MASSINISSA I (1) king of Numidia, to flee.

Source: Liv. *Perioch.* 48.

Geus, K. (1994), 36.

9. G., nicknamed *Strytanus*, was sent to ROME in 149 BCE as a plenipotentiary ambassador, on a par with HAMILCAR (17), MISDES, GILLIMAS and MAGO (14). The ambassadors, seeing the sudden change in events, put themselves at the mercy of Rome, which demanded a large number of hostages. When they reported their actions to the Carthag. Senate, they received its approval.

Sources: Plb. 36,3-4; cf. Liv. *Perioch.* 49.

Geus, K. (1994), 36f.

10. A person (probably fictitious) in the army of Hannibal (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 2,111, who fell at the siege of Saguntum.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36; Geus, K. (1994), 210.

G. MINUNNO

GRACCHI

Members of a branch of *gens Sempronia*, a powerful Rom. family of plebeian nobility. Here they are listed in chronological order.

1. *Sempronius Gracchus, Tiberius.* Consul in 238 BCE, according to one uncertain historical tradition (Zonar. 8,18), he started to annex *Sardinia, exploiting the total inability of the Carthaginians (who had just emerged from a war against the MERCENARIES) to face another battle.

Broughton, T. R. S. (1951) *The magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 1. New York, 221; Walbank, F. W. (1967) *A historical commentary on Polybius*, I. Oxford, 149f.; Hoyos, D. (1997) *Unplanned wars. Origins of the First and Second Punic Wars*. Berlin, 132-143.

2. *Sempronius Gracchus, Tiberius.* Son of (1), consul in 215 BCE, fought against HANNIBAL (9) in Campania. As his command had been extended to the following year 214 as well, in the vicinity of Beneventum, he routed the army of HANNO (22) who was trying to catch up with Hannibal's army (Liv. 34,14-16; Fron. *Str.* 4,7,24; Zonar. 9,4). Consul for the second time in 213, he retained his military command in the following year as well, during which he died in an ambush in the vicinity of *Capua or, according to other writers, Beneventum (Plb. 8,35; Liv. 25,15,10-17,7; Val. Max. 1,6,8; App. *Hann.* 35; Oros. 4,16,15; Zonar. 9,5).

Broughton, T. R. S. (1951) *The magistrates of the Roman republic*, 1. New York, 249.253f.260ff.269.

3. *Sempronius Gracchus, Tiberius.* Famous tribune of the *plebs*, who began the agrarian reform in 133 BCE. As a very young man, he served in the army of his cousin and brother-in-law Scipio Aemilianus (→SCIPIONS [6]) during the siege of *Carthage. On that occasion he was one of the first Romans to climb up on the

enemy walls (Plut. *T. Gr.* 5,6: but probably they were the walls of Megara, the suburb captured during the attack in the spring of 147: App. *Pun.* 117).

Perelli, L. (1993) *I Gracchi*. Rome, 57f.

4. *Sempronius Gracchus, Caius*. Younger brother of (3), tribune of the *plebs* in 123 and 122 BCE. He prob. inspired *lex Rubria*, which instituted the foundation of a Rom. colony on the soil of Carthage (solemnly cursed by Scipio Aemilianus (→SCIPIONS [6]) only 24 years earlier). It would have housed 6,000 citizens on larger plots than usual (Plut. *C. Gr.* 10-11; 14; App. *Pun.* 136 and *BC* 1,24; Vell. 1,15; Solin. 27,11; Liv. *Perioch.* 61; Eutr. 4,21; Oros. 5,11). He was included in the triumvirate commission intended to supervise the foundation of the colony (called *Iunonia Karthago*, possibly a reference to the intention of restoring the cult of *Tinnit there): even though he was still in office as a tribune of the *plebs*, at the beginning of 122 he left ROME to take part in person in the founding operations, staying in Africa for more than two months. However, in Rome news was already circulating about the unfavourable omens that would have cast a shadow over the ceremonies for marking out the limits of the terrain. The Senate, hostile to S. G., already in the following year (121) proposed the suppression of the colony. It was during the voting on this action that disorder erupted leading to the anti-Gracchan repression. After the death of S. G., the colony was abolished, but the allocations of plots of land that had already been made were considered valid (as can be inferred from references to the *oppidum Carthago* contained in the *lex agraria* of 111: *CIL* I 200, 59.61.66.79).

Martin, P. M. (1988) Reconstruire Cartagine? Un débat politique et idéologique à la fin de la République et au début du Principat. In: *AfRo* 5, 235-251; Berti, N. (1990) *Aevum*, 64, 69-75; De Ligt, L. (2002) Colonists and buyers in *Lex agr.* 52-69. In: Defosse, P. (ed.) *Hommages à Carl Deroux*. 3. *Histoire et épigraphie, droit*. Bruxelles, 146-157.

U. LIVADIOTTI

GULUSSA

Pun. *glsn*; Gk Γολόσσης.

Numid. prince, son of MASSINISSA (1) (→NUMIDIANS). For his father he was extremely active as a diplomat abroad, esp. in ROME to plead for Numid. demands at the expense of the Carthaginians, whose rearmament he decried (Liv. 42,23-24; 43,3; 49). Fragments of an inscription in his honour have been found at Delos (*ID* 1578). In 152 BCE, at the peak of the Numid.-Pun. crisis following the expulsion of philo-Numid. elements from *Carthage, while returning from a diplomatic mission, G. was captured by HAMILCAR (16) the Samnite who used treachery. This provided Massinissa with a pretext to open hostilities (App. *Pun.* 70; on his vendetta: *Pun.* 73). When his father died (148) G. came to the throne together with his brothers MICIPSA (1) and MASTANABAL: when power was shared out, he was given command of the army (Sal. *Jug.* 5; App. *Pun.* 106). He was more willing than his brothers to give military support to the Rom. in the III Punic War (→PUNIC WARS) (App. *Pun.* 110-111). G. distinguished himself esp. in the conquest of Neferi (App. *Pun.* 126). According to Plb. 38,7-8, he also tried to negotiate the surrender of HASDRUBAL (14), on behalf of Scipio Aemilianus (→SCIPIONS [6]). G. died before 139, the year in which his brother Micipsa was ruling on his own (*KAI* 112): Sal. *Jug.* 5 speaks of death from an illness. Probably the rare coins with the bilateral legend *gn*, in Pun., belong to him (and not to his nephew GAUDA). One of his sons, Massiva, who fled to Rome in 112 after JUGURTHA had captured Cirta (*Constantine), was assassinated there two years later (Sal. *Jug.* 35).

Baslez, M.-F. (1981) *RÉG*, 94, 160-165; Camps, G. (1999) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 21. Aix-en-Provence, 3243-3245.

U. LIVADIOTTI

H

HADRIANUS OF TYRE

Gk Ἀδριανός.

A sophist living in the 2nd cent. CE. When he was about 18 years old, he became a pupil of Herodes Atticus, for whom he gave the funerary eulogy. He taught in *Ephesus, where he could have met Lucianus of Samosathe, who possibly wrote his *Pseudologista* against him. One of H.'s disciples there was Dami-anus of Ephesus, who paid 10,000 drachmas for his lessons and was the source of the information given in Philostratus' biography of H. (see Philostr. *VS* 2,23,2). No later than 176, H. assumed the chair of rhetoric in Athens, thereby declaring in one of his speeches that, with him, letters had returned to Greece from *Phoenicia. H.'s evergetism towards the Athenians helped to absolve him from a charge of murder, made because a man had died after having been beaten by his pupils' servants for having criticized him. H. was appreciated by Marcus Aurelius, who called him to the chair of rhetoric in ROME. Just before his death, when he was about 80, H. was appointed by Commodus as imperial secretary. In Rome, H. showed an interest in Galen's demonstrations (Galen. *De praecognit.* 627.629); someone even considered H. to be a magician, probably, according to Philostratus, because he had discussed magic in some of his speeches. According to Suida (α 528 Adler), H. wrote *Declamations*, 7 books of *Metamorphoses*, 5 books *On types of style*, 3 books *On distinctive features in the issues*, letters, epideictic speeches, a *Phalaris* and a *Consolation to Celer*. He is probably also the author of an *Alexandrias* (St. Byz. s.v. *Astraia* and *Saneaia*), and possibly the Tyrian sophist whose funerary speech for the mime Maximinus (Paris) is mentioned by Libanius (*Or.* 64,41), who was interested in H.'s works (*Ep.* 361). Among H.'s disciples were Pollux, Proclus and Apollonius of Naucratis, Apollonius of Athens, Antipater of Hierapolis, Heracleides of Lycia and Quirinus of Nicomedia (Philostr. *VS* 2,12; 2,19; 2,20,3; 2,21,1; 2,24,1; 2,26,5; 2,29).

RE VII,2, s.v. "Hadrianos" (1) cols 2176f. (W. Schmid); Jones, C. P. (1972) *GRBS*, 13, 475-487; Swain, S. (1990) *ClPhil*, 85, 214-216; Bowie, E. (1998) Hadrianos. In: *BNP*, 5, cols 57f.

G. MINUNNO

HAMILCAR

Phoen. and Pun. **bdmlqrt* "Servant of Melqart"; Gk Ἀμίλκαρ, Ἀμίλχαρ, Ἀμίλκας, Ἀμμίλκαρ; Lat. (*H*)*amilcar*, *Admicar*, *Am(m)icar*is and other variants. A very common theophoric PN in Phoen. and Pun. *Onomastics.

PNPPI, 369-372.

1. A prominent member of the Magonid family (→MAGONIDS), the brother of HASDRUBAL (1), father of GISGO (1) and son of HANNO (1). After initially joining Carthag. expeditions in *Sardinia towards the end of the 6th cent. BCE, he played an important role in military operations in *Sicily, as a *strategos* and a Suffete (→*Suffetes). H. is called *basileus* by Herodotus (7,165-166): very probably, this title does not presuppose any monarchical function (→*Kingship), but instead is to be connected with the office of Suffete. In 480 he organized an impressive military expedition to Sicily in answer to the request for help from Terillus, tyrant of *Himera. He had been driven away by Theron, the tyrant of *Agrigentum, who had taken over his city. The size of the Carthag. expedition gave the impression that it was really an attempt to subjugate the whole island, under the pretext of supporting Terillus. Having landed in *Panormus, on reaching the vicinity of Himera, the Carthag. troops had to face the unexpected arrival of soldiers of Gelon, the tyrant of *Syracuse, to whom Theron had turned for help. The surprise effect combined with the effectiveness of Gelon's cavalry, affected the outcome of the battle at the expense of H.'s army. H. died, but there are discordant versions of how this happened. According to one version, considered credible by Herodotus (7,167) – which could be defined as 'Carthaginian' – H., seeing that everything was lost, threw himself into the flames of a sacrificial pyre. In another version, he was killed by the Syracusans while offering sacrifices to a god called *Poseidon in Greek. In a third account, H. disappeared without trace during the battle. Also according to Herodotus, he was worshipped in *Carthage and in the colonies. However, it remains an open question as to whether the information on this heroization

(→*Divinization and Heroization) is reliable or, whether, instead, Herodotus confused H.'s name with *Melqart.

Main Sources: Diod. 11,1,4-5; 20-22; 25,1; 34,3; 13,59,4-5; 94,5; 14,67,1; 37,1,3; Hdt. 7,153-167; Just. 4,2,6-7; 19,1,1-2,1; Plut. *Moral.* 175A; Plb. 12,26b,1 (for the full list, cf. *RE* VII,2, s.v. "Hamilkar" [1] cols. 2297-2299 [T. Lenschau]).

Huss, W. (1985), 64.93-99; Geus, K. (1994), 36-40.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

2. Carthag. commander active in the war against TIMOLEON. In 342 BCE he led a large army from Carthage to *Sicily, relieving the troops stationed there. Guided by H. and HASDRUBAL (3), the Carthag. army clashed, perhaps unexpectedly, with Timoleon's forces at the river Crimisus, where it suffered a heavy defeat. It is unclear what happened to H. after that defeat, but according to the sources, it seems that he was succeeded by GISGO (2).

Sources: Nep. *Tim.* 2,4; Diod. 16,73,3; 77,4-81,3; Plut. *Cam.* 19,7; *Tim.* 25,1-29,4; Polyae. 5,12,3.

Huss, W. (1985), 163f; Geus, K. (1994), 40f.

P. XELLA

3. Probably the son of HANNO (8) and a brother of GISGO (2). According to Polyaeus (5,11), following his successes in *Libya as a *strategos*, H. provoked the hostility of his political opponents who, under the pretext of his aspiration to tyranny, had him condemned and put to death.

Huss, W. (1985), 178, fn. 10.496, fn. 4; Geus, K. (1994), 42.

A. ERCOLANI

4. Nicknamed 'the Rhodian' (*Rhodinus*, *Rhodanus*, *Rodanus* are the forms handed down, all probably referring to the island of *Rhodes). Sent to the court of ALEXANDER THE GREAT to learn his intentions about North Africa, from 332/331 (?) until 323 BCE he was active there as a Carthag. spy. On his return home, on the death of Alexander, he was sentenced to death and executed. The causes of this execution are not known with certainty, as the sources give conflicting motives. It can be assumed that he was a

victim of the internal political struggles in Carthage in the late 4th cent.

Main sources: Fron. *Str.* 1,2,3; Just. 21,6; Oros. 4,6,21-22.

Huss, W. (1985), 170, fn. 12-13.243, fn. 204; Geus, K. (1994), 42f.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

5. A *strategos* in Sicily in 319 BCE, he helped to resolve the conflict between the Syracusans and AGATHOCLES. In 313, active in Sicily once more, he made Agathocles respect the Carthag. claims on *Himera, *Selinus and *Heraclea, a result that seemed unsatisfactory to the Carthaginians. On his return home, he was accused of betrayal and put on trial, probably illegally, but he took his own life before sentence was pronounced.

Sources: Diod. 19,5,4; 71,6-72,2; Just. 22,2-3; 7,10; Polyae. 5,3,7.

Huss, W. (1985), 178.181f.496, fn. 4; Geus, K. (1994), 43f.

A. ERCOLANI

6. He succeeded H. (5) as a *strategos* in Sicily, in 310 BCE. At the head of a considerable expeditionary force, he successfully fought the army of AGATHOCLES, forcing the enemy to retreat. He managed to bring to the side of Carthage almost all of Sicily, except for Syracuse, which he decided to attack only in 309, but was captured and killed.

Sources: Cic. *Div.* 1,50; Diod. 19,106-109; 20,15-16; 29,2-31,1; 33,2; Just. 22,3,6-10; 4,1; 7,1; 8,2; Polyae. 6,41,1-2; P. Oxy. XXIV 2399, cols II 28-IV 99.

Huss, W. (1985), 183ff.188-192; Geus, K. (1994), 44-46.

P. XELLA

7. A *strategos* in Sicily and active during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), he succeeded in capturing several cities, including *Camarina and *Enna. After various events on the island, he returned to Carthage to counter the advance of the Rom. army which had landed at Aspis, now their operational base. The progress of the clashes was to ROME's advantage, so that Carthage sent an ambassador to the *consul* ATILIUS REGULUS to negotiate for peace. The conditions imposed by the Romans were unacceptable to the Carthaginians and the arrival of the

Spartan XANTHIPPUS – under whom H. placed himself – changed the course of the conflict and the Romans were annihilated in 255 BCE. Subsequently, H. was ordered to bring the rebelling NUMIDIANS and MAURI back to order, a task he performed with harshness and cruelty.

Sources: Plb. 1,24,3-30,5; 31,2; 32,5; Diod. 33,8,3; 9,2-4; 11; Val. Max. 6,6,2; Fron. *Strat.* 3,16,2; Polyaen. 8,20; Dio Cass. 11 fr. 43,21; Eutr. 2,21; Oros. 4,8; 9,9; 10,2; Zonar. 8,10-13.

Huss, W. (1985), 228-238; Geus, K. (1994), 46-49.

P. XELLA

8. Of unknown origin, a Carthag. officer in the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). Taken prisoner by the Romans, possibly at the battle of Adys, he was treated brutally. It is not certain whether he ever returned to Carthage. His identification as H. (7) or H. (9), as has actually been proposed, is unlikely.

Source: Diod. 24,12.

Huss, W. (1984), 235, fn. 131; Geus, K. (1994), 49f.

A. ERCOLANI

9. H. was the first to assume the nickname of Barca, 'Lightning', from the Phoen. root *brq*, according to the most accepted interpretation (another hypothesis connects it with the root *brk*, suggesting the meaning 'the Blessed One'). He was also the first member of the so-called BARCIDS that we know of. Probably H. was a wealthy landowner with considerable assets. According to a reliable hypothesis, at least some of the family properties were located away from Carthage, perhaps between Hadrumentum (*Sousse), *Thapsus and *Acholla, in *Byzacena. In fact HANNIBAL (9) landed at Byzacena on his return from Italy, planted olive trees undisturbed there after Zama and then sailed unobstructed to exile in 198 BCE. H. had three daughters, whom he turned into instruments of political alliance. The first daughter married BOMILCAR (3), who probably had royal blood (our sources do not entirely agree). He was then a Suffete in Carthage, and the father of HANNO (22), who fought in Italy under his uncle Hannibal (9). The second daughter married HASDRUBAL (5) 'the Elder' (or 'the Beautiful'), H.'s right-hand man and the political mind behind the Barcid faction. The third daughter was

promised to NARAVAS, a Numid. chief, to gain his alliance during the war against the Libyans and the MERCENARIES (Plb. 1,78,1-9). In addition, H. had three sons, all younger than their sisters: Hannibal (9) (247 or 246), then HASDRUBAL (6) 'the Younger' (ca 245?) and lastly MAGO (6) (ca 240?). From 247, as a *nauarchos* and the successor of CARTHALO (2), H. was committed to leading a war of rapid incursions against Rome both along the coasts of Lucania and Bruttium, and against the Rom. bases in Sicily. Nothing is known about his previous field experiences. However, the fact that he wanted his older son to be educated by Sosylus of Sparta, a preceptor who was *Lacedaemonium doctorem armorum* (Veget. 3. *praef.*), has led some scholars to assume that – as a young officer, seven or eight years earlier – H. could have known and appreciated the work of XANTHIPPUS, the tactical genius who had defeated the army of ATILIUS REGULUS *non virtute, sed arte*.

Whether this meeting was the reason why he favoured Hellenism in support of which – together with his son-in-law Hasdrubal (5) 'the Elder' – he subsequently represented the most authoritative voice at home, is not known. Certainly, his adhesion to Gk culture had to appear as complete and committed to his fellow citizens. This is demonstrated by the anecdote (Liv. 21,2,3; Nep. *Ham.* 3,2) on the homosexual relationship between him and Hasdrubal no less (a relationship which he in turn would attempt to extend to his brother-in-law). Although the rumour is likely to be only a fabrication, it appears to have been dictated by clearly identifiable motives. If it is a slander, its authors were almost certainly not the enemies of the Barcids in Rome. Quite the reverse: it probably arose in the more traditional settings of Carthage, where, by accusing the whole family of pederasty, the intention was to blame not only their behaviour, but also stigmatize an adhesion to Gk culture which came to adopt even its degenerate and more alien aspects, in comparison with traditional Pun. morality. However, it was the Gk political and military approach that most interested H. In fact, his attention to this aspect was already evident at the end of the first conflict with Rome. Obsessively attentive to economic and financial aspects, Carthage had never paid much attention to the military side. As a general rule, it had always subordinated economics to politics, ready to suspend wars that would be over-expensive in terms of economy or human lives. In the conflicts with the Romans, this utilitarian conception of war

had proved to be fatal for the Carthaginians. It was for this, after all, that H. reproached his own fellow citizens, blaming them for having renounced Sicily *nimis celeri desperatione* (Liv. 21,1,5). Certainly, he had done everything to prolong the war: from the fortress of Heirkte (Monte Castellaccio or Monte Pellegrino?) he had first conquered *Eryx. Then for years he had led a series of rapid and very audacious actions against Drepanum (*Trapani), held by the Romans (Plb. 1,56,58; Diod. 24,6,8ff.; Zonar. 8,16) remaining undefeated. But the Egadi Islands disaster had removed any possibility of resistance. Soon after, he personally conducted preliminary negotiations for the withdrawal from Sicily. By implicitly admitting that they had not defeated him, the Romans had agreed to forego a clause they usually insisted on, i.e. the handing over of deserters. They also let Hamilcar's troops leave the island without surrendering their weapons. However, H. left GISGO (5) with the task of demobilizing the armies (Plb. 1,62) while, for unknown reasons, for some time he remained on the margins of public life (and perhaps even away from Carthage).

The small forces at his disposal in Sicily had not allowed him to go beyond very skilful guerrilla warfare. Thus, only during the great insurrection of the mercenaries and the Libyans was he able to experience new tactics as a commander of real armies. The most significant episode is perhaps the first. It was the year 240 and H., called to share command with HANNO (18) in the war against the mercenaries, had to face two rebel armies with a much smaller contingent.

Alert to the latest developments in Gk military science, in that conflict H. may have deployed (for the first time, for Carthage) phalanxed troops armed in the Macedonian manner, a choice that Hannibal would abandon later. But H. showed his grandson how to perform a wrap-around manoeuvre, by pulling back his central troops to remove them from the enemy's assault, while simultaneously advancing the wings. Therefore, we can say that, on the one hand, the tactic adopted at Bagraidas (*Medjerda) facilitated the devastating manoeuvre at Cannae. On the other hand, some of the developments of his attempt to catch the enemy off balance would be adopted later on the battlefield at *Zama.

After liberating *Utica and having repeatedly defeated the rebels, for example at Prione (also thanks to the support of the Numid. leader Naravas, to whom he promised his daughter in marriage: Plb.

1,78,1-9), H. succeeded in completely quelling the revolt before cooperating with Hanno, who was on his own. But H.'s most important achievement was political, perhaps chiefly with the help of his son-in-law, Hasdrubal (5) 'the Elder'. Taking advantage of the war emergency, which had forced citizens to enlist, he was probably the one who, relying on the lower classes as their favourite, finally succeeded in uniting the people and the army, a result never achieved before. It is doubtful whether, at this stage, measures had already been taken – as in the later case of Hannibal – to weaken the oligarchic structures controlling power; in any case, they were still insufficient. If one believes in the existence of what was – perhaps improperly – defined as the 'popular revolution' of the Barcids, in addition to normal electoral control over the city magistrates (for example, giving Bomilcar the office of Suffete), this had to be the decisive measure. Making the troops choose their commander (and, in effect, removing this power from the Senate), H. and Hasdrubal 'the Elder' enabled the Barcids to perpetuate their command almost by inheritance, dominating the political scene of Carthage for about half a century. The results were not long in coming. According to Diodorus (25,8), H. was named *strategos* indefinitely, for Libya or Spain (although this is doubtful). A possible action in African territory (in cooperation with Hanno?) was immediately followed by a project to conquer the Iberian Peninsula. Once landed at Gades (*Cádiz) in 237, H. first led a series of campaigns against the TARTESSIANS (*Tartessus) and IBERIANS, defeating Istolaios and Indortes (Diod. 25,10,2-3). Then he went N, founding Akra Leuke. Finally, after about nine years of warfare, while besieging the city of Helike (*Elche), with a small force, he was suddenly betrayed by the king of the Orissians. After covering the retreat of his troops (and especially of his son), he finally disappeared.

Main sources: Plb. 1,56; 58,2-9; 59,1-2; 62,1-63,3; 66,1; 68,12; 74,9; 75,1-76,11; 77,2-78,15; 79,8,11; 81,1-2; 82; 84-88; 2,1,5-9; 3,9,7; 10; 11,7; 12,2-4; 27,2-6; 28; Nep. *Ham.*; Diod. 24,5-9; 25,3-10.12.19; 26,23; Liv. 21,1,4-2,4; 3,4; 4,1-2; 10,11; 40,5; 22,54,11; Fron. *Str.* 2,4,17; 4,7,18; App. *Hisp.* 4,15-16; 5,17-21; *Hann.* 2-3; *Pun.* 5,18; 6,23; Dio Cass. 11 frs 46-48; Just. 44,5,4; Eutr. 2,2,4; 3,2,2; Oros. 4,11,2; Zonar. 8,10.17-19.

HAAN III, *passim*; Picard, G.-Ch. (1968) La révolution démocratique de Carthage. In: Cambier, G. (ed.) *Conférences de la Société*

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G. BRIZZI

10. Perhaps a son of GISGO (5), the military commander of *Malta according to Livy (21,51,1-2), in 218 BCE he was imprisoned, along with the whole garrison, by *consul* T. Sempronius Longus and may have been transferred to Rome.

Geus, K. (1994), 58f.

P. XELLA

11. Of unknown origin, a naval officer during the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), in 217 BCE he led a fleet of 40 ships from Carthago Nova (*Cartagena) to the Ebro estuary, where he was heavily defeated by Cnaeus Scipio (SCIPIONS [3]). Among the most important sources: Plb. 3,95,2-96,6; Liv. 22,19,2-20,3; 23,25,4-5; Zonar. 9,1.

Huss, W. (1985) 324ff.339; *DCPP*, s.v. (8) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 59f.

A. ERCOLANI

12. Of unknown origin, an officer of HANNIBAL (9) during the II Punic War, in 215 BCE he was given the task of conquering Locri Epizefiri: he managed to convince the Locrian assembly to enter into an alliance with Carthage without bloodshed. However, the inhabitants of Locri allowed the Rom. commander L. Atilius and his soldiers to escape, for which H. reproached them openly. In 205 the situation at Locri was so compromised that H. was forced to call on Hannibal for help. However the Carthaginians did

not manage to hold the city, which H. abandoned to follow Hannibal.

Sources: Liv. 23,30,8; 24,1,4-13; 29,6,10-7,10; 8,6-7; 17,5; Zonar. 9,11.

Geus, K. (1994), 60f.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

13. Of unknown origin, *nauarchos* during the II Punic War, in 210 BCE he commanded a fleet of 40 units in Sardinia. There he looted the regions of *Olbia and *Cagliari, and then returned to North Africa with rich booty. In 203 he received the order to sail to *Utica with a fleet of 100 ships in an attempt to break the Rom. siege. P. Cornelius Scipio (SCIPIONS [5]) avoided a naval confrontation, trying to protect the Rom. warships. H. managed to capture numerous Rom. cargo ships and take them to Carthage, but made no further progress. There is no other information about him. Sources: Plb. 14,9,7; 10,4-12; Liv. 27,6,13-14; 30,10,8-21; App. *Pun.* 24,100-25,103; 30,127; Zonar. 9,12.

Geus, K. (1994), 61f.

P. XELLA

14. Of unknown origin, an officer under the command of HASDRUBAL (6), he was active in Liguria and Cisalpine Gaul towards the end of the II Punic War. In 200 BCE he fomented a revolt of Insubres and Cenomani, which led to the conquest of Placentia and the siege of Cremona. Rome immediately sent an ambassador to Carthage asking for H. to be handed over. The Carthaginians exiled him and confiscated his possessions, thus distancing themselves from his actions. In 197 he was defeated and captured near the river Mincio.

Main sources: Liv. 31,10,2-3; 11,5-6; 19,1; 21,18; 32,30,11-12; 33,23,5; *Perioch.* 31; App. *Pun.* 54,235; Dio Cass. 18 fr. 58,5.

Geus, K. (1994), 62f.

A. ERCOLANI

15. Of unknown origin, according to Livy (45,14,5), our only source in this regard, he was the father of HANNO (30). Most probably he is not identical with H. (16).

Geus, K. (1994), 64.

P. XELLA

16. Nicknamed ‘the Samnite’, of unknown origin, a political leader of the national-democratic party, together with CARTHALO (8), in 151 he expelled his political opponents from the city, who went over to MASSINISSA I (1). In the same year, he killed GULUSSA, the son of Massinissa and the latter’s envoy, thus worsening the conflict with the NUMIDIANS, and in fact being one of those responsible for the outbreak of the III Punic War.

Sources: Liv. *Perioch.* 48; App. *Pun.* 68,305; 70,316 and 318; 73,336.

Geus, K. (1994), 64.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

17. Of unknown origin, he was part of the embassy sent from Carthage to Rome in 149 BCE – together with GILLIMAS, GISGO (9), MAGO (14) and MISDES – in order to dissuade the Romans from military action against Carthage.

Sources: Plb. 36,3,6-4,9; App. *Pun.* 76,354-355; Liv. *Perioch.* 49.

Geus, K. (1994), 65.

A. ERCOLANI

18. Of unknown origin and date, he was the joint author, with MAGO (16), of an unfortunately lost treatise of agronomy that was consulted by Gk agronomists such as Mnaseas and Paraxamos, according to Columella (12,4,2).

Geus, K. (1994), 65.

P. XELLA

The mention of H. by Ampelius (36,2) as the fourth son of H. (9) is an isolated report that scholarship now tends to distrust (Geus, K. [1994], 58).

The information, only provided by Livy (*Perioch.* 27), of a H. who fell at the battle of *Baecula in 208, is probably unfounded (Geus, K. [1994], 62).

Hamilcar Phameas, mentioned by Polybius (36,8,1) is probably a mistake for HIMILCO (12) Phameas (cf. Wallbank, F. W. [1967] *A historical commentary on Polybius*, III. Oxford, 660).

A character named H. appears as a *strategos* in Menander’s comedy *Karkhedonios* (Fr. 157,35 Austin).

Hamilco see HIMILCO (12) (Phameas)

HAMPSICORA

For (dubious) hypotheses to explain this name cf. Vattioni, F. (1980), 26; an alternative spelling of the name in Lat. is *Hampsagoras* (Sil. *Pun.* 12,345); in addition, a fictitious character called *Ampsigura* appears in PLAUTUS’ *Poenulus* vv. 1065ff.

H. was *princeps* of a region in *Sardinia with *Cornus as its main town. He was one of the instigators of the anti-Carthag. uprising in 215 BCE (Liv. 23,32).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 26; Mastino, A. (2005) *Storia della Sardegna antica*. Nuoro, 63-90.

A. ERCOLANI

HAMPSICUS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 7,671.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36.

Hampsigoras see HAMPSICORA

Hampsigura see HAMPSICORA

HANNIBAL

Widespread theophoric PN *hnb’l*, used only in the Pun. world, composed of the DN *Baal and the verb *hnn*, “to be gracious”, “to show favour”; Gk Ἀννίβας; Lat. (*H*)*annibal*, *Annobal*. It occurs rarely in the inscriptions (CIS I, 5987,1 and 6018,1) as a fem. PN.

PNPPI, 122-124.

1. The son of HASDRUBAL (1), mentioned by Just. 19,2,1-6. Nothing specific is known about him, except that he was exiled to *Selinus together with GISGO (1).

Geus, K. (1994), 66.

A. ERCOLANI

2. A member of the MAGONIDS, the son of Gisgo (1) and the grandson of HAMILCAR (1). He played an important role in the interventionist trend of Carthag. foreign policy in *Sicily, starting with the request by the Segestans to be rescued (Diod. 13,43,3-4). He sent an ambassador to *Syracuse to mediate between *Segesta and Selinus. Syracuse's delaying tactics – perhaps suggested by H. – allowed him to send a large contingent of cavalry in support of Segesta (Diod. 13,44,1). In 410 BCE he began recruiting troops on a massive scale in Libya, *Carthage and Spain. In the following year, he took a fleet and an imposing army (according to the sources, over 100,000 infantry and 4,000 horse) to *Motya in Sicily. From there he moved on to attack Selinus and after a few days conquered the city by plundering and butchering almost all its inhabitants (Diod. 13,54,1-7). Subsequently, he accepted Empedion's proposal to allow survivors and fugitives to return to Selinus, provided they paid a tribute. Then H. moved against *Himera, once again proving to be a skilful strategist by quickly obtaining the capitulation of the city and carrying out human sacrifice on a grand scale in honour of Hamilcar, who had been elevated as a hero (Diod. 13,62,2) (→*Divinization and Heroization). After this victorious campaign, which had restored some political balance in Sicily, he dissolved the army and returned to Carthage. But soon the Sicilian question was once again at the centre of Carthag. foreign policy and in 407, after an unsuccessful attempt by Syracuse to retake Selinus, a massive rearmament was organized. In 406, under his command, an army of 120,000 men and a fleet of 120 triremes, in addition to over 1000 support ships, was transferred to Sicily and immediately moved against *Agrigentum, which was besieged and destroyed. Probably in the same year, the ambassador of Athens (at that time, engaged in a strenuous struggle against Sparta), was sent to sign and ratify a treaty of alliance (SEG X 136). Shortly after the start of the attack, however, he died of an epidemic that had broken out in the Carthag. army and was replaced by his colleague HIMILCO (3) as supreme commander.

Main sources: *IG* XIV 135; *SEG* X 136; Xen. *Hell.* 1,1,37 and 5,21; Diod. 13,43,5-44,6; 54-61; 80,1-7; 85,1-86,3; Fron. *Str.* 3,10,3; Polyæn. 4,10,4; Just. 5,4,5; 19,2,7.

Huss, W. (1985), 107-119; *DCPP*, s.v. (1) (G.-Ch. Picard); Geus, K. (1994), 66f.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

3. The son of GISGO (4) and father of HANNIBAL (4), Carthag. admiral and *strategos* in Sicily. In 269 BCE he besieged *Messina and from 264 commanded the Carthag. troops in *Agrigentum. In 262 H. attacked the Rom. camp but suffered a heavy defeat that forced him to leave the city (Plb. 1,17,5-19,3). The following year he commanded a series of naval missions along the Italian coast. He was heavily defeated at *Milazzo, where he lost 50 of the 130 ships under his command. Recalled home, he was deprived of his command but managed to avoid execution. In 258 he was again sent as *naumarchos* to *Sardinia, but had so many negative outcomes that his own compatriots arrested and crucified him (→*Crucifixion).

Main sources: Plb. 1,10,18-24; Diod. 22,10,1; 13,7-8; 23,1,2; 4,1; Liv. *Perioch.* 17; Oros. 4,7,4-8,4; Zonar. 8,10-12.

Huss, W. (1985), 227-230,232; Geus, K. (1994), 70-72.

P. XELLA

4. The son of HANNIBAL (3), he was an official under the command of HIMILCO (6), active in Sicily during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS).

Main sources: Plb. 1,43,4-5; Zonar. 8,15.

Geus, K. (1994), 72.

A. ERCOLANI

5. The son of HAMILCAR (7), in 250 BCE he led a contingent of 10,000 men to Sicily in support of *Lilybaeum, successfully overcoming the Rom. naval blockade and landing his troops safely.

Sources: Plb. 1,44,1-6; 46,1; Oros. 4,10,2.

Geus, K. (1994), 72f.

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6. Nicknamed 'the Rhodian', of unknown origin, in 250 BCE he was given the task of gathering news about the siege laid by the Romans against *Lilybaeum. He repeatedly succeeded in breaking the Rom. blockade thanks to the speed of his ship, a penteconter, and so enabled the besiegers to communicate. Subsequently he was captured by the Romans, and his ship served as their model for the construction of a fleet of 200 penteconters.

Sources: Plb. 1,46,4-47,10; 59,8; Zonar. 8,15.

Geus, K. (1994), 73.

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7. Known only as the father of HAMILCAR (9) Barca (Nep. *Ham.* 1,1).

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8. *Strategos* in the Libyan war, he succeeded HANNO (18) in command of Carthag. troops. He liberated Carthage from a siege of mercenary troops (→MERCENARIES), and helped to pacify the territory and subjugate Tynes. During subsequent operations he was captured and then crucified.

Sources: Plb. 1,82,12-13; 86,1-5; Diod. 25,5,2.

Geus, K. (1994), 74f.

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9. Born in 247 (or 246) BCE, probably at Carthage, H. – here called Barca (→BARCIDS), his family nickname, to distinguish him from the many other homonymous Carthaginians – had an illustrious and ancient lineage, and was even connected to mythical *Belos according to Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 1,71ff.; see 15,546-547).

His father, HAMILCAR (9) Barca, who – in the opinion of many since antiquity (Plb. 1,64) – had been the best Carthag. general before him, probably was a wealthy landowner with remarkable assets, part of which, converted into gold and silver, H. then brought with him during his exile (Nep. *Hann.* 7,7). According to one verified hypothesis, at least some of the family properties were located far away from Carthage, perhaps between Hadrumetum (*Sousse), *Thapsus and *Acholla, in *Byzacena. H. had landed at Byzacena (at *Leptis Minor: Liv. 30,25,12), planted olive plantations there on his return from Italy and then sailed unobstructed to exile (Liv. 33,48,1).

H. had three sisters, all older than him, whose names are not documented, but we know that their father used them as instruments of political alliance. The first two sisters married BOMILCAR (3) and HASDRUBAL (5) ‘the Elder’ (or ‘the Beautiful’: App. *Hisp.* 4,16; Liv. 21,2) respectively. According to our sources – but the indications are not clear – Bomilcar was of royal blood (App. *Hann.* 20,90), a Suffete (*Suffetes) at Carthage and the father of HANNO (22), who was active in Italy under his uncle. Hasdrubal was Hamilcar’s right arm and the political mind of the *factio Barcina*. The third daughter was promised to NARAVAS, a Numid. chief, to obtain his alliance during the war against the Libyans and the MERCENARIES (Plb. 1,78,1-9).

H. was the eldest of three male children who were, in order of age, HASDRUBAL (6) ‘the Young’ (245 ca?) and MAGO (6) (240 ca?). On the reality of the oath he made at the age of nine at Hamilcar *numquam amicum fore populi Romani* (Liv. 35,19,3: the episode is among the best attested by ancient sources: cf. Plb. 3,11,5; Nep. *Hann.* 1,3; 2,3-5; *Ham.* 4,3; Sil. *Pun.* 1,81ff.; Val. Max. 4,3, ext. 2) to convince him to bring him to Spain, modern criticism is basically concordant. Indeed H. did follow his father in his overseas expedition and led an army life.

Hamilcar educated his son in the name of the *thymos* he sensed against ROME (Plb. 3,9,6), according to the sources (Val. Max. 4,3 ext. 2), *in perniciem imperii*, i.e. for the ruin of Rom. power. Therefore, he cared for his son’s physical training from childhood, placing H. in the troops as a valet, an *alumnus* of those soldiers over which he would later become the *imperator* (Liv. 21,43,18), and by taking him to a level of temperance and self-discipline that, as recalled by the celebrated Livian portrait of the XXI Book (21,4,5-8), marked his entire future life. H.’s continence was equal to his sobriety: despite the many female prisoners who fell into his hands, the Barcid was so chaste – according to Justinus (32,4,11) – that no-one would ever believe that he was an African by birth. Although he was likely to present an image of himself reminiscent of his illustrious model, ALEXANDER THE GREAT, that of H. was probably an intimately perceived attitude. This, however, was not because he did not love women: the anecdote (see Liv. 21,2,3; Nep. *Ham.* 3,2) of the homosexual relationship between Hamilcar and his son-in-law, Hasdrubal ‘the Elder’ (which he in turn would attempt to extend to his brother-in-law) is likely to be a mere fabrication, which appears to have been dictated by clearly identifiable motives. However, if it was slander, almost certainly it was not spread by the enemies of Rome. Quite the reverse: it must have originated in the more traditional settings of Carthage where, by accusing the whole family of pederasty, the intention was to blame not only the behaviour of the Barcids, but also to stigmatize an adherence to Gk culture which came to adopt even its most degenerate and alien aspects in comparison with traditional Pun. morality. Indeed, as a sign of the openness to Hellenism that seems to be characteristic of the whole family, Hamilcar wanted his son to be educated in the standards of two cultures, Gk as well as Pun. (Dio Cass. fr. 13,3). The native side of education, for example, certainly gave

him a preparation in agriculture. Indeed, probably the books that H. read included MAGO's (16) treaty, the only work of Carthag. literature translated into Latin, by permission of the Rom. Senate, because of its extraordinary modernity.

These skills must have been invaluable when, probably after the battle of *Zama, he transformed the surviving veterans into peasants who planted the olive trees in his estate in Byzacena. His own Pun. side perhaps also included ethics, politics and, in general, economics. His father had certainly educated him, from childhood, to care for the management of the family estate. This preparation made him an excellent public administrator. A competent and honest governor and a valued economist, he even managed, after the defeat, to straighten the public finances of his city. Moreover, he had already proved to be a talented financier, skilled in the difficult art of monetary operations, as he had demonstrated on several occasions in Spain and Italy.

In Spain, one of his teachers was the Spartan Sosylus, who would then follow him throughout the subsequent war *quamdiu fortuna passa est* (Nep. Hann. 13,3) and gave an account of it in a *History* in seven books (Diod. 26,4). Like many of his compatriots, H. probably knew several languages, chiefly Greek, both written and spoken. Shortly before returning to Africa, in fact, he recorded, in Greek as well as in Punic, the account of his enterprises in Italy on a bronze tablet affixed inside the inviolable sanctuary of Hera Lacinia (at the Lacinium promontory, now Capo Colonna, near Croton). If the hypothesis advanced by the present writer is correct, this gesture was also a tribute to one of the most notorious (and important) Gk philosophies, widespread in his time in that region, namely, the teachings of Euhemerus of Messana (→*Euhemerism). Because he subscribed to this doctrine, H. probably planned to elevate himself to immortality.

In addition to this inscription, which may perhaps to some extent be regarded as his historical and spiritual testaments in one time (much like Augustus's *Res Gestae*), he wrote other documents in Greek, unfortunately, like the first, all lost. Among these, recalled by Cornelius Nepos (Hann. 13,2), is the text addressed to the Rhodians to remind them of the violence perpetrated in Asia by Manlius Vulso and, probably, to warn them against increasing Rom. interference in the East. In addition, there is most of his correspondence with many notables in the Hellenist. world.

Even H.'s art education was not overlooked. During the 1st cent. CE, both Statius (*Silvae* 4,6) and Martial (*Epigr.* 9,93) recall the existence of a precious table triumph, the Heracles Epitrapezios, the property of their friend Novius Vindex. Made by Lysippus, the bronze represented *Heracles sitting on the skin of the Nemean lion, making libations. Even though it was less than one foot high, this sculpture was an absolute masterpiece, and its immense value was enhanced by the prestige of its former owners. Before reaching Novius Vindex's hands, in fact, this bronze had been part of Lucius Cornelius Silla's patrimony and before that, it had accompanied H. during his wanderings. Originally, however, it belonged to Alexander the Great. Commissioned by the Macedonian ruler himself, it was probably cast, shortly after the capture of *Tyre in 332, by Lysippus, the greatest sculptor at the Macedonian court. The statuette represented Heracles, but it also certainly referred to *Melqart, the Phoen. god with whom the Gk demi-god was commonly assimilated. A deity who typically had a range of functions, Melqart was in fact the object of a privileged cult in Tyre. Therefore, this precious centrepiece probably had absolutely special significance for the Barcid. First of all, the statuette certainly represented for him the very symbol of his two favourite models: Alexander the Great and Heracles-Melqart. One was a civilizing hero and his personal guide, in crossing from Spain, over the Alps, to the very heart of Italy. The other, H. had made his divine alter ego and for him the demigod constituted, perhaps from childhood, the very incarnation not only of well-defined political choices, but also of those ideals which must guide us in our daily actions. A symbol of a figure known to almost all religions – a man born of the supreme god and a mortal woman, who in turn becomes a god through heroism and daily struggle – Heracles-Melqart was an extraordinary means of communication to every Mediterr. culture. He was provided with a philosophical background (e.g. Italiote Pythagoreanism, in addition to the aforementioned Euhemerism) and a religious basis. Therefore, the Lysippian bronze must have been among H.'s most cherished objects. However, it was not the only statue he owned, sensitive as he seems to have been to the beauty of masterpieces of art. A famous anecdote about him tells of the ruse he devised against the Cretans during his exile (Nep. Hann. 23,9; Just. 32,4,3-5). Usually evoked to demonstrate the Barcid's extraordinary cleverness, it

also documents his love of art. Wishing to abandon the island of *Crete, where he had found shelter, in order to deceive the inhabitants, who would not allow him to leave with his wealth, H. agreed to deposit several amphorae in the temple of Artemis at Gortyna. In fact, under a thin layer of gold, they were actually full of lead. Also, he avoided giving almost all his wealth to the Cretans by hiding it inside hollow statues *quas secum portabat* ("which accompanied him everywhere"). The statues had evidently become part of his usual luggage to the point that no-one was surprised to see him leave with them. If credible, this anecdote suggests the image of H. as a sensitive and refined collector. However, above all, his Gk masters gave him a complete education in the art of warfare. There is little doubt that these tutors – including perhaps, Sosylus, as well as the other famous Greek-speaking historian, Silenus of Kale Acte – induced him to read and reflect on works on strategy and tactics published during the previous generation. These were accounts of campaigns, reporting the experiences of Greece's most famous generals: Alexander's epic in the *Royal Diaries* by Eumenes of Cardia or in Callisthenes' *Praxeis*; the story of Ptolemy I Soter king of Egypt; the story of Antigonos Monophthalmus and his son Demetrius Poliorcetes; *Memories* by PYRRHUS and the reports by his historiographer Proxenus. Also, the deeds of XANTHIPPIUS, a Spartan mercenary, who was hired to fight the Romans, and was able to destroy the army of M. AILIUS REGULUS in Africa *non virtute, sed arte* (Veget. 3 *praef.*). He must have deeply impressed H.'s father Hamilcar, who wanted to place beside his son a *Lacedaemonium doctorem armorum* (*ibid.*), i.e. the aforementioned Sosylus. Finally, it is quite probable that H. also read the Homeric poems and that Sosylus himself – as a Spartan – was proud to offer his student – through reading Thucydides – the account of the war that had given his homeland limited domination over the Gk world. From reading these last two works, a genius such as the Barcid was could draw incomparable lessons, on the dynamics of power for example or on the distinction between politics and ethics. He was also able to extract from models such as Odysseus and Lysander teachings on the use of the *metis*, which made him a master of the stratagem, that was unpredictable and at one time utterly disliked by the Romans. If, in fact, H.'s military formation seems to have been predominantly Gk, he and his father – but he far more than Hamilcar –

were the originators of an extraordinary reform characterized by new developments and a fresh mentality, at least at the level of tactics. In terms of strategy, H. was certainly inspired by the Pers. campaign of Alexander – his most illustrious model – in planning to lead a swift campaign against Rome, to be resolved by very few battles (Liv. 31,35, cf. Plb. 35,1,6). [FIG. 53].

As for tactics, he altered the Macedonian wrap-around manoeuvre, adapting it to infantry of the west. type, mainly composed of individual fighters. He replaced the resistant block of the phalanx with a flexible centre, capable of absorbing the enemy impact. It could bend without breaking, holding the opposing forces so that they could be outflanked by the cavalry. These horsemen, which he, like Alexander, had at his disposal, comprised Libyans, IBERIANS and Celts, but mostly NUMIDIANS. He taught the heavy infantry that, up till then (using formations such as the hoplite phalanx and the legion) had fought by advancing or sustaining the enemy impact, to fight by withdrawing instead. By making the claspings vice of his troops much narrower and more suffocating than ever before, H. made possible one of the bloodiest victories in history, the massacre at Cannae.

Finally, from Gk ethics, he adopted the cunning use of *metis*, stratagems that for the Romans were the very expression of *perfidia*, the *Punica fraus* for which he was hated. On Hamilcar's death (229), the seventeen-year-old H. was still unable to take command of the army in Spain. By the choice of those very soldiers (ratified by the Senate and the people of Carthage), military command was then given to Hasdrubal (5) 'the Elder'. The new commander soon began to entrust his young brother-in-law with the most demanding missions (Liv. 21,4,4). Probably based on the model of Alexander the Great, he decided to promote a policy of mixed unions in order to increase the process of osmosis with the Iberian people. So Hasdrubal (now a widower?) married a noble Iberian woman. According to information handed down only by Livy (24,41,7) and Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 3,61ff.; 97ff.; 104ff.; 130ff.), H. followed his example by marrying IMILCE, a noble Spanish woman from *Cástulo, who had become either Greek or rather – judging from her name – Punic. Again according to Silius Italicus, Imilce bore him a son. When H. left for Italy, he considered it prudent to send his son, accompanied by his mother, back to Carthage where he would be safe.

In 221, on the death of Hasdrubal, his brother-in-law, H. in turn, assumed the command of the Iberian army to the acclamation of the troops: his appointment was then confirmed in Carthage. The destruction of *Saguntum (219), protected by a *symmachia* with Rome (Plb. 3,15,5), led to the outbreak of the II Punic War. H. travelled to Italy, crossed the Alps in late autumn 218 and, between November and December, gained his first victories on the Po Plain. At the river Ticino, near *Victumulae* (near Lomello?), he defeated the *consul* Scipio (→SCIPIONS [4]), the father of the future Africanus who was hurt, in a cavalry clash. Then he routed the Rom. army commanded by the other *consul*, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, at the river Trebbia near Piacenza. After crossing the Apennines, in June 217, in an ambush H. destroyed the army of Caius Flaminius (→FLAMINIUS NEPOS), who fell on the battlefield. Moving to south. Italy, the following year (August 2, 216), H. gained his greatest victory on the field at Cannae. Compelled to deal with Quintus Fabius Maximus's (FABII [3]) new strategy, who systematically avoided facing him *in acie*, H. still had some minor successes. However, in spite of the defections among the *socii* of Rome in the S and in Sicily, he failed to break up the core of the Rom. federation, which was very cohesive thanks to the connections among the Italian aristocracies. Gradually worn down, the Barcid was finally confined to the Croton region. After almost fifteen years in Italy (and a war that had caused around 200,000 deaths in the Peninsula), he had to return to Africa. There he was finally defeated by Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus (SCIPIONS [5]) at the battle of *Zama (202), even though his military tactics had been better than his opponent's.

According to both Polybius (15,19,3) and Livy (30,37,9), H. was about 45 years old when he returned to Africa, having spent 36 years under arms. After the war, he remained in Carthage for a few years, and knew how to reorganize that city's economy. In reality, supported by his veterans, he was biding his time to take control of Carthage. The opportunity came in the wake of a very serious financial scandal: the adulteration of silver bars used to pay Rome one of the taxes in compensation. Once the fraud was discovered, the representatives of the Pun. state were forced to borrow from Rom. usurers to pay what was due. Taking advantage of the disorder caused by the scandal, H. succeeded in being elected Suffete (196-195). His entry into public office brought to light strong and deep-rooted tax evasion as well as wide-

spread corruption, which had created a significant budget deficit. After collecting the tax arrears and consolidating the Carthag. finances, the Barcid put the class of oligarchs (to which he belonged) in control of their embezzlement. He even attacked the powerful court of the Hundred. Thanks to the lifelong nature of the office – re-election had been reduced to a mere formality – this High Court of Justice (which, for some time, was meant to oversee the conduct of military commanders) had managed to extend its powers, gaining control of all the city magistrates. At H.'s instigation, the people decided to give election of the assembly its real meaning, fixing the term of office as one year only (Nep. *Hann.* 7,4). Guardian for centuries of republican institutions against the tyrannical practices sometimes adopted by the more ambitious aristocrats, the High Court, once authorized to condemn a citizen even without trial, or to end the career of a magistrate, now lost much of his power. Like his father, H. was probably dreaming of establishing an authoritarian regime in the city, but his attempt failed. With their economic privileges and political prerogatives under threat, some Carthag. aristocrats appealed to the friendships they still enjoyed in the Senate of Rome (Liv. 33,44,6-8). They accused H. not only of planning subversion at home, but also of making secret contacts with Antiochus III, king of *Syria, to the detriment of Rome. Despite the contrary opinion of Scipio Africanus, the Senate then sent a legation which, under the pretext of resolving a border dispute between Carthage and MASSINISSA (1), king of Numidia, had the task of investigating H.'s conduct (Liv. 33,47,3-8). Conscious of the danger, H. chose to go into exile (195 according to Liv. 33,48-49, 8; 196 according to App. *Syr.* 4, and Nep. *Hann.* 7,6). Having become Counsellor of Antiochus III, H. had conceived a new war plan (possibly genuine) against the Romans, which included the occupation of Rom. bases in Illyria at first, in order to prevent legions from landing in Greece and if possible, to allow H. to cross to Italy (Liv. 36,7,17-20; App. *Syr.* 14). Even though Antiochus III ultimately rejected this project, he ended up by being at war with Rome. However, he was defeated, first at Thermopylae (191), and then definitively by Magnesia at Sipylum, in Asia Minor (189). H. was kept away from the main theatre of operations and sent to *Phoenicia to collect ships (Liv. 37,8,3; 15,8). He was forced to face the Rhodian admiral Eudamos, who defeated him at sea at Side (in modern Turkey) (Liv. 37,23,6-24,12;

Nep. *Hann.* 8). The Romans asked Antiochus to deliver H. to them, but in vain (Plb. 21,17,7; Liv. 37,45,16). He managed to escape and for a few years wandered in the East, between Crete, Armenia – where he founded the capital Tigranocerta (Plut. *Luc.* 31,3), and Bithynia – where he devised the plan for the new capital Prusa (Bursa or Broussa, in modern Turkey) (Plin. *Nat.* 5,43,148). His last battle was at sea, against the Pergamians, on behalf of Prusia, king of Bithynia (Plb. 3,3,6; Just. 32,4,2; Nep. *Hann.* 10-11). Finally, betrayed by Prusia himself and on the point of being handed over to the Romans, who had sent a diplomatic mission to ask for his extradition, he committed suicide using poison (183).

H. was an authentic military genius and an incomparable tactician, probably the greatest in antiquity. He was also a skilful and well-versed politician, a competent administrator, and a man of great culture. He thus enters into the very restricted pantheon of “leaders characterized by infinite curiosity and universal culture. Even though he did not have a teacher such as Aristotle – as did Alexander the Great – he resembles those victorious leaders who were also writers or literary men, such as Julius Caesar, Frederick II, or Napoleon Bonaparte, who, where necessary, became diplomats and statesmen overnight, thanks to the breadth of their horizons, the elegance of their refined taste, their contacts, reflections and sureness of judgment” (J. Carcopino).

The ancient sources present H. as the noblest of the defeated; defeated, in reality, by men, but above all by the gods. On the one hand, his hope of resting in his homeland after his death dissolved in a cruel deception – an episode, of course, of fantasy – and yet absolutely indicative of the vision that the ancients had of him. The *terra Libyssa* mentioned by the false oracle of Zeus Ammon turned out to be – the irony of fate – not a clod of African earth, but the far-flung soil of a *phryurion Bithynias*, the village (Gebze in Turkey) where he had his last home (Diod. 25,19; Plut. *Flam.* 20; App. *Syr.* 11; Paus. 8,11,11; Sil. *Pun.* 3,6-10.649-714). On the other hand, whatever the historical reality, he did not fail the dream he had at Onusa in Spain. According to Sylenus’ interpretation, the terrifying creature – with serpents in its hair – that appeared to him and destroyed everything in its path (Liv. 21,22,8; Sil. *Pun.* 3,8) must have been the image (symbol) of the devastation of Italy following H.’s footsteps. Instead, at least in our eyes, unfair destiny has made that horrific monster into the sinister symbol of

Rome’s power, both irresistible and vindictive, which pursued the Carthaginian to the ends of the earth.

Main sources: Plb. 2,1-36; 3,1ff.7-15, *passim*; 23,5; Liv. 21-30, *passim*; 37,23-24; 39,51; Nep. *Hann.*; Plut. *Fab.* 2-3; 5-8; 10-17; 19; 22-23; 25-27; 29; *Marc.* 1; 9-13; 24-29, *passim*; App. *Hisp.* 1, 1-13, 48; *Hann.*; *Pun.* 33-47; Zonar. 8,13-9, 14; Diod. 25-26, *passim*.

Carcopino, J. (1961) *Profils de conquérants*. Paris; Manfredi, V. (1975) *Aspetti della tradizione storiografica della battaglia di Naraggara*. In: CISA III. Milan, 82-95; Toynbee, A. J. (1981-1983, Ital. transl.) *L’eredità di Annibale*. I-II. Turin; Brizzi, G. (1983) Ancora su Annibale e l’Ellenismo: la fondazione di Artaxata e l’iscrizione di Era Lacinia. In: *APC* 1, 243-251; Kotula, T. (1983-1984) *RSA*, 13-14, 87-102; Picard, G.-Ch. (1983-1984) *RSA*, 13-14, 75-81; Brizzi, G. (1984) *Annibale, strategia e immagine*. Città di Castello; Brizzi, G. (1984) *Studi di storia annibalica*. Faenza; Huss, W. (1985), 269-428; Brizzi, G. (1989) *Carcopino, Cartagine e altri scritti*. Ozieri; Picard, G.-Ch. (1990, Ital. transl.) *Annibale. Il sogno di un impero*. Torriana; Seibert, J. (1993) *Forschungen zu Hannibal*. Darmstadt; Seibert, J. (1993) *Hannibal*. Darmstadt; Geus, K. (1994), 75-94; Brizzi, G. (1995) Il culto di *Mens* e la seconda guerra punica: la funzione di un’astrazione nella lotta ad Annibale. In: Le Bohec, Y. et al. (eds) *L’Afrique, la Gaule, la Religion à l’époque romaine. Mélanges à la mémoire de Marcel Le Glay*. Bruxelles, 512-522; Lancel, S. (1995) *Hannibal*. Paris; Brizzi, G. (2002) *Hesperia*, 17 (Atti dell’Incontro internazionale di studi su: *Roma, l’Adriatico e il mondo ellenistico*. Venezia, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 7 marzo 2001), 63-78; Brizzi, G. (2006) Hannibal, sa religiosité, sa légende: pour une mise au point du problème. In: Vigourt, A. et al. (eds) *Pouvoir et religion dans le monde romain. En hommage à Jean-Pierre Martin*. Paris, 17-27; Brizzi, G. (2008²) *Il guerriero, l’oplita, il legionario. Gli eserciti nel mondo classico*. Bologna, 55-97; Hoyos, D. (2008) *Hannibal. Rome’s greatest enemy*. Exeter.

G. BRIZZI

10. Of unknown origin, nicknamed ‘the Monomachus’ (ὁ μονομάχος). According to the sources, during the crossing of the Alps, he advised HANNIBAL (9) to accustom the troops to be fed with human flesh. According to Plb. 9,24,8, many of the atrocities attributed to Hannibal were actually committed by him. How true these traditions about him are remains a matter of debate in historiographical studies.

Sources: in addition to Plb. 9,24,5-8, see esp. Dio Cass. 14 fr. 57,3.

Brizzi, G. (1984) *Annibale, strategia e immagine*. Perugia, 9-29; Geus, K. (1994), 94.

A. ERCOLANI

11. *Strategos* during the II Punic War, in 215 BCE, together with HASDRUBAL (6) and MAGO (6) he besieged the Iberian city of Iliturgi, which had with-

drawn from the alliance with Carthage. During that event, the Carthag. troops suffered heavy losses. The main source is Liv. 23,49,5-13.

Geus, K. (1994), 94f.

A. ERCOLANI

12. *Trierarchos* during the II Punic War, in 215 BCE he took part in the negotiations between Carthage and Hieronymus of Syracuse, to define their respective spheres of influence in Sicily.

Main sources: Plb. 7,2,3-6; 3,3; 4,1; Liv. 24,6,2-7.

Geus, K. (1994), 95.

A. ERCOLANI

13. Nicknamed ‘the Sparrow’ (App. *Pun.* 68,305), his origins are unknown. Towards the mid-second cent. BCE he was the leader of a political faction favourable to an agreement with the Numidians. His faction was banned from the Carthag. nationalist party and he found shelter with Massinissa.

Main source: App. *Pun.* 68,304-305; 70,316-318.

Geus, K. (1994), 96.

A. ERCOLANI

14. The son of Himilkat (*hmlkt*) Rufus, the son of ‘*rm*. Famous member of the TABHAPI family, documented in two bilingual (Pun./Lat.) inscriptions (KAI 120 = IPT, 21 and KAI 121 = IPT, 24) where he is mentioned as Suffete, *flamen* and also *praefectus sacrorum*.

KAI II, 126f.; IPT, 48-52.59f.

P. XELLA

15. Name of a priestess (→*Priesthood) of *krw*’ (the goddess *Core?) mentioned in a funerary inscription from the Carthag. *necropolis of Ard el-Kheraib (CIS I, 5987).

Février, J.-G. (1957) La Koré punique. In: *Mélanges bibliques redigés en l’honneur de André Robert*. Paris, 363-369; Bénichou-Safar, H. (1982) *Les tombes puniques de Carthage*. Paris, 216f.; Lipiński, E. (1995), 374ff.

P. XELLA

16. The son of *tpn* (an indigenous name), a high priest who dedicated a votive stela (EH 65) in the *tophet of Baal Hammon at El-Hofra (*Constantine).

EH, 62f., no. 65.

P. XELLA

The H. mentioned by the scholiast to Hor. *Carm.* 3,6,34 is a mistake for HANNO (19).

HANNO

Hypocoristic PN *hn*’; Gk ἤννων; Lat. (*H*)anno. The verb *hnn* means “to be gracious”, indicating the deity as favourable. It is one of the most widespread names in the Phoen. world, both in the Levant and in the central and west. Mediterranean.

PNPPI, 117-122.313-315.

1. According to Herodotus (7,165-167), H. was the father of HAMILCAR (1), the Magonid (→MAGONIDS), who was defeated in 480 BCE at *Himera. Instead, according to Justinus (19,1,1-2), Hamilcar was the son of MAGO (1). Following some reconstructions (cf. K. Geus), H.’s father was indeed Mago. H., moreover, could also claim to be related to a certain character carrying the same name, mentioned by Dio Chrysostomus (*Or.* 25,5-8) as *daimon* of *Carthage, going right back to the initial expansion of the city and credited with having transformed the Carthaginians from Tyrians into Libyans. However, according to K. Geus, Dio has confused H. with Mago and with the H. quoted by Pompeius Trogus (*Prol.* 19) as ‘the Sabellus’ (HANNO [2]: on these confusions or overlappings see MAGONIDS).

Huss, W. (1985), 78f.93; DCCP, s.v. “Hannon” (1) (K. Geus); Geus, K. (1994), 96f.

G. GARBATI

2. Of an unknown family, mentioned as ‘the Sabellus’ by Pompeius Trogus (*Prol.* 19, our only source), perhaps he lived slightly later than Mago (1). Also according to Pompeius Trogus, his achievements in North Africa and *Sicily were significant.

Huss, W. (1985), 71.112; DCCP, s.v. “Hannon” (2) (K. Geus); Geus, K. (1994), 97.

G. GARBATI

3. Of uncertain origin, *strategos* and Suffete (according to some sources, even a ‘king’), towards the end of the 6th cent. BCE he travelled along the W coast of the African continent. On his return, he wrote a report which he deposited in the temple of ‘Kronos’ (→*Baal Hammon). The original text has been lost, but there is a Gk version, probably reworked, known as *Periplus* (*Peripli), found in a Heidelberg codex in 1533. In this text, the various stages and the salient events of his journey are mentioned. While their historicity appears to be substantially beyond doubt, the actual extent of his voyage is disputed. According to some scholars, H. reached the shores of present-day Senegal, while, according to other hypotheses, he did not go beyond the mouth of the river Sebou, in what is now Morocco.

The ancient testimonies on H., the text of *Periplus* and an updated *status quaestionis* are available in *FGrHist* V no. 2208 (F. J. González Ponce, 2011); Desanges, J. (1981) *Enquêtes et documents*, 6, 13-29; Huss, W. (1985), 75-83; Lancel, S. (1992) *Carthage*. Paris, 119-126; Geus, K. (1994), 98-105; Krings, V. (1995) *Le Périphe d'Hannon*. In: Krings, V. (1995), 35f.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

4. A prominent member of the powerful family of the MAGONIDS. According to Geus (1994), he held an important position in Carthage after the battle of Himera (480 BCE). The son of HAMILCAR (1), brother of GISGO (1) and HIMILCO (2). Along with his brothers and cousins HANNIBAL (1), HASDRUBAL (2) and SAPHO, the sons of HASDRUBAL (1), he may have led some military expeditions in North Africa against the MAURI and the NUMIDIANS, thanks to which the Carthaginians succeeded in cancelling the tribute due to the Africans for the occupation of their territory (Just. 19,2,3-6). Due to internal political struggles, he was probably forced into exile together with his cousin Gisgo (1).

Source: Just. 19,2,1-6.

Huss, W. (1985), 63.71 and *passim*; *DCCP*, s.v. “Hannon” (4) (K. Geus); Geus, K. (1994), 105.

G. GARBATI

5. Of unknown family, he is mentioned by Aristotle (*Pol.* 5,7,1307a) as an example of a historical character driven by strong political ambition.

Geus, K. (1994), 105f.

P. XELLA

6. A member of the Magonid family (→MAGONIDS), although his real kinship is not absolutely clear: perhaps he was the son of HANNO (4) or of HIMILCO (2), and the father of HIMILCO (3).

Main source: Diod. 13,80,2.

Huss, W. (1985), 115; *DCCP*, s.v. “Hannon” (6-7) (K. Geus); Geus, K. (1994), 106.

G. GARBATI

7. Nicknamed ‘the Great’ (or ‘the Rab’?), Lat. *Magnus*: Pomp. Trog. *Prol.* 20), of unknown origin, the political opponent of SUNIATUS, he was *strategos* in the war against Dionysius I of Syracuse. In 368 BCE he achieved an astonishing feat by capturing over one hundred Syracusan ships. He remained in command of operations in Sicily, probably until the end of the war; subsequently, he seems to have gained important successes in North Africa.

Sources: Diod. 15,73,3-4; Pomp. Trog. *Prol.* 20; Polyae. 5,9; Just. 20,5,1-2.

Huss, W. (1985), 71.143 and *passim*; *DCPP*, s.v. “Hannon” (8) (W. Huss); Geus, K. (1994), 106f.

P. XELLA

8. From an unknown family, maybe the father of HAMILCAR (3) and GISGO (2), he played a major role in Carthag. politics, around the middle of the 4th cent. BCE, probably at the time of the wars against TIMOLEON. Sources attribute to him a putsch intended to eliminate the Senate and establish a monarchical government. He managed to involve a large number of slaves in his project, perhaps as many as 20,000 (!), and obtained support from indigenous peoples and the king of the MAURI. H. is called *princeps Karthaginiensium* by Just. 21,4,1. His attempt failed and he was taken prisoner and crucified (→*Crucifixion). Almost all the male members of his family were put to death with him.

Attempts to identify this H. with other homonyms do not seem to be well-founded. Some aspects of the story that the sources report do not appear to be completely credible from an historical point of view.

Main sources: Just. 21,4; 22,7,9-10; Oros. 4,6,16-20.

Huss, W. (1985), 159; *DCPP*, s.v. “Hannon” (9) (W. Huss); Geus, K. (1994), 107f.

A. ERCOLANI

9. Of unknown origin, *nauarchos* in the war against TIMOLEON, he failed to prevent the Corinthian troops from landing in *Sicily (344 BCE), and perhaps because of that he was removed from office.

Source: Plut. *Tim.* 19,2-6.

Sordi, M. (1961) *Timoleonte*. Palermo; Huss, W. (1985), 71ff.; Geus, K. (1994), 108.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

10. Of unknown family, *strategos* in the war against AGATHOCLES, in 310 BCE he commanded the right wing of the Carthag. army in the battle of Carthage, which also included the so-called Sacred Battalion (→*Militaria). The sources present him as a brave fighter, whose death demoralized the troops and led to the Carthag. defeat.

Sources: Diod. 20,10 and 12,1-7; Just. 22,6,5; Oros. 4,6,25.

Huss, W. (1985), 186f.; Geus, K. (1994), 109.

P. XELLA

11. Of unknown origin, *strategos* in the war against Agathocles, he was the commander of one of the three contingents of the Carthag. army in Africa. The other two contingents were under the command of ADHERBAL (1) and HIMILCO (5). The sources report some of his military actions for the year 307 BCE.

Sources: Diod. 20,59,1; 60,3.

Müller, M. (1928) *Der Feldzug des Agathokles in Afrika*. Diss. Leipzig, 49; Huss, W. (1985), 198; Geus, K. (1994), 109f.

A. ERCOLANI

12. *Strategos* in the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), in 264 BCE he settled in Messina at the head of a Carthag. contingent, at the request of the Mamertines. Following the arrival of the Rom. military tribune, C. Claudius (CLAUDII [1]), he was imprisoned and probably in September of the same year the Carthaginians were forced to leave Messina. On returning home, he was put to death by crucifixion because of his failure.

Sources: Plb. 1,11,4-5; Dio Cass. 11 fr. 43,5-10; Zonar. 8,8-9.

Huss, W. (1985), 217ff.; Geus, K. (1994), 110f.

A. ERCOLANI

13. He was *strategos* in the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), in command of the troops stationed in Sicily and *Sardinia in the years 264-262 and 258-256 BCE. He failed to prevent the landing in Sicily of Rom. troops led by *consul* Appius Claudius Caudex (CLAUDII [2]) (264). In 263 he succeeded in keeping together the Carthag. epicracy (EPARCHY) with the only exception of *Segesta, which passed to the Rom. side. Between 262 and 261 he tried to join the troops of his father and colleague HANNIBAL (3), besieged in *Agrigentum by the Romans; the attempt to attack the Rom. troops centrally failed and Agrigentum fell. Following this new defeat, H. was removed from command and replaced by HAMILCAR (7); moreover, he was fined 6,000 pieces of gold. In 258 he was again assigned a command in Sardinia. In 256 he commanded part of the Carthag. fleet that was defeated at the battle of Ecnomus. When the Carthag. attempt to prevent the Romans from crossing to North Africa failed, H. returned home to defend Carthage. He appears to have had a leading role in the battle at Aspis, where the Romans managed to establish their base of operations.

Sources: Plb. 1,11,6-12,4; 15; 16,3; 18,8-13; 27,5; 28; 36,10-12; Diod. 22,13,9; 23,1,2; 3; 5; 7-9; 11,1; 18,1; Val. Max. 6,6,2; Fron. *Str.* 2,1,4; Dio Cass. 11 fr. 21; 43,8-9 and 12; Eutr. 2,22,1-2; 26; Oros. 4,7,1-15; 8; 9,5-7; Zonar. 8,8.10.12.14.

Huss, W. (1985), 223-228; *DCPP*, s.v. "Hannon" (14) (W. Huss); Geus, K. (1994), 111-114.

A. ERCOLANI

14. Carthag. *nauarchos* during the I Punic War, he was in command of a fleet defending *Corsica and Sardinia. In 259 BCE he died in a battle against the *consul* L. Cornelius Scipio (→SCIPIONS [2]), who granted him an honourable burial.

Sources: Liv. *Perioch.* 17; Val. Max. 5,1,2; Sil. *Pun.* 6,670-672; Oros. *Hist.* 4,7,11.

Huss, W. (1985), 230f.; Geus, K. (1994), 114.

P. XELLA

15. Of unknown origin, the father of HASDRUBAL (4), he is mentioned only by Plb. 1,30,1.

Geus, K. (1994), 114f.

A. ERCOLANI

16. Probably the son of HAMILCAR (7), he was the head of the embassy commissioned by the Carthag. Senate, in 256 BCE, to negotiate for peace with the *consul* M. ATILIUS REGULUS.

Source: Diod. 23,12.

Geus, K. (1994), 155.

A. ERCOLANI

17. According to Orosius (4,9,7), H. was one of the commanders of the Carthag. troops in North Africa in the battle against the Romans at Aspis in 255 BCE.

Geus, K. (1994), 115.

A. ERCOLANI

18. Of unknown origin, he is mentioned by Gk writers as “the Great” (ὁ μέγας) (App. *Hisp.* 4,16 etc.), which may suggest that he held the office of Rab. The sources as a whole depict him as a military commander of modest ability and as having narrow views in political matters. As commander of the Carthag. troops in Libya in 247 BCE, he forced the city of *Thebessa to surrender. Constrained by the financial needs of Carthage, he failed to pay the soldiers a portion of the salary agreed, which led to a revolt by the MERCENARIES. However, he was instructed by Carthage to resolve the situation and organized any Carthaginians able to fight into military units, had the fleet made ready for operations and actively recruited other troops. In 240 he repeatedly failed to obtain a conclusive victory and was forced to cede command of the army to HAMILCAR (9) Barca, limiting himself to command in Libya. After fluctuating events and changes at the top of the military hierarchy, in 238, together with Hamilcar (9), with whom he had shared command of operations in Libya, he obtained a decisive victory over the mercenaries led by MATHO. Subsequently, he was a prominent member of the faction hostile to the BARCIDS, perhaps also because he had been forced to relinquish command in favour of Hamilcar. His constant policy of opposition to the Barcids compelled him, among other things, to vote against sending HANNIBAL (9) to Spain and to hold a pro-Rom. position on the eve of the II Punic War. After the fall of *Saguntum, he tried to resolve the tensions with ROME diplomatically. Later, at the height of the conflict, it was probably he who prevented

Hannibal from receiving the support he had requested while in Italy. In 202, after the defeat of *Naraggara, together with HASDRUBAL (12), he led a Carthag. embassy sent to the Romans to negotiate for peace.

Among the main sources, the following are to be particularly mentioned: Plb. 1,67; 72,1-3; 73,1-2; 74; 82,1-5; 87,3-10; 88,3; Diod. 4,18,1; 16,81,3; 24,10,1-2; Liv. 21,2,3; 3,3-4,1; 10,2-11,1; 23,12,6-13,6; *Perioch.* 23; App. *Hisp.* 4,16; 5,17; *Hann.* 2,3-4; *Pun.* 34,145; 49,213; Zonar. 8,17.22.26; 9,2. H. is also repeatedly mentioned in Silius Italicus, especially in Books 2, 11 and 17.

Huss, W. (1985), 254-258.262.265f.282; *DCPP*, s.v. “Hannon” (17) (W. Huss); Geus, K. (1994), 116-118.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

19. *Nauarchos* during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), in 241 BCE he was placed at the head of a military convoy in charge of supplying the Carthag. troops in Sicily. He clashed with the fleet led by the *consul* LUTATIUS CATULUS near the Egadi Islands, suffering a disastrous defeat (according to Polybius, 50 Carthag. ships were sunk and 70 captured with the crews). Because of this failure, when he returned to Carthage, he was put to death by crucifixion.

Among the main sources: Plb. 1,60,1-61,8; Diod. 24,11,1; Flor. 1,18,33-37; Oros. 4,10,6-7; Zonar. 8,17.

Geus, K. (1994), 119.

P. XELLA

20. *Strategos* sent against the rebels of Sardinia during the war of the mercenaries, he saw his own troops cross to the side of the insurgents, who then crucified him.

Source: Plb. 1,79,3-4.

Geus, K. (1994), 119f.

A. ERCOLANI

21. Character not otherwise known, except that he gave a speech in the Senate of Rome in 235 BCE.

Sources: Dio Cass. 12, fr. 46,1; Eutr. 3,2; Oros. 4,12,2-3.

Geus, K. (1994), 120f.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

22. The son of BOMILCAR (3), active in Italy after HANNIBAL (9), he was one of the most brilliant Carthag. generals during the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). He commanded the right wing of the Carthag. army in the battle of Cannae. Subsequently, he commanded Carthag. military operations in Bruttium and Lucania, with fluctuating success. He tried to bring the Gk cities of Reggio, Locri and Croton to the Carthag. side. In 215 he suffered a heavy defeat at Beneventum at the hands of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (GRACCHI [2]), but then he successfully defeated the *praefectus socium* Ti. Pomponius. In 212 he led the siege of Tarentum, which Hannibal wanted to control as part of his strategy. His last known operations in Italy date back to 207. According to Zonar. 9,12, he was placed in command of the army after HASDRUBAL (8) was defeated at Campi Magni. In 203 he worked as a strategist in Libya and, among other things, he conducted operations against the encampment of Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus [SCIPIONS [5]]. There is no further information about him. Among the main sources, the following are of special relevance: Plb. 3,42-43; 114,7; 116,5-12; Liv. 21,27,2-28,3; 22,46,7; 48,5; 23,33,10-11; 37,10-11; 41,10-12; 43,5-6 and 9-14; 46,8; 24,1-3,15; 14-16; 20,1-2; 25,1,2-4; 13-14; 15,7-17; 27,42,15-16; 28,1,4-2,11; App. *Hann.* 20,70; 29,124 and 126; 33,141; 34,146-147; 36,156-37,158; *Pun.* 24,98; 29,122-127; 31,133; 38,160; Zonar. 8,23; 9,4 and 12.

DCPP, s.v. "Hannon" (21) (W. Huss); Geus, K. (1994), 121-124.

A. ERCOLANI

23. Carthag. nobleman, perhaps a member of the Senate, in 215 BCE he was taken prisoner in Sardinia by the Romans (cf. HASDRUBAL [10] and MAGO [9]). According to Livy, he started the revolt on the island. Source: Liv. 23,41,1-2.

Geus, K. (1994), 124.

P. XELLA

24. Of unknown origin, he was appointed *strategos* in Sicily in 212 BCE. The loss of the most important Carthag. strongholds on the island was due to his incompetence. He suffered a catastrophic defeat at *Himera at the hands of M. Claudius Marcellus

(CLAUDII [4]), whom he had attacked in the absence of Muttines, the Libyo-Phoenician (→LIBYO-PHOENICIANS) cavalry commander, sent especially by HANNIBAL (9) to Agrigentum. Despite some later successes, he made disastrous decisions. H.'s aversion to Muttines led him to remove him from command, but then he negotiated with the Romans by handing the city of Agrigentum to the *consul* VALERIUS LAEVINUS in 210. However H. managed to take refuge in North Africa.

Main sources: Liv. 25,40-41; 26,21,14-15; 40,1-12; Eutr. 3,14,4.

DCPP, s.v. "Hannon" (23) (W. Huss); Geus, K. (1994), 124f.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

25. Of unknown origin, he was placed at the head of the Carthag. garrison in Capua together with BOSTAR (6). He tried unsuccessfully to assist HANNIBAL (9) in lifting the siege of that city. After the fall of Capua, he was one of the prominent Carthaginians transferred to Rome.

Sources: Liv. 26,5,6; 12,10-19; App. *Hann.* 36,153; 43,185-186.

Geus, K. (1994), 125f.

P. XELLA

26. Of unknown origin, *strategos* in the II Punic War, in 207 BCE he was sent to Spain as successor to HASDRUBAL (6). He was defeated by M. Iunius Silanus, taken prisoner and sent to Rome.

The only relevant source is Liv. 28,1,4-2,11; 4,4.

Geus, K. (1994), 126.

A. ERCOLANI

27. Of unknown origin, a Carthag. officer in Spain during the II Punic War under the command of MAGO (6). He contributed to the reorganization of the Carthag. army after the defeat of *Ilipa in 206 BCE. In that same year he was defeated by L. Marcius Septimus at Gades (*Cádiz), but was able to escape. Otherwise, according to Appianus, he would have been delivered to the Romans by his own troops. Sources: Liv. 28,23,7; 30,1-2; App. *Hisp.* 31,121-126.

Geus, K. (1994), 126f.

P. XELLA

28. Perhaps the son of HAMILCAR (13), a cavalry officer during the II Punic War, in 204 BCE he was ambushed by P. Cornelius Scipio (SCIPIONS [5]) and MASSINISSA (1). It should be noted that, according to a historiographical tradition represented by L. Coelius Antipater and Valerius Antias, he would instead have fallen prisoner and, according to Appianus and Zonaras, he would have been exchanged for Massinissa's mother. Sources: Coel. fr. 42; Val. Ant. fr. 27; Liv. 29,28,10-29,2; 34; App. *Pun.* 14,56-60; Dio Cass. 17, frs 56-57; Eutr. 3,20,2; Zonar. 9,12.

Geus, K. (1994), 126f.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

29. Appianus (*Pun.* 30,127) mentions an otherwise unknown H. as the successor of HASDRUBAL (8), in command of the Carthag. army that he led to *Utica in 203 BCE.

Huss, W. (1985), 411; *DCPP*, s.v. "Hannon" (28) (K. Geus).

P. XELLA

30. According to Livy (45,14,5), H. was one of the hostages delivered by the Numid. MASGABA in 168 BCE and rejected by the Rom. senators.

Huss, W. (1985), 430; Geus, K. (1994), 128 (29).

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

31. Defined ὁ μέγας by Appianus (*Pun.* 68,305), probably corresponding to Rab (*rb*), a well documented honorific title in inscriptions, he was the head of the pro-Rom. faction at Carthage around the middle of the 2nd cent. BCE.

Huss, W. (1985), 432; Geus, K. (1994), 128f. (30).

A. ERCOLANI

32. Of unknown origin, nicknamed 'the Fish' according to App. *Pun.* 108,514; a Carthag. officer during the III Punic War, he prevented part of the Carthag. army from defecting.

Geus, K. (1994), 128f. (31).

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

33. Of unknown origin, nicknamed 'the Lion tamer', he was accused of a putsch and banished. Any identification with other homonyms can be discarded.

Among the main sources: Plin. *Nat.* 8,55; Plut. *Moral.* 799E; Max. Tyr. 31,3.

Huss, W. (1985), 161f., fn. 44; Geus, K. (1994), 129 (32).

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

34. Mentioned by Aelianus (*VH* 14,30) for the unusual trick of having instructed his pet bird to pronounce the phrase "H., he is a god". When he lived and whether he can be identified with any of his namesakes is difficult to establish.

Geus, K. (1994), 129.

P. XELLA

35. Suffete and high priest (→*Priesthood) occurring on an inscription (cf. *KAI* 93 = *CIS* I, 5950, 3rd-2nd cent. BCE) (FIG. 38), he was the husband of SOPHONIBAAL (2) and a member of a prominent Carthag. family.

A. ERCOLANI

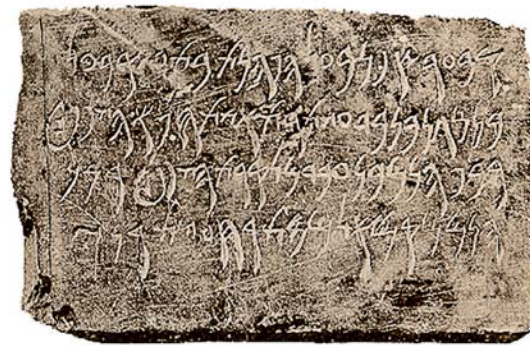


Fig. 38. Funerary inscription of Hanno (35) the Suffete (Carthage)

The Hanno mentioned by D. Chrys. *Or.* 25,6-7 has been confused with MAGO (1) (cf. Geus [1994], 96 and fn. 550, 552 and 553).

The Hanno mentioned by Pomp. Trog. *Prol.* 19 as the conqueror of *Selinus, Agrigentum, *Camarina and *Gela is probably a mistake for HANNIBAL (2) (cf. Geus [1994], 106).

Another mistaken identity is Hanno the Carthaginian mentioned by Zonaras (8,15): in fact he is HANNIBAL (6) Rhodius (cf. Geus [1994], 115).

Fictitious characters named H. appear in various Lat. literary works, including the *Poenulus* of PLAUTUS and the *Punica* of Silius Italicus (16,29.72.74; 17,631).

A Carthag. officer named Hanno is mentioned as the governor of the region N of the Ebro by Polybius (3,35,4-5; 76,5-6), as well as by Livy (21,23,2-3; 60,6): probably he has been confused with BA(A)NNO (1) (cf. Huss [1985], 299, fn. 42).

A certain Hanno is linked to the figure of Anacarsis in some way: Cic. *Tusc.* 5,90.

HARPE

Nasamonian (amazon) heroine in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 2,116-224 and 16,365.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36; Augoustakis, A. (2005) *RhM.* 148, 222-224.

HASDRUBAL

Phoen. theophoric PN 'zrb'l, "Baal has helped" (or "Help of Baal"), very common in Phoen. and Pun. *Onomastics; Gk Ἀσδρούβας; Lat. (*H*)*asdrubal*, *Az(z)rubal*, *Azdrubal*.

PNPPI, 167-170.375f.

1. Member of the Magonid (→MAGONIDS) family, a Carthag. commander who lived towards the end of the 6th cent. BCE, possibly the son of HANNO (1) or, most probably, the son of MAGO (1) who is traditionally considered as the founder of the dynasty. He continued the activities of Mago (1) fighting in North Africa and in *Sardinia together with his brother HAMILCAR (1). On North African soil, an expedition was organized to release *Carthage from the annual payment demanded by the Africans [→AFRI] for occupying their native soil. The conflict favoured the Africans, according to Justinus, either because their cause was more just or because they had better luck (*sed Afrorum sicuti causa iustior, ita et fortuna superior fuit*: 19,1,1-4). However, the conflict was not resolved by arms but through monetary compensation (*bellumque cum his solutione pecuniae, non armis finitum*: 19,1,5). While in Sardinia, H. died, leaving

the command to his brother. Justinus does not tell us the result of the expedition on the island nor does he identify the enemies of the Carthaginians. However, he states that H.'s death was a memorable event of deep mourning for Carthage, considering that the commander had been a *dictator* eleven times and had gained four triumphs/victories. He had three sons: HANNIBAL (1), HASDRUBAL (2) and SAPHO.

Main source: Just. 19,1,2-8.

Huss, W. (1985), 64; *DCCP*, s.v. (1) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 130.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

2. Member of the Magonid family, son of H. (1), brother of HANNIBAL (1) and SAPHO. Together with his brothers – and perhaps his cousins HANNO (4), GISGO (1) and HIMILCO (2), all sons of HAMILCAR (1) – according to Geus (1994), he held an important position in Carthage after the battle of Himera (480 BCE). He may have been the leader of military expeditions on North African soil, against the MAURI and the NUMIDIANS, which made Carthaginians cancel the tribute demanded by the Africans for occupying their territory.

Source: Just. 19,2,1-6.

Geus, K. (1994), 130.

G. GARBATI

3. A *strategos* in the war against TIMOLEON of *Syracuse, he was in command of the Carthag. army together with HAMILCAR (2). Under their leadership, the Carthag. army suffered a heavy defeat in 342 BCE near the river Crimisus. It is not known whether H. fell during the battle or whether instead he fled to *Lilybaeum.

Among the main sources: Diod. 16,77,4; 79,6-81,3; Nep. *Tim.* 2,4; Plut. *Tim.* 25-29.

Sordi, M. (1961) *Timoleonte*. Palermo, 53-62.109-112; Huss, W. (1985), 163f.; Geus, K. (1994), 131f.

P. XELLA

4. A *strategos* in the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), he was in command of the Carthag. army together with BOSTAR (1) and HAMILCAR (7). They were attempting to oppose the Rom. advance led by the *consul* M. ATILIUS REGULUS, who had landed in North Africa in

256 BCE. Following the defeat at Adys, command was entrusted to the Spartan XANTHIPPOS, under whom the Carthag. generals were placed. In 251 H. moved to *Sicily where he organized the forces to attack the Rom. army. In 250 he moved from *Selinus to *Panormus together with the whole army, but suffered a heavy defeat there at the hands of the *consul* L. Caecilius Metellus (→CAECILII METELLI [1]). He took refuge in *Lilybaeum, but was then recalled to Carthage to give an account of events and was impaled for his failures.

Main sources: Plb. 1,30-32; 33,3-5; 38,1-4; 40,1-15; Diod. 23,11.21; Val. Max. 1,1,14; Fron. *Str.* 2,5,4; Flor. 1,18,27; Eutr. 2,21; 24,1; Oros. 4,8,16; 9,14-15; Zonar. 8,13-14.

Huss, W. (1985), 235.241; Geus, K. (1994), 132f.

A. ERCOLANI

5. Of unknown origin, son-in-law of HAMILCAR (9) Barca (with whom, according to some sources, he had a homosexual relationship: Liv. 21,2,3-4; Nep. *Ham.* 3,2), he was a politician whom the people liked immensely towards the end of I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). In 237 BCE he accompanied his father-in-law to Spain, but was then recalled to Carthage in order to quell the revolt by the NUMIDIANS. On the death of Hamilcar (229-228), elected *strategos* by the troops, he set off to avenge his father-in-law. His military actions in Spain were particularly effective yet equally cruel, because he executed all those he considered responsible for Hamilcar's death. Next he consolidated and extended his influence in Iberia by diplomacy, even marrying an Iberian princess and gaining from the Iberian leader the title of supreme commander, according to Diodorus (25,12). Possibly, in 227 he founded a new Carthag. town in Spain, Carthago Nova (*Cartagena) (Plb. 2,13,2; Diod. 25,12 etc.). His awareness of the prestige of his position in Spain is probably reflected in the coins he minted, which bear his effigy wearing a diadem, following the model of Gk kings. The Carthag. expansion in Spain drew the attention and concern of the Senate in ROME, which led them to table negotiations that concluded in a treaty (225) (→TREATIES) setting the Ebro as the limit of Pun. influence. It was H. who called HANNIBAL (9) to Spain and entrusted him with a military command. In 221 H. was the victim of an assassination attempt by a slave. The news as reported

by Fabius Pictor (*apud* Plb. 3,8,2-4), that H. had aspired to gain for himself monarchical type powers in Carthage, goes against what seems to have been H.'s true political strategy. All the information we have clearly indicates that his principal interest was to expand and consolidate Carthag. control in the Iberian Peninsula, either out of genuine patriotism or for personal ambition, undoubtedly linked to the strategy of the BARCIDS with whom he was always connected. Main sources: Plb. 2,1,9; 13,1 and 6; 22,11; 36,1-2; 3,6,1; 8,2-4; 15,5; 21,1-2; 27,9; 29,3; 30,3; 10,8,1-2; 10,9; Nep. *Ham.* 3,2-3; *Hann.* 3,1; Diod. 25,10,3; 11; 12; Liv. 21,2,3-7; 3,1-4; 18,9-11; 19,2-3; App. *Hisp.* 4,16; 5,17; 6,22-8,28; *Hann.* 2,6-3,9; Dio Cass. 12 fr. 46,1; Just. 44,5,5; Zonar. 8,18-19.

Huss, W. (1985), 270-280.286-288; Geus, K. (1994), 133-136.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

6. Sometimes referred to as 'the Younger' in order to distinguish him from his brother-in-law, H. (5), H. is the second-born son of HAMILCAR (9) and brother of HANNIBAL (9).

When Hannibal (9) moved to Italy, he left H. at the head of the Carthag. territories in Iberia (Liv. 21,22,1). During the years following 218 BCE, H. fought against the rebel Celtiberians (Liv. 22,21,5-8) and against the SCIPIONS [3-4]), with whom he clashed several times with negative results, both in battle on the course of the river Ebro (Liv. 22,19ff.), and especially in the great battle of *Hibera Dertosa* in 216 (?) (Liv. 23,26-29). In this situation, also according to the directives of Carthag. government, he intended to cross the Ebro and move to Italy to join his brother; but he was not supported by luck. Indeed, according to Livy – and in view of his habitual attitude, one can certainly believe him – the overwhelming manoeuvre that H. tried on the battlefield failed because of the Iberians. In fact, while PUNICS and Africans were harrying the enemy on the wings, the centre, held by the Iberians, suddenly collapsed (Liv. 23,29,9-10), resulting in the defeat of H.'s army. Livy's explanation of their behaviour, instead, is less convincing: *Hispani...vinci in Hispania quam victores in Italia trahi malebant* (Liv. 23,29,8). Those Iberians who were among Hannibal's finest veterans and had enthusiastically followed him eastward, had a very different relationship with his brother, as was perhaps seen later, during the battle of *Baecula. Nevertheless, the

outcome of a clash that prevented a second Pun. army from going deeper into Italy at the same time as or shortly after the disaster at Cannae, was crucial to the course of war.

In 214 H. returned briefly to Africa to fight the Numid. prince SYPHAX, who had rebelled (App. *Hisp.* 15,58-16,60). After resolving the situation overseas, he resumed his position in Spain, collaborating with the other two Pun. generals – his brother MAGO (6) and HASDRUBAL (8), the son of GISGO (5) – to gain victory over Publius and Cnaeus Scipio, who fell on the battlefield (211). The following year (210), however, Publius Scipio the Younger (SCIPIONS [5]) came to Spain with an *imperium consulare*. The results that he immediately obtained seemed extraordinary: in 209 the Barcid capital, Qarthadasht (Cartagena) – the Carthage of Spain – fell. The defeat H. suffered at Baecula the following year was not, in itself, decisive, at least on a tactical level, but strategically it may have been. In fact, it seems to have been little more than a skirmish, complicated by their relinquishing a very strong position (Cerro de Albarharas), which was difficult, and it is certain that shortly thereafter, a largely intact army moved to Italy. What prompted the Barcid to evacuate an inexpugnable site, renouncing the original (and unquestionably rational) project to engage Scipio until the arrival of the other two Pun. armies in Spain? As the sources make clear, it is likely that he was forced to vary his plans due to environmental and internal difficulties in his own army. And, once again, the disaffection of the Iberians for an unloved commander – perhaps increased by a less favourable strategic situation after the capture of Carthage of Spain – played against H. Leaving for Italy, H. crossed the Pyrenees in the W of the chain, then in the spring of 207 crossed the Alps, probably by the south-west valleys, without any difficulty [FIG. 53]. Descending to the river Po, and crossing through the Cisalpina, he augmented his army with strong nuclei of Ligurians but chiefly of Celts. After an unsuccessful attempt to capture the Lat. colony of Piacenza, which resisted, he went along the Adriatic coast, relying on being able to join his brother, who, warned in time, had started to go up the peninsula. But by now the military apparatus of Rome was too strong. As in 217, on TERENTIUS VARRO's orders, two legions were deployed in Arezzo, while two others, under the *praetor* Porcius Licinus, kept watch on the other side of the area of Rimini. But that was not all. As usual,

while the *legiones urbanae* remained behind to protect Rome, one of the two largest armies, entrusted to *consul* Livius Salinator, waited in the S, probably in south. Umbria, ready to move to Etruria or to Picenum to intercept the enemy, depending on the route chosen. Much of the credit for the final victory, however, goes to the other *consul*, C. Claudius Nero (CLAUDII [6]), who, in command of veteran troops, hired Hannibal to watch him. Having intercepted the messengers sent to warn him of the meeting place, Nero knew of H.'s plan and made a sudden and brilliant decision. By leaving the camp at night, to escape Hannibal's surveillance, he came by forced marches to the help of his colleague at the head of élite forces, 6,000 infantry soldiers and 1,000 horse. Too late, H. noticed the arrival of fresh forces and tried to escape by moving inland. However, he was forced to engage, probably not far from the point where the course of the Metaurus is cut off from the axis of Via Flaminia. There, an authentic ancient place name, Mount Sdrovaldo, seems to recall the name of the defeated.

The Pun. army was destroyed and the vengeful Romans – probably remembering the fate of CAIUS FLAMINIUS and Postumius Albinus – threw the head of H., who had fallen in battle, in front of his brother Hannibal's trenches.

Main sources: Plb. 3,33,6.14-16; 56,6; 76,8-11; 95,2-96,6; 98,5; 8,38; 10,6,3-5; 7,3-6; 35,6-8; 37,1-6; 38,7-39,9; 40,11; 11,1,1-3,3; Nep. *Hann.* 3,3; Diod. 24,10,3; 26,24,1-2; Liv. 21,22,2-4; 32,4-5; 41,2; 60,6-61,6; 22,19,1-20,3; 21,5-8; 23,26,2-29,17; 49,5-14; 24,41,1; 48,2; 49,4; 25,32,1-33,9; 35,1-36,13; 39,13,17; 26,17,3-16; 20,6; 41,13,20,22; 27,5,11-12; 7,2-3; 17,3-5; 18,1-19,1; 20,1-8; 35,10; 36,1-4; 38,6-7; 39,6-14; 43,1,4,8; 45,5-10; 46,9-49,4; 51,11; 28,1,1,4; 9,12-14; 10,12; 12,6; 42,8,14,15; 45,12; 46,12; 36,36,6; *Perioch.* 23; 27; Val. Max. 3,7,4; 4,1,9; 7,4,4; 9,3,1; App. *Hisp.* 13,52; 15,58-17,66; 24,94-95; 28,113-114; *Hann.* 4,13; 16,72; 52,221-54,225; Dio Cass. 16 fr. 57,48; Eutr. 3,8,1; 11,2; 13; 14,2; 15,3; 18,1-2; Oros. 4,16,13,20; 18,7-15; Zonar. 9,3 and 7-10.

De Sanctis, G. (1916) *Storia dei Romani*, III/2. Florence, 548-562; HAAN III, 131.143.157.163.166-168; Alfieri, N. (1939-1940) [1941] *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Marchigiano di Scienze Lettere e Arti*, 15-16, 91-135; Scullard, H. H. (1970) *Scipio Africanus, soldier and politician*. London, 34ff.69ff.; DCP, s.v. "Hasdrubal" (5) (G.-Ch. Picard); Seibert, J. (1993) *Forschungen zu Hannibal*. Darmstadt; Geus, K. (1994), 136-142; Brizzi, G.

(2007) *Scipione e Annibale. La guerra per salvare Roma*. Rome/Bari, 123-129.186.189.

G. BRIZZI

7. Of unknown origin, a member of the Carthag. Senate, in 218 BCE he was the spokesman for the BARCIDS and supported the declaration of war against ROME.

Source: Zonar. 8,22.

Geus, K. (1994), 142f.

A. ERCOLANI

8. Son of Gisgo (5) and father of the priestess Sophonisbe (SOPHONIBAAL [3]) (see *KAI* 93 = *CIS* I, 5950), a *strategos* in Spain and in North Africa, he was one of the most famous Carthag. generals of the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). Stationed in Spain since 214, after heavy defeats suffered by the Carthaginians at the hands of Publius and Cnaeus Scipio (→SCIPIONS [3-4]), in 211 he was one of the commanders who, together with MASSINISSA (1), succeeded in defeating the Romans near Castalon. He did not take part in the battle of Baecula in 208. After being responsible for the region of Gades (*Cádiz) (207), in the following year he assembled his forces, recruited an Iberian contingent and moved towards *Ilipa, to attack Publius Scipio (SCIPIONS [5]), but suffered a defeat. By sea, he then reached the Numid. city of Siga, where he strengthened links with SIPHAX. That alliance was sealed thanks also to Syphax marrying his daughter Sophonisbe. In 205/204 he reached an agreement on the basis that Syphax had to wage war at Massinissa and avert the invasion of North Africa by Scipio. In the winter of 205 H. set up camp close to Carthage from where, in 204, making use of his officers MAGO (13) and HANNO (28), he repeatedly attacked Scipio who had begun siege operations at Ityke (Utica?). In 203 H. and Syphax suffered a heavy defeat: by means of a stratagem, Publius Scipio set fire to the Carthag. and Numid. encampments, but the commanders were able to escape with a few survivors. H. took refuge in Carthage, where he campaigned to continue the war against Rome. From the Senate he received the order to recruit more troops and rejoin Syphax. Having reassembled a considerable army, once again at *Campi Magni* (the Battle of the Great Plains), the two allies were defeated by

Scipio. On his return to Carthage, H. was condemned to death and his command was transferred to HANNO (22). When HANNIBAL (9) arrived in the autumn of 203, he repealed the death sentence. H. retired from public life, but suspected of treason, took poison to evade the people's anger. According to some sources, H.'s corpse was decapitated and his head, impaled on a lance, was paraded round the city.

Main sources: Plb. 9,11,1-4; 10,6,5; 7,3; 35,6-8; 37,2; 38,10; 11,20,1-24,9; 14,1,14-6,3; 6,13-7,9; 8,7-14; Liv. 24,41,5-42,8; 25,32,3-10; 34,1-36,13; 37,8 and 11-18; 26,20,6; 41,20 and 22; 27,20,1-8; 28,1,2; 2,14-16; 3,3; 4,3; 12,10-16,13; 17,13-18,12; 42,7-8; 29,23,1-24,1; 28,7-8; 31,1-7; 34,2; 35,9-12; 30,4,2-9,1; 12,1 and 6; 13,5; 28,3; 40,17,2; App. *Hisp.* 16,60-63; 24,94-27,109; 29,114-30,119; *Pun.* 9,34-35; 10,37-41; 13,53-14,60; 15,64-65; 17,68; 18,73-24,99; 29,122-30,127; 36,151; 38,158-160; Dio Cass. 17 fr. 57,67; Zonar. 9,8.10-13.

Huss, W. (1985), 373-375.395-398.406-411; Geus, K. (1994), 143-148.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

9. Of unknown genealogy, as a Carthag. officer under the command of Hannibal (9), he took part in his expedition to Italy. He was responsible for several operations, beginning with the battle against the Romans near the river Ticino (218). In 216 BCE, at Cannae, he commanded the left wing of the army, where the Iberian and Celtic cavalry was lined up, breaking up the Rom. formation and assuring the Carthaginians of victory. This is all that we know about him.

Main sources: Plb. 3,66,6; 93,3-94,6; 102,5-6; 114,7-116,12; Liv. 22,16,8; 46,7; 47,1-48,6.

Huss, W. (1985), 321f.330f.; Geus, K. (1994), 148.

P. XELLA

10. Of unknown genealogy and nicknamed 'the Bald' (*calvus*: Liv. 23,34,16), during the II Punic War, in 215 BCE he was sent to Sardinia as a *strategos* to take back the island from Rom. control. However, his fleet was delayed by a storm that arose near the Balearics and the repair work required left the Romans with all the time they needed to make preparations. As a result, the combined army of Sard

and Carthaginians suffered a heavy defeat near *Cagliari and he himself was taken prisoner together with other officers and a considerable number of soldiers.

Main sources: Liv. 23,32,12; 34,16-17; 40,6-41,2; Zonar. 9,4.

Huss, W. (1985), 348f.; Geus, K. (1994), 148f.

A. ERCOLANI

11. Of unknown genealogy, he was a Carthag. *nauparchos* during the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). He was given the task of facilitating the return of HANNIBAL (9) to African soil in the autumn of 203 BCE. Other information about him is either disputed or doubtful.

Main sources: Plb. 15,2,4-15; 4,5-12; Diod. 27,12; Liv. 30,24,10-11; 25,3-10; App. *Hann.* 58,243-246; *Pun.* 31,129; 34,145-6; Zonar. 9,13.

Huss, W. (1985), 413f.; Geus, K. (1994), 149f.

P. XELLA

12. Of unknown genealogy and nicknamed 'the Goat' (App. *Pun.* 34,145 etc.). After the defeat of *Narag-gara, together with HANNO (18), he led a Carthag. embassy sent to the Romans to negotiate for peace. According to the sources, it was only thanks to one of his own speeches that the Carthaginians obtained a peace treaty (→TREATIES) at the end of the II Punic War.

Main sources: Liv. 30,42,11-21; 43,10; 44,5-11; App. *Pun.* 24,145; 49,213-53,229; 55,239.

Huss, W. (1985), 423f.; Geus, K. (1994), 150.

A. ERCOLANI

13. Carthag. philosopher, scholar of the New Academy. His Gk name was Κλειτόμαχος, Cleitomachos (Plut. *Moral.* 328d etc.). The son of Diogenes (cf. St. Byz. s.v. Karchedon), he was born in about 187/186 BCE. According to Diogenes Laertius (4,67), he taught philosophy at Carthage in his mother tongue, before moving to Athens when he was already forty years old. However, since H./C. was probably only twenty-four when he arrived in Athens, Diogenes or his source may have been mis-

led by connecting H./C.'s departure from Carthage with the destruction of that city in 146. In Athens, he was a disciple of Carneades for 19 years. From him, H./C. received a Gk education (cf. also Plut. *Alex.* 5). In 140/139 he left the Academia and founded his own school at the Palladium, but later he returned to the Academia and succeeded Crates of Tarsus as headmaster there. Due to a corrupt text, in Diogenes Laertius (1,19) H./C. appears as the head of the dialectic school instead of Clinomachus of Chalcedon. According to Stobaeus (*Flor.* 3,7,55) he committed suicide in 110/109. He wrote more than 400 books, mostly on the sceptical theories of Carneades. We know of his work *Perì epochen* in 4 books (Cic. *Acad.* 2,98), two works on the same topic dedicated to prominent Romans (see Cic. *Acad.* 2,102-104), and *Perì aireseon* in at least two books. It seems that he remained very closely linked to his motherland, as shown by an episode recorded in various sources, including Cicero (*Tusc.* 3,54): he put into writing a lesson on consolation given by Carneades in order to provide solace for his fellow citizens in prison. Several works by Cicero and Sextus Empiricus may be based on writings by H./C. Cicero mentions and cites him several times and considers him to be as clever *ut Poenus* (*Acad.* 2,98). The fragments and accounts were collected by Mette 1985.

RE X1,1, s.v. "Kleitomachos" (1) cols 656-659 (H. von Arnim); Mette, H. J. (1985) *Lustrum*, 27, 53-148; Dorandi, T. (1994) Cleitomaque (Clitomaque) de Carthage. In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 2. Paris, 124f.; Geus, K. (1994), 150-154; Geus, K. (2001) Hasdrubal von Karthago – Cleitomachos von Athen. In: Geus, K. and Zimmermann, K. (eds) (2001) *Punica – Libyca – Tolemaica. Festschrift für Werner Huss*. OLA 104 = StPhoen 16. Leuven, 345-354.

G. MINUNNO

14. Of unknown genealogy, the Carthag. commander of the auxiliary troops during the III Punic War. In 150 BCE, violating agreements with ROME, he marched against MASSINISSA at the head of an army of 58,000 men. The expedition ended with a heavy defeat near Oroscoipa and only a few Carthaginians, among them H., made it back to Carthage. H. was condemned to death both for his failure and at pressing requests from Rome, but he managed to escape and recruit an army of 20,000 men with which he set siege against the very city of Carthage. When Carthage decided to take the field openly against Rome, he was entrusted with command of the army

to defend its territory, while HASDRUBAL (15) was entrusted with command of the army defending the city. H. set up his headquarters near Nopheris (*Henchir Bou Beker), from where he succeeded in fighting off the Rom. attacks efficiently and guaranteed the provisioning of Carthage. Following the condemnation for treason of H. (15), in 148, he was also entrusted with command of the city. He led part of his contingent to protect Carthage, but was then forced to take refuge within its walls; he organized and sustained the resistance to the Rom. siege set by Scipio (SCIPIONS [6]). According to some sources, during the period of the siege he controlled the city in a tyrannical manner, and also in the style of a vile dissolute. When Scipio tried to block naval communications, the only source of provisions left to Carthage, H. responded by creating a canal connecting the commercial port with the sea and fitting out a new fleet, which however was swiftly overpowered there. Having also lost the military base at Nopheris, he turned to GULUSSA to explore the conditions set by Scipio if Carthage surrendered, which he then rejected out of hand. In the spring of 146, the port had fallen, by which time the situation was compromised and capitulation was out of the question. So, with 900 men, H. entrenched himself on the hill of Byrsa, in the sanctuary of Asclepius (*Eshmun). Subsequently, he secretly surrendered to Scipio, who spared his life. As a prisoner, he was taken to Italy, where he then died. Some sources relate an anecdote that H.'s wife, accusing her husband of cowardice, threw herself with their sons into the flames engulfing the temple, in imitation of the death of Dido (*Elissa), the mythical founder of the city.

Polybius gives a particularly negative judgment of H., for his military capabilities as well as his character (38,7,1).

Main sources: Plb. 36,8,1; 16,12; 38,7-8.19-20; Diod. 22,3; 6,2; 8; 22-23; Liv. *Perioch.* 40-42; App. *Pun.* 70,319-73,337; 80,374; 93,439; 95,446; 97,458; 102,479-104,494; 108,507-508; 109,515; 110,519 and 522; 111,522-523 and 526-527; 114,544; 117,558; 118,560-119,563; 120,571-122,577; 126,602-127,605; 130,621-131,628; Oros. 4,22,2; 23,4; Zonar. 9,26-27.29-30.

Walbank, F. W. (1979) *A historical commentary on Polybius*, III. Oxford, 695-698.719-722; Huss, W. (1985), 443-456; Geus, K. (1994), 153-156.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

15. Grandson of MASSINISSA (1), Carthag. commander during the III Punic War. In 149 BCE the Senate placed him in command of the army defending Carthage. In that same year, he was accused of betrayal: summoned in front of the popular assembly, he was beaten to death with the benches of its seats.

Sources: App. *Pun.* 93,439; 111,526-527; Liv. *Perioch.* 50; Oros. 4,22,3.

Huss, W. (1985), 443.449; Geus, K. (1994), 156.

P. XELLA

Hayya see ARAMAEANS; KULAMUWA

Hazael see ARAMAEANS

Hebrews see ISRAEL; JUDAH; *Old Testament

HERILLUS OF CARTHAGE

Gk Ἡρίλλος.

Stoic philosopher, disciple of ZENO OF KITION, with whom he disagreed on some issues. He judged that the highest good is knowledge. The titles of some of his works are known: *On training*; *On passions*; *On assumption*; *Legislator*; *Obstetrician*; *Adversary*; *Teacher*; *Reviser*; *Examiner*; *Hermes*; *Medea*; *Dialogues*; *Ethical themes*. H. was thought to be a 'Carthaginian', but probably this is incorrect, due to a misunderstanding (Gk *Karchedonios*, Carthaginian, instead of *Chalkedonios*, Chalcedonian).

RE VIII,1, s.v. "Herillos" cols 683f. (H. von Arnim); von der Mühl, P. (1963) *MH*, 20, 1-9, esp. 6-9; Guérard, C. (2000) *Hérillos*. In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 3. Paris, 631f.

G. MINUNNO

HERMIPPUS OF BERYTUS

Gk Ἑρμιππος.

A disciple of *Philo of Byblos, in fact, H. came from an inland village, and was of servile descent. Philo introduced him to his patron, the senator Herennius Severus, in the time of the Emperor Hadrianus. H. wrote a work in five books on dreams (Suid. ε 3045 Adler; Tert. *De Anim.* 46,11), as well as a work on

the number seven (Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6,291). H. is probably also the author of a work (in at least five books) on slaves who distinguished themselves by their culture (Suid. ι 706 Adler). It may have been part of a more extensive work, which included at least five books on illustrious physicians.

RE VIII,1, s.v. “Hermippos” (8) cols 853f. (S. Heibges).

G. MINUNNO

HIARBAS

Gk Ἰάρβας; Lat. (*H*)*Iarbas*. PN of uncertain origin and etymology: the possibility of a Phoen. theophoric name containing the divine element *Baal seems unlikely.

1. Mythical king of the Maxitaniens who wanted to marry →*Elissa (Dido) in the foundation myth of *Carthage.

2. Noble Numidian (→NUMIDIANS) who was the rival of HIEMPSAL II (2) around 80 BCE.

Sources: Liv. *Perioch.* 89; Plut. *Pomp.* 12.

3. Characters named H. occur in Sil. *Pun.* 1,417 and 2,58 (a Garamantian: GARAMANTES).

RE VIII,2, s.v. “Hiarbas” (1) and (2) col. 1388 (T. Lenschau); Vattioni, F. (1980), *StMagr.* 12, 6; Huss, W. (1985), 430; *DCPP*, s.v. (G. Bunnens); *NAN*, 57.

A. ERCOLANI

HIBERUS

Undeclared Iberian soldier (charioteer) in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 1,387 and *passim*.

Geus, K. (1994), 211; Lovatt, H. (2009) Interplay. In: Augoustakis, A. (ed.) *Brill's companion to Silius Italicus*. Leiden/Boston, 172f.

HICETAS

Gk Ἰκέτας or Ἰκέτης.

Tyrant of Leontini, he welcomed the Syracusan oligarchs who had gone into exile on the arrival of Dionysius II. Although outwardly favourable to TIMOLEON's arrival in *Sicily, secretly H. made an

agreement with the Carthaginians, who at his request sent a fleet to blockade Timoleon as he came from *Corinth. Meanwhile H. defeated Dionysius and captured Syracuse (apart from the fortified island of Ortigia) (Plut. *Tim.* 1-2 and 7). Even so, Timoleon did actually reach Sicily, defeating H. at Adranon (*Monte Adranone) and making an agreement with Dionysius, now confined to Ortigia. In order to take that fortress by storm, H. brought a massive Pun. expeditionary force to Syracuse on the orders of MAGO (3). However, thanks to help provided by Timoleon, the besieged were able to resist (Plut. *Tim.* 10-12, 16-19; Diod. 16,68-69). H. was no longer able to coordinate his efforts with Mago's. In fact, fearing that the mercenary troops paid for by H. would fraternize with Timoleon's, Mago abandoned Syracuse and retreated to west. Sicily (Plut. *Tim.* 20). As a result, H. was forced to leave Syracuse (Plut. *Tim.* 21). In the following years, H. was involved in the anti-Pun. league organized by Timoleon (Plut. *Tim.* 24). But after the victory at Crimisus (341?, 339? BCE) he left it, mistrusting the philo-Corinthian and anti-tyrannical stance that Timoleon's politics were adopting. In the war that ensued H. made an alliance against Syracuse with other Siceliote tyrants and with the Carthaginians, who sent Gk mercenary troops on the orders of GISGO (2). However, H. suffered several military defeats which induced the Pun. general, who in fact had achieved some success, to stipulate a separate peace with Timoleon. Without its Carthag. ally, the coalition of tyrants was rapidly defeated. H., severely beaten near Damurias and taken prisoner together with his wife and children, was condemned to death and he and his family were executed in Syracuse in 338 (Diod. 16,82; Plut. *Tim.* 30-33).

Westlake, H. D. (1952) *Timoleon and his relations with tyrants*. Manchester; Meister, K. and Riedweg, Ch. In: *BNP*, s.v. (Accessed 04.28.2018) <http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1574-9347_bnp_e513500>.

U. LIVADIOTTI

HIEMPSAL

Gk Ἰεμψάλας, Ἰέμψας, Ἰάμψας; Lat. *Hiempsal*. PN of two Numid. kings. One (it is not clear who) is considered by Sallust (*Jug.* 17,7) to be the author of *Libri punici*, written either in Phoenician or in Greek.

1. H. I, second-born of MICIPSA. In 118 BCE, on the death of his father, he inherited part of his kingdom, which he shared with his brothers ADHERBAL (4) and JUGURTHA (Sal. *Jug.* 9,4-11,2; Liv. *Perioch.* 62,2). In 115 he was killed by Jugurtha's assassins at Thimida (*Tinja) (Sal. *Jug.* 12,3).

Matthews, V. J. (1972) *AJPh*, 93, 330-335; Kurita, N. (1994) *JAH*, 5, 37-46; Camps, G. (2000) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 23. Aix-en-Provence, 3463.

2. H. II, the son of GAUDA, succeeded him in 88 BCE and continued his father's policy of friendship with the Romans. In the same year, he gave hospitality to Marius and his men who were fleeing from ROME while maintaining an ambivalent attitude towards them (Plut. *Mar.* 35-40). In fact, H. was ousted from the throne by HIARBAS (2), another Numid. prince, supported in turn by the Marians. At the end of the 80s, when the Sillans regained control of Italy, the young POMPEIUS came to Africa, defeated Hiarbas and re-established H. on the throne (App. *BC* 1,80,368; Gell. 9,12,14). He was still alive in 62 (Suet. *Caes.* 71). Under his control came territories inhabited by the Gaetulic peoples (→GAETULI) and also areas originally intended for annexation to the Rom. (Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2,58; [Caes.] *BAfr.* 56). An inscription from Thubursicu Numidarum (*Khamissa) (*ILAlg* I, 1242) records that the local population accorded him a funerary cult.

Kontorini, V. N. (1975) *AntCl*, 44, 88f.; Camps, G. (2000) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 23. Aix-en-Provence, 3463f.

U. LIVADIOTTI

HIERON

Gk Ἱέρων; Lat. *Hieron*.

1. H. I lived between the second half of the 6th cent. and 467/466 BCE; he was the son of Deinomedes and the brother of Gelon, who appointed him initially as the tyrant of *Gela. He succeeded his brother, on his death (478), as a tyrant of *Syracuse, wielding power in a highly individualistic way, but at the same time distinguishing himself as a patron of the arts. Many poets and playwrights, such as Simonides, Pindarus, and Aeschylus, were active in his 'court'. The protagonist of a lively expansionist policy, H.

subdued Catania, and defended the Locrians against Reggio and the Sibarites against Croton. By extending his sphere of activity, in 474 he intervened in support of Cuma against the ETRUSCANS, who were defeated in a naval battle that proved to be decisive for the balance in the Campanian area.

Musti, D. (1989) *Storia greca*. Rome/Bari, 196.304; Huss, W. (1990) *Die Karthager*. Munich, 59ff.; *DCPP*, s.v. (G. Falsone).

2. H. II (ca 308-215 BCE), tyrant and subsequently king of *Syracuse, was a central figure in the events preceding the outbreak of the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). Initially, he was an officer in the army of PYRRHUS. At the end of the latter's adventure in *Sicily H. II strengthened his power in Syracuse, becoming a *strategos* and fighting the Mamertine mercenaries over a long period. He succeeded in confining them in the city of Messina before concluding a peace-treaty (→TREATIES) with them thanks to the mediation of the Carthaginians, who left a garrison there. The Mamertines demanded the intervention of ROME against this Carthag. presence (which was the cause of the I Punic War). H. stood alongside the Romans, contradicting previous philo-Pun. policy, and he remained faithful to that alliance until the end of the conflict. He paid a tribute to the Romans and renounced part of his Sicilian possessions. H. participated in various war operations and, at the end of the conflict, associated his son Gelon II to power in Syracuse. H. continued to support Rome, even during the early stages of the II Punic War, before dying a year later the battle of Cannae.

De Sensi Sestito, G. (1977) *Gerone II. Un monarca ellenistico in Sicilia*. Palermo; Musti, D. (1989) *Storia greca*. Rome/Bari, 785-787; Huss, W. (1990) *Die Karthager*. Munich, 152ff. and *passim*; *DCPP*, s.v. (G. Falsone).

S. F. BONDÌ

HIMILCO

Pun. PN *hmlkt*, "Brother of the Queen (*mlkt*)" or "My brother is the Queen (*mlkt*)"; Gk Ἱμίλκων; Lat. (*H*)*imilco*.

Theophoric PN of several Carthag. historical characters.

PNPPI, 112-117.263.

1. Of unknown origin, he is presented by the sources as the first navigator to leave the Mediterranean and explore the coasts of north-west. Europe (→*Peripli), towards the end of the 6th cent. BCE. Residual information of his travel reports – probably originally written in Punic – is preserved by much later authors such as Pliny and Avienus. It is not possible to reconstruct the route he followed with any accuracy, but some data seem well founded: his journey was undertaken on behalf of the Carthag. authorities, it lasted about four months and his goal was the Cassiterides Islands. It is rightly assumed that this journey, like similar voyages, was not for the purpose of colonization, but only to find new sources of raw materials – metals in particular – and to open up new commercial routes. The voyage in question must have been of considerable importance considering that, centuries later, it was still known to Gk and Rom. geographers.

Sources: Plin. *Nat.* 2,169; Avien. *Or. Mar.* 114-129, 280-389, 404-415.

DCPP, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 157-159.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

2. A member of the family of the MAGONIDS, the son of HAMILCAR (1), brother of HANNO (4) and GISGO (1). According to Geus (1994), he held a prominent position in Carthage after the battle of Himera (480 BCE). Together with his brothers and cousins HANNIBAL (1), HASDRUBAL (2) and SAPHO, the sons of HASDRUBAL (1), he may have led some military expeditions in North Africa against the MAURI and the NUMIDIANS, thanks to which the Carthaginians succeeded in cancelling the tribute due to the Africans (→MAURI) for their occupation of the city's soil.

Main source: Just. 19,2,3-6.

Geus, K. (1994), 159.

G. GARBATI

3. A member of the family of the MAGONIDS, the son of HANNO (6), possibly a grandson of HIMILCO (2) or HANNO (4). He joined HANNIBAL (2), the commander-in-chief in the war being waged in *Sicily in the years 410-405 BCE (Diod. 13,80,2). Following the death of Hannibal, due to a pestilence that broke out during the siege of *Agrigentum in 406, he assumed absolute command (Diod. 13,86,1-3; Just. 19,2,7). Until ca 396, he was the protagonist at a vital moment

in the wars between *Carthage, on the one hand, and part of the Gk Sicilian world, in particular *Syracuse, on the other hand (during those years the tyrant Dionysius I rose to power). The sources attribute to him some key episodes of this difficult period. E.g. Diodorus of Sicily says that during the taking of Agrigentum, several monuments and a necropolis had been destroyed, to facilitate military operations. However, because the desecration had provoked a terrible plague (the same epidemic that had killed Hannibal), and since several sentinels had claimed to have seen the spirits of the dead whose tombs had been violated, during the night, terror spread throughout the army. As a consequence, H. ordered the work to be stopped and invoked the gods by sacrificing a child to 'Kronos' (→*Baal Hammon), and a large number of cattle, in the sea, to *Poseidon (Diod. 13,86,1-3). It cannot be excluded that H. is to be identified with the person named *hmlkt bn hn'*, "H. the son of Hanno", mentioned in the Carthag. inscription CIS I, 5510, considered to be a direct reference to the battle of Agrigentum: →MAGONIDS). Subsequently, H. managed to capture *Gela and besiege Syracuse; due to an epidemic, however, he was forced to negotiate peace with Dionysius I (Diod. 13,114,1). The treaty that was agreed in 405 (→TREATIES) was very advantageous to Carthage and sanctioned Pun. control of almost the whole of Sicily, with the exception of Syracuse. Hostilities resumed in 398 and the following year was one of the most significant moments of the war, marked by the violent destruction of *Motya (Diod. 14,49). The inhabitants were forced to leave the island and to found (or relocate themselves to) *Lilybaeum, on the coast. In 396 H.'s troops returned to besiege Syracuse, but once again the enterprise ended in failure. On this occasion, the commander ordered the city temple, dedicated to *Demeter and Core, to be looted. According to the sources, this sacrilegious act was followed by the wrath of the deities, so in expiation, it was decided that the cult of those two goddesses would be introduced in Carthage (Diod. 14,77,4-5). H. reacted to the new defeat by fleeing: he left a large part of the army on enemy soil and took refuge in Carthage. Having fallen into disgrace among his fellow citizens, and unable to bear his own impiety, he committed suicide by starving himself to death (Diod. 14,76,3-4; Just. 19,3,12).

Main sources: Xen. *Hell.* 2,3,5; Diod. 13,80,1-81,1; 85,5; 86,3; 87,1-3; 88,2-6; 90,1-91,1; 94,2; 96,5; 108,2-111,2; 114,1-2; 14,8,5; 16,4; 47,3; 49,1-2; 50;

54,4-56,3; 58,1-60,7; 61,4-6; 62,2-63,4; 70,7-74,4; 75,1-9; 76,3-4; 22,10,4; Just. 5,4,5; 19,2,7-3,12.

Huss, W. (1985), 115-125.128-133; Geus, K. (1994), 159-166.

G. GARBATI

4. The son of MAGO (2), Carthag. *strategos* who, in 382 BCE, defeated Dionysius I of Syracuse at *Kronion.

Main sources: Diod. 15,15,2; 16,2-17,5; Polyæn. 5,10,5.

Huss, W. (1985), 139; Geus, K. (1994), 166.

G. GARBATI

5. Of unknown origin, he was *strategos* in the war against AGATHOCLES in command of one of the three contingents into which the Carthag. army was divided when fighting on African soil (cf. also ADHERBAL [1] and HANNO [11]). Near an unknown city H. defeated a Gk contingent commanded by Eumachos. Later, by taking control of a strategic position NW of Tynes, he cut off the enemy from the hinterland.

Sources: Diod. 20,59,1 and 4; 60,4-8; 61,3-4.

Müller, M. (1928) *Der Feldzug des Agathokles in Afrika*. Diss. Leipzig, 47-51; Geus, K. (1994), 166f.

A. ERCOLANI

6. Of unknown origin, the commander of *Lilybaeum during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), he successfully defended the city from the Romans in 250 and 249 BCE. There is no further information about him. Since GISGO (5) was the commander of Lilybaeum at the time of peace agreements with Rome, H. must have died between 249 and 241.

Main sources: Plb. 1,42,8-45,13; 48; 53,5; Diod. 24,1,2-7; Zonar. 8,15.

Huss, W. (1985), 242ff.; Geus, K. (1994), 167f.

P. XELLA

7. Of unknown origin, he was a member of the Carthag. Senate. During the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), after the battle of Cannae in 216 BCE, he was the spokesman for the Barcid faction (→BARCIDS) against HANNO (18), a member of the pro-Rom. faction.

Liv. 23,12.

Geus, K. (1994), 169.

G. MINUNNO

8. Of unknown origin, he was a high-ranking officer under HANNIBAL (9) during the II Punic War. In 215 BCE he obtained important military successes in Bruttium, conquering several cities.

Main sources: Plb. 7,1,3; Liv. 23,30,1 and 5; App. *Hann.* 29,124-126.

Geus, K. (1994), 169.

P. XELLA

9. Of unknown origin, *strategos* during the II Punic War, he was sent to Spain in 216 BCE with a large contingent of troops to replace HASDRUBAL (6).

Source: Liv. 23,28,2-4.

Geus, K. (1994), 169f.

A. ERCOLANI

10. A Carthag. commander of unknown origin, active during the II Punic War. In 213 BCE, after having held the fleet at Cape Pachino for a long time, he decided to return to Carthage to request the dispatch of a larger force, which he obtained. He then landed at *Heraclea Minoa with 25,000 infantrymen, 3,000 knights and 12 *Elephants. After only a few days, H. recaptured Agrigentum, so managing to join a part of the Syracusan army under the command of Hippocrates. However, H. failed to intercept the Rom. troops commanded by Marcellus (→CLAUDII [4]) before they joined a legion that in the meantime had landed at *Panormus. He then decided to move across the island in order to favour the defections from the alliance with Rome thanks to the presence of his troops. Thus H. recaptured *Morgantina. *Enna instead, whose leaders made an agreement with H., could not get rid of the Rom. garrison that also carried out a massacre there; however, this act helped to push the local populations to stay with the anti-Rom. front. H. went to Agrigentum, where he spent the winter. In 212 H. and Hippocrates brought aid to Syracuse, under siege by Marcellus, but an epidemic ravaged the Carthag. troops and caused the death of both H. and Hippocrates.

Sources: Plb. 8,8,1; Liv. 24,35,3-39,10; 25,23,2; 25,4; 26,3-14.

Huss, W. (1985), 367-369; Geus, K. (1994), 170f.

G. MINUNNO

11. Carthag. officer of unknown origin, in 206 BCE he was in command of Pun. troops located at Kastax (*Cástulo), in Spain, and was handed over to the Romans by the local leader. Our only source is Liv. 28,20,11-12.

Geus, K. (1994), 171.

G. MINUNNO

12. Nicknamed ‘Phameas’ (App. *Pun.* 97,459 etc.) although other sources name him differently (e.g. Hamilco, Hamilcar or Milkon). Of unknown origin, he was the commander of the cavalry during the III Punic War. At first, he effectively carried out guerrilla actions against the Romans. We do not know precisely why he crossed over to the Romans together with several officers and 2,200 horsemen, repeatedly supporting their operations. For his military assistance, he obtained a rich reward from the Senate of Rome.

Sources: Plb. 36,8,1 and 3; Diod. 32,17,1; Liv. *Perioch.* 50; App. *Pun.* 97,459; 100,471-101,473; 104,494; 107,503-109,518; Dio Cass. 21 fr. 71,2; Eutr. 4,10,3; Zonar. 9,27; Suid. α 1596 Adler s.v. Amilkas (cf. α 2235).

Walbank, F. W. (1979) *A historical commentary on Polybius*, III. Oxford, 660f.; Huss, W. (1985), 445f.449; Geus, K. (1994), 171f.219.

A. ERCOLANI

The Himilcos mentioned by Polyæn. 1,27,2, [Aur. Vict.] *Vir. Ill.* 38,2-3 and Liv. 22,19,3, seem to be misunderstandings and are probably to be identified as HAMILCAR (1), HANNIBAL (3) and HAMILCAR (11) respectively (cf. Geus, K. [1994], 157.167f.). Hamilco in Liv. *Perioch.* 50 is the same person as HIMILCO (12). A soldier of HANNIBAL (9) named H. is mentioned by Sil. *Pun.* 14,394.431.451.561 (probably a fictitious character: cf. Vattioni, F. [1980] *StMagr.* 12, 36; Geus, K. [1994], 212); *NAN*, 58.

The Gk form Μίλκων (MILKON) seems to be an error for the name H.

HIRAM

Phoen. *h̄rm*, “My brother is exalted”; Hebr. *h̄rm*; Ug. *ah̄rm*; Akk. *Hi-ru-um-mu*; Gk Σίρομος. Theophoric PN, abbreviated form of *h̄rm* (Aḫīrom) (*KAI* 1,1).

PNPPI, 408f.

Name of four kings of *Tyre and other historical characters.

1. H. I was contemporary with king David and king SOLOMON of *Jerusalem (10th cent. BCE), and is mentioned only in the *Old Testament (2 Sam 5,11; 1 Kgs 5,15-26; 9,26-28; 10,11.22; 2 Chr 2,2-15; 8,17f.) and the sources dependent on it (Joseph. *AJ* 7,66; 8,50-164; *Ap.* 1,10,109-121.126; 2,18-19). He was a trading and covenant partner of the kings of Jerusalem, as well as assisting in the construction of the palace and the temple in Jerusalem. The corresponding OT narratives, however, are largely legendary. Particularly noteworthy is the mission of H.’s messengers to Solomon (1 Kgs 5,15), which comes from the older tradition of the LXX in 3 Kgs 5,15: anointing would be the sign of an alliance, in which Salomon recognizes himself as a vassal of H. According to Josephus, he was supposed to have built the temples of *Melqart and *Astarte in Tyre, as well as celebrating the feast of Melqart’s *egersis* (cf. *Miqim elim).

2. H. II (ca 784-761 BCE, or ca 739-730 according to another chronology) reigned over Tyre and *Sidon as a single entity, as well as over *Qarḥadasht in *Cyprus. He is mentioned in a Phoen. inscription from Cyprus (*KAI* 31,1) and in the Annals of TIGLATH-PILESER III as sending tribute to Assyria.

3. H. III reigned in Tyre ca 551-533 BCE and was contemporary with Cyrus II of Persia (Joseph. *Ap.* 1,156-158).

4. H. IV reigned in Tyre in about 500 BCE (before 480) and is mentioned as Siromos by Herodotus (7,98).

5. H. is the name of a legendary bronzesmith, who is mentioned only in the OT and is differentiated from the royal name Hiram I (1 Kgs 7,13-47; 2 Chr 2,6-13: here: Hiram-Abi).

6. Name of two Cypriots. According to Herodotus (5,104), H./Siromos was the son of king Euelthon of *Salamis in the 6th cent. BCE. In addition, a Gk coin legend mentions a certain Siromos as a dynast of *Paphos.

7. Despite its current name, the *Qabr Hiram*, located near Tyre, is a cenotaph dating to the Achaemenid period, and cannot be considered as the grave of one of the Tyrian kings named H.

Katzenstein, H. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 77-115. 193-219. 342-347; Röllig, W. (1972-1975) Hiram I. In: *RIA*, 4, 418; Mendels, D. (1987) Hellenistic writers of the second century B.C. on the Hiram-Solomon relationship. In: *StPhoen* 5, 429-441; Bonnet, C. (1988), 33-40; Knauf, E. A. (1991) King Solomon's copper supply. In: *StPhoen* 11, 167-186; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1992) *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*. OLA 46 = *StPhoen* 12. Leuven, 28-58. 65f. 141-145; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Tadmor, H. (1994) *The inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III king of Assyria*. Jerusalem; Jidejian, N. (1996) *Tyre à travers les âges*. Beirut, 24-28; PNA 2/1, 474, s.v. "Ḫi-rūmu" (K. Fabritius – A. Fuchs); Schenker, A. (2000) *Septante et Texte Massorétique dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 2-14*. CRB 48. Paris, 140; Doehorn, J. (2005) *WO*, 35, 68-117, esp. 82-84; Saur, M. (2008) *Der Tyroszyklus des Ezechielbuches*. BZAW 386. Berlin, 119-161; Lipiński, E. (2010) Hiram of Tyre and Solomon. In: Lemaire, A., Halpern, B. and Adams, M. J. (eds) *The Books of Kings. Sources, composition, historiography and reception*. VTS 129. Leiden, 251-272.

H. NIEHR – P. MERLO

HITTITES

A people of Indo-European origin who lived in central *Anatolia (current Turkey).

Written sources provide evidence for the emergence of the kingdom of Ḫatti between the 17th and 13th cent. BCE. The capital city, Ḫattuša, stood very close to the present day site of Boğazkale/Boğazköi, 145 km NE of Ankara. It was excavated in 1907 by a German team, led by the Assyriologist H. Winckler and the Turkish archaeologist T. Makridi. Other sites excavated in central Anatolia are Ortaköy (Şapinuwa), Maşat Hoyük (Tapikka), Kuşaklı (Şarišša), Kayalıpınar (Şamuha), Oimağaç (Nerik) and Uşaklı (Zippalanda).

The H. adopted cuneiform writing, adapting for their language an Old Bab. sign list used in *Syria, probably during the military campaigns of king Ḫattušili I against the kingdom of Yamḥad. Using cuneiform, they produced historical, administrative, religious and literary texts. Of particular importance is the number of languages present in the Hitt. archives: besides texts in Hittite they contain tablets in Hattic, a dialect of an indigenous substratum, Luwian, an Indo-European dialect of west. and south. *Anatolia (→LUWIANS), Palaic, a poorly documented Indo-European dialect of north. Anatolia, Hurrian, Akkadian and Sumerian. The majority of these texts belong to religious tradition while the Mesopot. texts could also be instructional. The relationships among the various ethnic substrata of Anatolia are not yet clear but it is likely that the prevailing Indo-European peoples were

H. and Luwians, who became ethnically dominant during the 13th cent. From the 15th and 14th cent., another form of writing was used extensively, namely Anatolian hieroglyphic. It appears on glyptic and on celebratory monuments in Anatolia and Syria. On monuments, the underlying dialect of that script is Luwian. While Hitt. cuneiform disappears with the end of the royal archives at the close of the 13th cent., hieroglyphic becomes the script of the Neo-Hittite states in the 1st mill.

The H. did not limit their control to Anatolia, but also showed a strong interest in the Syro-Palestinian regions of the Levant. From the 15th cent., Hitt. culture is deeply influenced by the Syro-Hurrian cultural *koinè*, from which it absorbs elements of religion, mythology and literature. Already in the initial phase of the 2nd mill., during the period of Old Ass. trading colonies, the ethnic make-up of Anatolia is marked by the presence of the same peoples subsequently known from the archives of Ḫattuša. There is no doubt that the Anatolian population interacted with the Ass. merchants, both politically and commercially. We know of the episode involving Prince Anitta and his father Piḫana, who originally came from the city of Kuššara. A text preserved in Ḫattuša describes the political success of these two until the conquest of Kaneš (Neša) by Anitta. In fact, the existence of this prince is documented in level 1b of the *kārum* of Kaneš (18th cent.). The first Hitt. sovereign known from historical sources, Ḫattušili I, seems to be the one who makes Ḫattuša his capital and builds a unified kingdom under his control in central Anatolia. In the 17th cent., Ḫattušili travelled down to Syria and conquered the kingdom of Yamḥad. Later, it was subjugated by his successor, Muṣšili I, who pressed on and even sacked Babylon. After king Tuḫḫalia I (15th cent.) had annexed the state of Kizzuwatna in south. Anatolia and travelled to Syria, it was Šuppiluliuma I who conquered the kingdom of Mittani in the 14th cent. and established a system of political and administrative control there. This was run from *Karkemiš and, initially at least, from *Aleppo, and on their thrones he placed his two sons Piyaššili and Telepinu respectively. At Karkemiš, Piyaššili – with the dynastic name Šarri-kuṣuḫ – began a dynasty that was to last uninterruptedly even beyond the end of the Hitt. empire. The consolidation of the kingdom would be continued by king Muṣšili II. During the 13th cent., the H. remain S of *Tell Nebi Mend (Qadeš) after the victory of Muwatalli

over the Egypt. troops of Ramses II and the peace treaty with Ḫattušili III. Interest in Syria is apparent also from Muwatalli's relocation of the capital. While evidently engaged in battles against *Egypt, he built his own capital in south. Anatolia at Tarḫuntašša, a city that has not yet been identified. Subsequently, with the death of Muwatalli and the ascent to the throne of his successor Urhi-Tešub/Muršili III, the capital was transferred back to Ḫattuša. In a coup d'état, Ḫattušili III seized control of the kingdom. He was Muwatalli's brother and he describes the reasons for his political action in a lengthy document known as the 'Apology' (CTH 81). With his reign there began a phase of relative stability known as the *Pax Hethitica*. The Syrian cities providing sources for the reconstruction of Hitt. history in this area are Tell Meskene (*Emar), Tell Ras Shamra (*Ugarit), Tell Mishrife (*Qatna), Tell Nebi Mend (Qadesh), Tell Atchana (*Alalakh) and Tell Afis. Equally important was Hitt. policy towards the kingdoms of west. Anatolia, in particular, the kingdom of Arzawa. King Tutḫaliya I defeated the Aššuwa confederation, which included both the kingdom of Arzawa and the kingdom of Wilusa (probably the Ilium of Homeric epic). These politics continued in the imperial period, during the reigns of Muršili II, of Muwatalli – of whom we have been left a treaty of alliance with king Alakšandu of Wiluša – and later of Ḫattušili III (13th cent.), when the sources regarding the Aḫḫiyawa issue become more plentiful. In the 13th cent., relations with a revitalised Assyria become more tense (→ASSYRIANS). Assyria had succeeded in affirming its territory from upper Mesopotamia as far as the east. bank of the Euphrates. The Hitt. kingdom was controlled by a network of local governors and kings who were forced into interdynastic marriages with Hitt. princesses. The international treaties drawn up between the Hitt. king and his vassals, which lay down all the rules for control, form the most complete source for reconstructing this system. The management of the state and territory of the kingdom of Ḫatti can be reconstructed from other sources. Of these, the Hitt. laws are fundamental for reconstructing the social system, based on an extended patriarchal family that owned the means of production. Land, instead, was managed by the sovereign, as shown by the documents regarding land grants in the Old Hitt. period. However, in the imperial period, certain families were given lands that were no longer inalienable, as shown, for example, by the grant of

lands belonging to Tutḫaliya IV to Šaḫurunuwa (CTH, 255). Important evidence for the management of power comes from the texts concerning oaths and instructions that bind social classes, officials and individuals to the king in a comprehensive way.

The fall of the kingdom of Ḫatti occurred at the end of the 13th cent. for reasons that are not yet clear. The empire was involved in the social, political and economic crisis marking the final phase of the LBA. From the second half of the 13th cent., the demand for wheat by Egypt and the Egypt. governorship of Canaan (CANANITES) intensifies. Cereals are brought to the ports of Ugarit and Mukiš and then sold in Anatolian ports. The texts concerning this trade also mention the Phoen. cities of *Akko and *Tyre. The last sovereign known to us from written sources, Šuppiliuma II, who conquered *Cyprus (Alašiya), left inscriptions and monuments in Hattuša, and several cuneiform texts celebrate his military enterprises.

The hieroglyphic inscriptions include one by Nisantaš, which records the conquest of the island of Cyprus and corresponds to the cuneiform text KBo 12.38, part of which also commemorates the exploits of Šuppiliuma's father, Tutḫaliya IV. Another inscription, found in Room 2 of the Südburg, refers both to military exploits and to the building of monuments. When the Hitt. capital was abandoned, sources from that site cease and the centre of power appears to move towards the S, in the region of Karkemiš, where the dynasty seems to continue. The seal of King Kuzi-Tešub, son of Talmi-Tešub, who lived in the period of the last kings of Ḫattuša, bears the title of Great King, which in the imperial period was reserved for the king of Ḫatti.

Hawkins, J. D. (1988) *AnSt*, 48, 1-31; De Martino, S. (1995) *L'Anatolia occidentale nel medio regno ittita*. Eothen 5. Florence; Klengel, H. (1999) *Geschichte des hethitischen Reiches*. HdO I/34. Leiden/Boston/Köln; Singer, I. (1999) A political history of Ugarit. In: Watson, W. G. E. and Wyatt, N. (eds) *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. HdO I/39. Leiden/Boston/Köln, 603-733; *Ausstellungskatalog* (2002): *Die Hethiter. Das Volk der 1000 Götter vom 18. Januar bis 28. April 2002 in der Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle in Bonn*. Stuttgart; De Martino, S. (2002) *Gli Ittiti*. Rome; Guidotti, M. C. and Pecchioli Daddi, F. (eds) (2002) *La battaglia di Qadesh. Ramesse II contro gli Ittiti per la conquista della Siria*. Florence; Singer, I. (2002) New evidence on the end of the Hittite Empire. In: Oren, E. O. (ed.) *The Sea Peoples and their world: A reassessment*. Philadelphia; Singer, I. (2002) *La Siria dopo la battaglia di Qadesh*. In: Guidotti, M. C. and Pecchioli Daddi, F. (eds) cit., 198f.; Melchert, H. C. (ed.) (2003) *The Luwians*. HdO I/68. Leiden/Boston/Köln; Bryce, T. (2005) *The kingdom of the Hittites*. Oxford; Seeher, J. (2006³) *Hattuscha-Führer. Ein Tag in der hethitischen Hauptstadt*. Istanbul; Klinger, J. (2007) *Die*

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G. TORRI

HODIUS

Gk Ὅδιος.

Pythagorean philosopher who was active in *Carthage probably during the 4th cent. BCE, together with ANTHES, LEOCRITUS and MILTIADES (Iamb. *VP* 36,267).

Huss, W. (1985), 505; Geus, K. (1994), 11.172f.198f.

G. MINUNNO

HURRIANS

A people of unknown ethnic origin, predominantly located in north. Mesopotamia, *Syria and in what is now south-east. Turkey.

Written sources for the reconstruction of their history and culture date between the end of 3rd and the end of 2nd mill. BCE. The existence of this people in the Middle and Late Bronze Ages was discovered during excavations at the site of El Amarna (Akhetaton: *Tell el-Amarna) in *Egypt, the capital of pharaoh Amenophis IV, thanks to the discovery of a 14th cent. letter in Hurrian (EA 24) addressed by Tušratta, the king of Mittani, to Amenophis III. The Hurrian language is agglutinative and ergative in nature and is written by means of a system of cuneiform script that exhibits the ductus and scribal conventions of the places where the texts were found.

In the Bible (*Old Testament) (Gen 36,1-30) there is a reference to a woman, one of Esau's descendants, called Olibama, daughter of Anah, son of Zibeon the Hurrian, as well as another reference to the sons of Seir the Hurrian (*Hōrī*). In this case it may be a reminiscence of Egypt. *ḫr-* used in the II mill. to indicate the N, i.e. the region of Canaan and Palestine. In the *Letter of Mittani* (EA 24) the word *ḫurroge* occurs which has a geographical meaning. In the texts from the kingdom of Ḫatti (→HITTITES), the term *ḫurla-* is used to denote an inhabitant of Ḫurri and *ḫurlili* is an adverb denoting texts or inserted texts written in Hurrian. The term for the people derives from the toponym KUR ^{URU}Ḫurri, "Land of Hurri", which occurs in LB Hitt. sources and is used to indicate the region of upper Syria which in the II mill. was occupied by the kingdom of Mittani. This territorial unit controlled north. Syria from the second half of the 16th cent. and would become subject to the kingdom of Ḫatti in the 14th cent. Then it comes under Ass. control (13th cent.). The dynasty of the kingdom of Mittani, apparently Indo-Aryan in origin, is established by the formation of this state following the fall of the Syrian kingdom of Yamḥad. Today, the *Letter of Mittani* (EA 24) is the most important document for reconstructing the Hurrian language and it is the only text we know that definitely comes from the chancellery of the kingdom of Mittani, whose capital city, Wašukanni (Tell Fecheriyeh), has not yet been excavated. The letter provides evidence for the diplomatic relations between the Mittanian king Tušratta and Pharaoh Amenophis III, and consists of 500 lines entirely in Hurrian.

The earliest document in Hurrian is the foundation inscription for the temple of *Nergal by Tiš-atal, *endan* of Urkeš (Tell Mozan). The stone tablet, held between the paws of a bronze lion, is dated to the Ur III period (2000-1950). Other documents in Hurrian or with Hurrian personal names come from Tell Hariri (Mari), Babylon, Yorghana Tepe (Nuzi), Tell Atchana (*Alalakh) and Tell Brak (Nagar). At *Ugarit some texts in Hurrian and in the cuneiform script have been found, among them a lexical list in Sum. and Hurrian belonging to the series ḪAR-*ra* = *ḫubullu* as well as multilingual vocabularies. These have enabled us to establish the meanings of many Hurrian terms thanks to their direct correspondence with words in Sumerian, Akkadian and Ugaritic. A lexical list with one column in Hurrian has been found at Tell Meskene (Emar).

Some documents in Hurrian found in Ugarit were written in the local alphabetic script. Finally, texts in Hurrian come from the site of Tell Mishrife (*Qatna) and were found in recent years. A large number of texts in Hurrian were found in deposits of Hitt. texts. The Hurrians are mentioned already in documents from the ancient Hitt. kingdom in the period of Ḫattušili I, both in his annals and in the letter from the Hitt. king to Tunip-Tešup, king of Tikunani. However, most of the documents in Hurrian from Ḫattuša are religious, ritual and mythological. The tablets, often fragmentary, have reached us both in Hurrian and in Hittite. In the case of magic rituals, many of the texts have a prescriptive section in Hittite, into which are inserted formulae, incantations and invocations in Hurrian. The mythological texts are either genuinely Hurrian, such as the *Cycle of Kumarpi*, a set of compositions describing the battle by the *Storm-God against other deities to affirm his supremacy, or Mesopot. in origin such as the *Epic of Gilgameš*, a Mesopot. poem that the HITTITES seem to have adopted through the H. In spite of clear Hurrian influence, we still cannot fully understand the relationship between the versions of these texts in the original language, often badly preserved and not always comprehensible, and their Hitt. adaptations which could have been made through a tradition that was not only written but also oral, were transmitted by Hurrian singers present at the Hitt. court. It is thought that these texts reached the capital with the conquest of the Kingdom of Kizzuwatna, a south. region of Anatolia close to the Taurus mountains and strongly steeped in Hurrian culture, when Hitt. politics insisted on closer relations with Syria, which culminated in the 15th cent. with the defeat of Aleppo by Tuḫaliya II. He was the Hitt. king who gave a strong impulse to the use of Hurrian cultic tradition. The recent publication of a number of texts from the Turkish site of Ortaköy, which can be identified as the city of Šapinuwa, built by Tuḫaliya II, has brought to light the strong similarity between the ritual texts of Ḫattuša and of Šapinuwa. Of special importance is the reconstruction of new parts of the *itkalzi* ritual, intended for the royal couple Tašmišarri and Taduḫepa (Tuḫaliya II and his second wife). Of particular value for the reconstruction of the Hurrian language but also of Hurrian culture in the II mill. and its penetration into Ḫattuša, is the so-called *Song of Liberation* (ŠĪR para tarnummaš). This bilingual composition, in Hurrian with a Hitt.

translation, is mainly an account of the fall of *Ebla at the time of Ḫattušili I and Muršili I, kings of Hatti. It also has a mythical section, most certainly connected to that historical event, which describes the descent of the Storm-God, Tešub, into the netherworld, where he attends a banquet organized by the goddess Allani. Some parables in a wisdom setting complete the composition. The tablets discovered in excavations of the capital are in the script of the 15th cent., a period when this composition could in fact have been brought to Ḫattuša and translated into the local language. More recently, texts in Hurrian have also been found in Kayalıpınar (now definitely to be identified as Šamuha). A new wave of influence from Hurrian culture at Ḫattuša is due to the definitive conquest of the kingdom of Mittani by the Hitt. king Šuppiluliuma I. In the 13th cent, queen Puduḫepa, consort of Ḫattušili III, would give the order to Walwaziti, the Chief Scribe of Ḫattuša, to compose the *ḫišu-wa*-Festival by reworking the texts from Kizzuwatna stored in the capital. The presence of deities of Hurrian origin in Hitt. religion culminated in the construction by king Tuḫaliya IV, in the same century, of the rock sanctuary of Yazılıkaya. In 'Room A' of Yazılıkaya, two processions of deities, male and female respectively, decorate the walls, meeting at the back wall where the Storm-God, Tešup, and the goddess Ḫepat stand facing each other. It is probably a depiction of the pantheon worshipped in this period by the royal family. Each deity is indicated by his or her Hurrian name, written in the Anat. hieroglyphic script. The LBA crisis and the fall of kingdoms west of the Euphrates mark the end of evidence relative to the culture of the H., even if elements of the language survive in the personal names and titles still used in the Neoass. period.

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G. TORRI

HYEMPSAS

Carthag. commander in Sil. *Pun.* 16,461. It is a by-form of HIEMPSAL.

Geus, K. (1994), 212.

HYKSOS

The name H. comes from the title *Hkꜣ-hꜣswt* (“Chief of foreign countries”), which the Egyptians gave to the leaders of Sem. populations. Manetho (*FGrHist* 609, fr. 8, 82) interpreted this term as *hik-šōs*, i.e. “Shepherd Kings”.

H. denotes the Syro-Palestinians who, taking advantage of the weakness of the country after a period of famine, ended the XIII and the XIV dynasties, retaining their title *Hkꜣ-hꜣswt* (Ryholt 302). They formed the XV dynasty (1650-1550 BCE) and their capital was Avaris in the north-east. region of the Nile Delta,

modern Tell el-Dab’a. The excavations carried out there by an Austrian archaeological mission, led by Manfred Bietak and now by Irene Forstner-Müller, have greatly expanded our knowledge, but it remains limited and controversial since the H. left no literary evidence and only a few of these kings handed down their inscribed names. Their power probably extended as far as *Hermopolis Magna and the Theban kings of the XVI and XVII dynasty would have been their tributaries. The H. adopted Egypt. culture and assumed Pharaonic titles, but their names clearly indicate their Sem. origins. The excavations at Tell el-Dab’a show a mix of Egypt. and Asiatic traditions (e.g. the pottery is 20%-40% Syro-Palest.). The main god of Avaris was Seth, the Egypt. form of *Baal. The many royal seals found in Syria-Palestine and Nubia – evidence of intensive trade with their neighbours – mostly date to the XV dynasty, which was also of Syro-Palest. origin. The seals found in Tunisia (Ryholt 366-367) and Spain (*Almuñécar: Ryholt 385) were in secondary sites.

Bietak, M. (1996) *Avaris: the capital of the Hyksos. Recent excavations at Tell el-Dab’a*. London; Oren, E. D. (1997) (ed.) *The Hyksos: New historical and archaeological perspectives*. Philadelphia; Ryholt, K. S. B. (1997) *The political situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period c. 1800-1550 B.C.* Copenhagen; Bourriau, J. D. (2003) The Second Intermediate Period. In: Shaw, I. (ed.) *The Oxford history of ancient Egypt*. Oxford, 172-206; Bietak, M. (2006) The predecessors of the Hyksos. In: Gitin, S., Wright, J. E. and Dessel, J. P. (eds) *Confronting the past: archaeological and historical essays on ancient Israel in honor of William G. Dever*. Winona Lake, 285-293; Forstner-Müller, I. and Müller, W. (2006) Versuch einer sozio-archäologischen Modellbildung anhand der materiellen Kultur Tell el-Dab’as. In: Czerny, E. et al. (eds) *Timelines: Studies in honour of Manfred Bietak*. OLA 149.1. Leuven, 93-102; Polz, D. (2007) *Der Beginn des Neuen Reiches. Zur Vorgeschichte einer Zeitenwende*. Berlin; Bietak, M. (2010) From where came the Hyksos and where did they go? In: Marée, M. (ed.) *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties). Current research, future prospects*. Leuven, 139-181; Mourad, A.-L. (2015) *Rise of the Hyksos: Egypt and the Levant from the Middle Kingdom to the early Second Intermediate Period*. Archaeopress Egyptology 11. Oxford; Redford, D. B. (2015) The Great Going Forth: The expulsion of West Semitic speakers from Egypt. In: Levy, Th. E. (ed.) *Israel's exodus in transdisciplinary perspective: text, archaeology, culture, and geoscience*. Cham, 437-445.

V. P.-M. LAISNEY

I

IA(C)HON

Name of a character in →PLAUTUS' *Poenulus*.

IBERIANS

Gk writers used the name of I. generically for all the inhabitants of Iberia, now the *Iberian Peninsula. More specifically, the name was applied to various peoples who inhabited the south. and east. coasts of the Iberian Peninsula after the 6th cent. BCE. The name 'Iberians' never denoted a single ethnic unit and under it we can recognize several specific ethnonyms, such as Ausetans, Indigetes, Ilergetes, Ilercavones, Edetanians, Contestanians, Oretanians, TURDETANIANS, etc. In historical and archaeological scholarship, the concept of 'Iberian culture' is commonly understood as the outcome of the historical development of the communities in the Mediterr. strip of the Iberian Peninsula and the S of France, from west. Andalusia to the Languedoc, between the 6th and 1st cent. This means that the I. comprise a wide group of communities having social and cultural elements in common. Some of the most significant of these are the *oppidum* as a form of settlement, their language and their artistry, all with regional differences. Nowadays, theories of migrations regarding the origin of the I. have been discarded and instead these communities are considered taking into account their local developments, and in the context of their Mediterr. relationships, chiefly the contact with the PHOENICIANS and Greeks who had settled in the S and E of the Peninsula.

Cruz Andreotti, G. (2002) *Mainake*, 24, 153-180; Ruiz, A. (2008) Iberos. In: Gracia Alonso, F. (ed.) *De Iberia a Hispania*. Barcelona, 733-844; Sánchez-Moreno, E. (2008) La Iberia mediterránea. In: *id.* (ed.) *Historia de España. II. Protohistoria y Antigüedad de la Península Ibérica. La Iberia prerromana y la Romanidad*. Madrid, 21-126.

M. ÁLVAREZ MARTÍ-AGUILAR

IDUS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 2,164.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36; Geus, K. (1994), 212.

IERTAS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 10,299. His name resembles Iartus/Irtus, which actually appears in inscriptions.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 19.36; NAN, 163.

ILERTES

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 3,255. His name may be a variant of IERTAS.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36.

ILI-MILKU

Akk. *I-li-mil-ki*, "Ilu is king" (or "The king is god" [?]). A messenger of ABIMILK of *Tyre mentioned in the Amarna letters (EA 151; cf. also EA 286) (*Tell el-Amarna).

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 238f.326f.; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 88f., no. 86; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna. 1. Le lettere dei "Piccoli Re"*. Brescia, 157f.

P. XELLA

ILI-RAPIH

Akk. *I-li-ra-pí-í*, "Ilu is my healer".

Prominent citizen of *Byblos mentioned in the Amarna letters (EA 128 [?].139-140) (*Tell el-Amarna).

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 225-227; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 88f., no. 86; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna. 1. Le lettere dei "Piccoli Re"*. Brescia, 240f.

P. XELLA

IMILCE

Her name is to be connected to the Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *hmlk(t)*. It appears in Latin without the initial aspiration.

Belonging to an Iberian noble family, I. was the wife of HANNIBAL (9), from whom she had a son whose name is unknown. At the beginning of the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), I. retired to *Carthage and her son was sacrificed to the gods at the suggestion of HANNO (18). According to modern criticism, this episode was probably invented, but even so it is not without cultural significance.

Sources: Liv. 34,41,7; Sil. *Pun.* 3,64-67.97-157; 4,774-807; 17,334.

PNPPI, 111-117; *NAN*, 67; Bruère, R. T. (1952) *CIPh*, 47, 219-227; Geus, K. (1994), 172f.; Fucecchi, M. (1992) *Maia*, 44, 45-54; Keith, A. M. (2010) Engendering Orientalism in Silius's *Punica*. In: Augoustakis, A. (ed.) *Brill's companion to Silius Italicus*. Leiden/Boston, 369-372.380f.

A. ERCOLANI

ΙΟΜΙΛΚΟΣ

Gk Ἰομίλκος, probably corresponding to the Phoen. theophoric PN *yhwmlk*, “May the king/(god) Mlk cause to live”.

A character named I. is mentioned in the inventories of *Delos as offering a golden myrtle crown in the sanctuaries of *Apollo and *Aphrodite. From the inventories he turns out to be “Carthaginian” (*karchedonios*) as well as “king” (*basileus*); as a consequence, it has been hypothesized that he was a Carthag. Suffete (→*Suffetes) during the 4th-3rd cent. BCE. Since the name *yhwmlk* is not found in the Pun. world, however, E. Lipiński has proposed that I. was one of the last sovereigns of the *Carthage of Cyprus (Qarthadasht) around the mid-4th cent.

PNPPI, 308f.; Masson, O. (1979) *Semitica*, 29, 53-57; Lipiński, E. (1983) La Carthage de Chypre. In: *StPhoen* 1-2, 209-234, esp. 219-221; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński).

G. MINUNNO

ΙΦΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ

Gk Ἰφικράτης.

Athenian general (ca 418-353 BCE), known for his innovations in hoplite weaponry and armour. In 374 Artaxerxes II, king of the PERSIANS, anticipating the campaign to recapture *Egypt, put him together with Pharnabazus at the head of an expeditionary army massed at *Akko (Diod. 15,41,3; Nep. *Iphicr.* 2,4).

On that occasion, Polyaeus (3,9,63) records the successful attacks by I. and his fleet against the coasts of *Phoenicia, perhaps solely for training purposes.

Elayi, J. (2005) *ʿAbdʾaštar Ier/Straton de Sidon: un roi phénicien entre Orient et Occident*. Suppl. to *Trans.* 12. Paris, 59f.; Ruzicka, S. (2012) *Trouble in the West: Egypt and the Persian Empire, 525-332 BC*. Oxford, 99-110.

U. LIVADIOTTI

ISRAEL

The name I. occurs for the first time in Pharaoh Merenptah's inscription on the Israel-stela of 1209 BCE. There the term “Israel” is used as an ethnic name, even if that does not exclude a geographical label. There is no consensus on the etymology and meaning of the name I.

Israel can be located in the Ephraim mountains between the Jezreel plain in the N and the mountains of JUDAH in the S. In this area, between the end of the 13th and the 11th cent. BCE, more and more settlements appeared, due to the deurbanization in the Amarna period (*Tell el-Amarna) and the resulting resettlement of the mountainous region.

A first political unification of this area took place under king Saul in the late 11th or early 10th cent. This new political consolidation, which continued under Jeroboam I (926-907), was attacked by Pharaoh Sheshonq I (946/945-924) in a campaign against I., ca 925, which he was unable to stop. Subsequently, I. was able to expand its territory in the W to the Mediterranean and in the E beyond the Jordan. Temporarily, the Jezreel plain formed the north. border of I., which, however, was extended to *Hazor and beyond in the Omrid period. In the S I. reached as far as Bethel. Under the rule of the Omrides (ca 882-845), I. was at the height of its power (1 Kgs 16,23 – 2 Kgs 9). This is evident from the fact that, from then on, the ASSYRIANS called I. Bīt Ḥumri and OMRI (882/878-871) married his son AHAB (871-852) to JEZEBEL, a princess from *Sidon (1 Kgs 16,31). Furthermore, the Omrids occupied large parts of the east. Jordan. In the north. part of East Jordan, the fortress of Tell er-Rumeith was built, which secured the border with Aram-Damascus and protected the north. part of the King's Highway. In the south. part of east. Jordan, Israelite territory was extended to the river Arnon at the expense of Moab (*KAI* 181,4-21) (→MOABITES). Here the typical Omrid fortress architecture in Jahaz

and Atharot is highlighted, fortresses that protected the Moab border. In addition, the kingdom of JUDAH was in temporary dependence on I. The military and economic power of the Omride kingdom is also confirmed by the fact that in the battle of Qarqar (853) against SHALMANESER III, Ahab was in command of the largest contingent of chariots of all the participants, in addition to 10,000 foot soldiers. Presumably Ahab led a sub-coalition of forces from Judah, south. *Phoenicia and the Transjordan area. Subsequently however, king Hazael of Damascus (ca 843-803) sought access to the Mediterranean, conquered and destroyed some important cities in I. (including Dan, Hazor, *Megiddo, Yokneam and Taanach) and brought the Nimshide dynasty to power in 845. A renewed economic and political climax of I. developed under king Jeroboam II (787-747). He was able to recapture the area of Hazor and Dan (*Tel Dan), to extend the borders of I. in the N as far as Labwe in the *Beqa', to bring Bashan under his control and to consolidate his rule in east. Jordan (2 Kgs 14, 23-29). This was the largest expansion of I., mainly due to the weakness of Aram-Damascus. Through the caravan station of *Kuntillet-ʿAjrud or *Eilat, together with the PHOENICIANS of Tyre, I. operated trade routes as far as Africa, and received goods such as ivory or gold. In addition, the Mediterr. fleet should be mentioned, by means of which – again partly in cooperation with Tyre – trade relations were maintained even as far as *Tartessus (→TARTESSIANS) in the Iberian Peninsula (1 Kgs 10,22 and 2 Chr 9,21 [erroneously attributed to SOLOMON]; Isa 2,16; 23,1-14; 60,9; 66,19; Jer 10,9; Ezek 27,12; 38,13; Jonah 1,3; 4,2; Ps 48,8; 72,10).

In the second half of the 8th cent., the Assyrians reduced the kingdom of I. to a rump state around the capital, Samaria, by establishing the provinces of Dor, Megiddo and Gilead. In 720, after the battle of Qarqar, I. was annexed to the Ass. empire by SARGON II (722-705) and continued to exist as the province Samerina (2 Kgs 17,3-6; 18,9-11). Some of the inhabitants of Samaria and I. fled to Judah and *Jerusalem and from there to *Egypt, where their descendants can be found as late as the 5th cent. in the military colony of *Elephantine. With these refugees from I., the cult of the original Phoen. god Baʿalšamayin (*Baalshamem), as well as the cults of *Bethel and *Anat-Bethel came to Elephantine via I. In Samerina people from *Babylon, Kutha and Hamath were settled (2 Kgs 17,24).

Clearly there were transregional contacts in the monarchical period. I. was surrounded by Phoen. royal cities in the N, Aram-Damascus in the NE, the AMMONITES and Moabites in the E, Judah in the S, and the PHILISTINES in the SW. Contacts with other surrounding powers and cultures arose through the ports in I.: *Akzib (temporarily in possession of the Phoenicians), *Akko, Gat-Carmel, Dor (temporarily also in possession of the Phoenicians) and *Jaffa, from which Mediterr. trade was operated with Phoenicia, *Cyprus, *Anatolia, the *Aegean, Tartessus and Egypt. Of traffic routes, first of all the *via maris* must be mentioned. This was from Egypt via Philistine Gaza, along the coast through the Shephelah and the Sharon Valley and partly through *Mount Carmel. A west. branch of the *via maris* led to Tyre, an east. branch to *Galilee and through the Beqa' to inner *Syria. The south. W-E connection ran from Samaria via Shechem and Tirza across the Jordan to Heshbon. The north. W-E connection led to the Jordan and Pella through the Jezreel plain via Beth-Shean. These two crossroads led to the King's Highway in Jordan, which connected Eilat with Damascus and in turn had absorbed the incense road. With the *via maris* and the King's Highway there were connections for legations, merchants, caravans and armies. Through the Beqa' there were contacts with the ARAMAEANS of inner Syria, especially to Hamath. As a consequence, I. was also exposed to external cultural influence in the time of the kings. The alphabetic script came from the Phoenicians, then purple and ivory were brought to them, or their own ivory art was inspired from Phoenicia, as well as influences on architecture and ceramics. The presence of Phoenicians is indicated by the fact that from the 10th cent., at various places in I. and in the Israelite trading centre of Kuntillet-ʿAjrud, Phoen. inscriptions have been found. Votive inscriptions, administrative texts, funerary inscriptions, property notices as well as school exercises and letters are represented. Further cultural and economic contacts with the HITTITES in the late 2nd mill., as well as with the LUWIANS in inner Syria are evident. Then there were also economic contacts between I. and Arabia via the King's Highway through the Ammonites and via Wadi Sirhan. Both these connections were important for the trade in spices, frankincense and camels.

After 720, Tyre was able to extend its sphere of influence as far as Mount Carmel. The treaty between ESARHADDON and king BAAL I (1) of Tyre (676)

(→TREATIES) allowed the latter to make use of the trade routes and port cities of Akko and Dor, as well as the ports in Philistine territory (SAA II No. 5, 18-27).

For the Pers. period, there are Phoen. shrines in I. at Mišpe (*Har Mizpe Yammim), Dor and elsewhere. The inscription on the sarcophagus of king ESHMUN-AZOR II (2) of Sidon mentions Dor and Jaffa in the Sharon Plain as gifts of the Pers. king to the Sidonians (KAI 14,13-20), since they supported his Egypt. campaign of 525 BCE.

There is evidence for a Phoen. colony in Shechem from the Achaemenid period. According to Josephus (AJ 11,340-347; 12,257-264), the Samaritans, later referred to this background by distinguishing the Jews from the “Sidonians in Shechem”. According to 1 Mac 5,14ff., the inhabitants of Ptolemais, Tyre and Sidon, as well as the non-Jews from Galilee, had invaded Jewish territories in Galilee, but were repulsed by the Maccabees (1 Mac 5,21-23). Phoen. inscriptions are documented until the 1st cent. CE.

Weippert, M. (1976-1980) Israel und Juda. In: *RIA* 5, 200-208; Delavault, B. and Lemaire, A. (1979) *RSF*, 7, 1-39; Koch, M. (1984) *Tarschisch und Hispanien*. Berlin; Ahlström, G. W. (1986) *Who were the Israelites*. Winona Lake; Weippert, H. (1988) *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit*. Munich; Lipiński, E. (ed.) (1991) *StPhoen* 11; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1992) *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*. OLA 46 = *StPhoen* 12; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Becking, B. (1993) *The fall of Samaria*. SHANE 2. Leiden; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1995) Syro-Palestine et Jordanie. In: Krings, V. (1995), 583-596; Kamlah, J. (1999) *ZDPV*, 115, 163-190; Finkelstein, I. (2000) *ZDPV*, 116, 114-138; Yamada, S. (2000) *The construction of the Assyrian Empire. A historical study of the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 B.C.) relating to his campaigns to the West*. CHANE 3. Leiden/Boston; Stern, E. (ed.) (2001) *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible II. The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian periods 732-332 BCE*. New York; Aubet, M. E. (2002²) *The Phoenicians and the West. Politics, colonies and trade*. Cambridge, 159-211.256-346; Zwickel, W. (2002) *Einführung in die biblische Landes- und Altertumskunde*. Darmstadt; Franklin, N. (2003) *ZDPV*, 119, 1-11; Niehr, H. (2003) *Ba'alšamem*. OLA 123 = *StPhoen* 17. Leuven, 185-213; Retsö, J. (2003) *The Arabs in antiquity. Their history from the Assyrians to the Umayyads*. London/New York, 136-147.212-234; Lipiński, E. (2004) *Itineraria Phoenicia*. OLA 127 = *StPhoen* 18. Leuven/Paris/Dudley, 302-330; Liwak, R. (2004) Israel und Juda. In: Eder, W. and Renger, J. (eds) *Herrscherchronologien der antiken Welt*. DNPS 1. Stuttgart/Weimar, 55-58; Killebrew, A. E. (2005) *Biblical peoples and ethnicity. An archaeological study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel 1300-1100 B.C.E.* Leiden/Boston; Liverani, M. (2006⁵) *Oltre la Bibbia*. Rome/Bari; Miller, J. M. and Hayes, J. H. (2006²) *A history of Ancient Israel and Judah*. Philadelphia; Bagg, A. (2007) *RGTC* 7/1, 50f.221; Niehr, H. (2008) Phoenician cults in Palestine after 586 B.C.E. in: Cornelius, I. and Jonker, L. (eds) *From Ebla to Stellenbosch. Syro-Palestinian*

religions and the Hebrew Bible. ADPV 37. Wiesbaden, 13-24; Stern, E. (2008) (ed.) *The new Encyclopedia of archaeological excavations in the Holy Land*. 1-5. London/Washington; Witte, M. and Diehl, J. F. (eds) (2008) *Israeliten und Phönizier*. OBO 235. Fribourg/Göttingen; Merlo, P. (2009) *La religione dell'Antico Israele*. Rome; Finkelstein, I. and Lipschits, O. (2010) *ZDPV*, 126, 29-42; Weippert, M. (2010) *Historisches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*. GAT 10. Göttingen; Finkelstein, I. (2011) *VT*, 61, 227-242; Berlin, A. M. and Frankel, R. (2012) *BASOR*, 366, 25-78; Hasegawa, S. (2012) *Aram and Israel during the Jehu dynasty*. BZAW 434. Berlin/New York; Meshel, Z. (ed.) (2012) *Kuntitled 'Ajrud (Horvat Teman). An Iron Age II religious site on the Judah-Sinai border*. Jerusalem; Elayi, J. (2013) *Histoire de la Phénicie*. Paris; Finkelstein, I. (2013) *Le Royaume biblique oublié*. Paris; Finkelstein, I. (2013) *Maarav*, 20.1, 13-25; Lemaire, A. (2013) *Semitica*, 55, 75-81; Liwak, R. (2013) *Israel in der altorientalischen Welt*. Berlin/New York, 152-162; Na'aman, N. (2013) *Maarav* 20.1, 39-51; Niehr, H. (2013) *Maarav* 20.1, 27-38; Berlejung, A. (2014) *Palestine*. In: Niehr, H. (ed.) (2014) *The Aramaeans in ancient Syria*. HdO 106. Leiden/Boston, 339-365; Rohrmoser, A. (2014) *Götter, Tempel und Kult der Judäo-Aramäer von Elephantine*. AOAT 396. Münster; Steiner, M. and Killebrew, A. E. (eds) (2014) *The Oxford Handbook of the archaeology in the Levant c. 8000-332 BCE*. Oxford; Lemaire, A. (2015) *Levantine epigraphy and history in the Achaemenid period (539-332 BCE)*. Oxford; Niemann, H. M. (2015) *History of Ancient Israel, archaeology, and Bible. Collected essays. Geschichte Israels, Archäologie und Bibel. Gesammelte Aufsätze*. AOAT 418. Münster, 91-369; Niehr, H. (2015) Israel. In: Wittke, A.-M. (ed.) *Frühgeschichte der Mittelmeerkulturen. Historisch-archäologisches Handbuch*. Stuttgart/Weimar, 697-702; Sader, H. (2015) Phönizische Städte. In: Wittke, A.-M. (ed.) cit., 668-693, esp. 681-683; Hensel, B. (2016) *Juda und Samaria*. DNPS 10. Tübingen; Dušek, J. (2017) Languages and scripts of Samaria in the Persian and Hellenistic periods. In: Hübner, U. and Niehr, H. (eds) *Sprachen in Palästina im 2. und 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* ADPV 43. Wiesbaden, 121-151, esp. 131f.; Renz, J. and Röhl, W. (2017²) *Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik* 1-3. Darmstadt; *EBR*, 15, 2017, 286-291 (A. Maeir); Sergi, O. and Gadot, Y. (2017) *JNES*, 76, 103-111; Xella, P. (2017) Phoenician inscriptions in Palestine. In: Hübner, U. and Niehr, H. (eds) cit., 153-169; Zwickel, W. (2017) *Settlement history around the Sea of Galilee from the Palaeolithic to the Persian period*. ÄAT 86. Münster; Niehr, H. (i.p.) The relations between the Kingdoms of Hamath and Israel (10th to 8th centuries BC). In: Berlejung, A. and Maeir, A. (eds) *Dependency and autonomy in intercultural relations: Israel and Aram as a case study*. Tübingen.

H. NIEHR

ITHEMON

Commander of the Autololes (a Gaetulian tribe: →GAETULI) in the army of HANNIBAL (9) at the battle of Lake Trasimeno in Sil. *Pun.* 5,545ff. The name actually occurs as Itamonis.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 36; *NAN*, 69f. (s.v. “Itamonis”).

A. ERCOLANI

ITTOBAAL

Phoen. theophoric PN, *'tb'l*, “Baal is with him” or “Baal is with me”, or else “Together with Baal”, depending on the vocalizations occurring in adaptations to other languages and scripts (Akk. *¹Tu-ba-il*, *¹Tu-ba-a'-lu*, of *Tyre and *Sidon respectively; Hebr. *'tb'l* (‘Etba’al); Gk *Ἰθo/ὠβάλος*, of Tyre; Lat. *Ithibalis*).

PNPPI, 73.281.288-290.

1. I. is a king of *Byblos, generally dated to about 1000 BCE, the father of AHIROM. He is the person who commissioned the funerary inscription on the famous sarcophagus (*KAI* 1 = *TSSI* III, 4), the date of which is still debated (cf. Ahirom). His name, the beginning of which (only one sign according to M. Dunand, its first editor) is missing, has been reconstructed by R. G. Lehmann as *plsb'l* (vocalized as *Pulsiba'l* or *Pilsiba'l*). These scholars consider him to be an usurper. The reconstruction remains hypothetical.

2. I. I is a king of Tyre/Sidon in the 9th cent. BCE, mentioned in the *Old Testament as the father of JEZEBEL, the wife of king AHAB of ISRAEL (1 Kgs 16, 31). He is also mentioned by Josephus (*Ap.* 1,123; *AJ* 8,317.324; 9,138) as a priest of *Astarte (→*Priesthood), who seized the throne after assassinating his father. Based on Menander of Ephesus, Josephus says that he was the founder of Bothrys (*Batroun) in *Phoenicia and of Auza in Libya. Josephus also attributes to him either the kingdom Tyre or the kingdom of both Tyre and Sidon (*AJ* 1,123; 8,324 and 8,317; 9,138 respectively). Based on this last reference and on *KAI* 31 = *TSSI* III, 17,

which mentions HIRAM – called the king of Tyre in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser – as king of Sidon, a Phoen. state has been reconstructed that united Tyre and Sidon between the second half of the 9th and the second half of the 8th cent. ca.

3. I. II was a king of Tyre from the second half of the 8th cent., mentioned in a stela from Iran as paying tribute to TIGLATH-PILESER III.

PNA 3/II, 1328, s.v. “Tu-Ba'(a)lu” (1) (G. Van Buylaere).

4. I. was installed as king of Sidon by SENNACHERIB (after 701 BCE), who also granted the mainland territory of Tyre to him.

PNA 3/II, 1328, s.v. “Tu-Ba'(a)lu” (2) (G. Van Buylaere).

5. I. III was king of Tyre ca 590-573; he was king during NEBUCHADNEZZAR’s 13-month siege of that city (*Ap.* 1,156-159; *AJ* 10, 228), in about 585 BCE. Ezekiel’s oracles against Tyre and his lament for the fall of that city (Ezek 26-28) refer to these events.

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 81.129; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1992) *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d’Israël et de Juda*. OLA 46 = *StPhoen* 12, esp. 15, fn. 43; 64.142-155; *DCPP*, s.v. (G. Bunnens); Corral, M. A. (2002) *Ezekiel’s Oracles against Tyre. Historical reality and motivations*. Biblica et Orientalia 46. Rome, esp. 57ff.; Lehmann, R. G. (2015) Wer war Aḥīrōms Sohn (*KAI* 1:1)? Eine kalligraphische-prosopographische Annäherung an eine epigraphisch offene Frage. In: Golinets, V. et al. (eds) *Neue Beiträge zur Semitistik. Fünftes Treffen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Semitistik in der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft vom 15.-17. Februar 2012 an der Universität Basel*. AOAT 425. Münster, 163-180.

M. G. AMADASI GUZZO

J

JEZEBEL

Hebr. *ʾyzbl*; Gk *Ἰεζάβελ*(ε); Phoen. *ʾyzbl* (which does not occur in inscriptions). Meaning uncertain. Daughter of ITTOBAAL (2), king of *Sidon, she married ACHAB, king of ISRAEL, according to the *Old Testament (1 Kgs 16,29-33; 18,4,19; 19,1-2; 21,25; 2 Kgs 9,30-37; cf. also Joseph. *Ap.* 1,18; *AJ* 8,13,1.7.8; 9,6,4), which portrays her as a fervent worshipper of *Baal and a fierce opponent of the cult of Yahweh. Possibly her name means “Where is the Prince?” (in fact, *zbl* is an epithet of Baal in *Ugarit and Sidon, where J. was born, and the god *Eshmun is also called “[holy] Prince” (*šr qdš*). The PN also appears as *yzbl* on a Hebr. seal.

Undoubtedly, the image of J. given in the Bible, involved in the tragic end of the Omride dynasty (→OMRI), is a stereotype: woman as both foreign (whom one should not marry) and idolatrous (in reality there must have been some form of religious pluralism). However, behind the late ideological re-evaluation there really was an historical alliance between the kingdom of Israel and the PHOENICIANS – already well established in *Akko and elsewhere in south. *Lebanon – which was profitable chiefly for commerce.

Avigad, N. (1965) *IEJ*, 14, 274-276; Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 146ff.; Soggin, J. A. (1981) *Iezabel, oder die fremde Frau*. In: Caquot, A. and Delcor, M. (eds) *Mélanges bibliques et orientaux en l'honneur de M. Henri Cazelles*. AOAT 212. Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn, 453-459; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1992) *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*. OLA 46 = StPhoen 12. Leuven, 63f.67.69-71; Liverani, M. (2003) *Oltre la Bibbia*. Rome/Bari, 124f.134f.

P. XELLA

JUBA

Pun. *ywb*(ʿ)y; Gk *Ἰό(υ)βα(ς)*; Lat. *Juba*; name of several Numid. princes.

NNPI, 179; HNPI, 337.

1. J. I. Son of HIEMPSAL II (2), from whom in the fifties of the 1st cent. BCE he inherited a vast king-

dom extending around the Rom. province of Africa, including the cities of Cirta (*Constantine), *Zama and *Leptis Magna. [FIG. 39]. When the civil war between Caesar and POMPEIUS broke out, in view of the old enmity which in previous years had made him opposed to Caesar and his faction, he took up arms alongside the supporters of Pompeius. In the summer of 49, he routed the troops of Curio that had landed in Africa (Caes. *Civ.* 2,23-44; App. *BC* 2,44-46; Dio Cass. 41,41-42). After the defeat at Pharsalus, with his support North Africa became the point for assembling and reorganizing the troops inimical to Caesar. However, when Caesar himself landed in Africa in the winter of 46, the invasion of J.'s kingdom by BOCCHUS II (2) and SITTIIUS forced the Numid. king to go back into his own territory and so become separated from the other Pompeian troops ([Caes.] *BAfr.* 24-25; App. *BC* 2,96; Dio Cass. 43,3). When finally the Numid. army rejoined the army of Metellus Scipio (CAECILII METELLI [3]), against Caesar, he tore them to pieces at Thapsus ([Caes.] *BAfr.* 80-86; Liv. *Peri-och.* 114; Plut. *Caes.* 53,2-7; Flor. 2,13,64-67; App. *BC* 2,96-97; Dio Cass. 43,8). J. sought refuge in Zama, but in vain: he committed suicide together with the Pompeian Petreius ([Caes.] *BAfr.* 91-94; Flor. 2,13,69; App. *BC* 2,100-101; Ampel. 38,1). After his death, east. Numidia was annexed by ROME and given the name *Africa Nova* (Dio Cass. 43,9,4).

Alföldi, A. (1959-1960) *SM*, 9, 1-5; McDermott, W. C. (1969) *Latomus*, 28, 858-862; Le Bohec, Y. (2010) *L'armée de la Numidie au temps de Juba Ier*. In: Fantar, M. H. and Ferjaoui, A. (eds) (2010) *Carthage et les autochtones de son empire du temps de Zama*. Tunis, 445-456.



Fig. 39. Silver *denarius* of Juba I (ca 50-46)

2. J. II. Son of J. I (1), king of Mauretania (→MAURI) from 25 BCE to 23 CE. [FIG. 40]. While still very young, in 46 BCE, after his father's defeat, he had to parade in Caesar's triumphal procession (Plut. *Caes.* 55). He was then brought up in Italy by the family of Octavianus, who after granting him Rom. citizenship, restored him to the North African throne left vacant by BOCCHUS (2) and BOGUD (2), and indeed, expanding the territory with part of Gaetulia (→GAETULI). J. married Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Marcus Antonius and Cleopatra (who was also brought up by the Augustan family), who bore him a son called Ptolemy, his successor on the throne. When Cleopatra Selene died in 6 CE, J. married Glaphyra, daughter of Archelaus of Cappadocia, whom he immediately divorced. J. transformed the small town of Iol (renamed *Caesarea*, present day *Cherchel) into a Hellenist. town, with a theatre and other monumental buildings. He also embellished *Volubilis. A lover of Gk culture and knowing Latin and Punic, he wrote several books on science, literary criticism and history (including a treatise called *Libyca*), all now lost, but which were highly valued by ancient writers (Plut. *Ant.* 36; Plin. *Nat.* 5,16). His rich art collection remained famous. According to Plinius (*Nat.* 6,201) J. set up factories for the production of *Purple at *Mogador. In the course of his long reign there were several local revolts, possibly due to the growing friction between the new farming methods and the traditional world of shepherds. Rom. troops contributed (especially in 21-20 BCE and then in 6 CE) decisively in putting down the rebellions. Perhaps J. also took part in operations against Tacfarinas. Probably in connection with his military successes, on some coins J. is portrayed wearing triumphal decorations. His most famous portrait is a bronze by Volubilis now in the Museum of Rabat (Inv. no. 146).



Fig. 40. Coin of Juba II (between 5 and 21)
(Iol-Caesarea)

Radnorthy-Alföldi, M. (1979) Die Geschichte des numidischen Königreiches und seiner Nachfolger. In: Horn, G. and Rüger, C. (eds) *Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara*. Stuttgart, 69-72; Fittschen, K. (1979) Juba II. und seine Residenz Iol/Caesarea (Cherchel). In: *ibid.*, 227-242; Leveau, P. (1984) *Caesarea de Maurétanie*. Rome, 13-24; Jodin, A. (1987) *Volubilis Regia Iubae*. Paris; Coltelloni-Trannoy, M. (1989) *Karthago*, 22, 45-53; Desanges, J. (1997) *AntAfr*, 33, 111-114; Roller, D. W. (2003) *The world of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene: Royal scholarship on Rome's African frontier*. New York/London; Landwehr, C. (2007) *RArch*, 65-110; Manfredi, L.-I. and Mezzolani Andreose, A. (eds) *Iside Punica. Alla scoperta dell'antica Iol-Caesarea attraverso le sue monete*. Bologna, *passim*.

3. A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 2,160.

U. LIVADIOTTI

JUDAH

Among the various kingdoms of *Palestine during the Amarna period (*Tell el-Amarna), the name 'Judah' is not yet mentioned. It can be found only in sources in the 1st mill. BCE. J. originally denotes a tribal union in the area around Hebron. After David had been king in Hebron for seven years, in the first half of the 10th cent. he conquered *Jerusalem (2 Sam 2,1-5,12), so that J. now encompassed the mountainous country between Hebron in the S and Jerusalem in the N [PLATE 3]. His son and successor SOLOMON consolidated the power. The *Old Testament texts on Solomon, however, are largely legendary (1 Kgs 1-11); he is never mentioned in extra-biblical sources. J.'s political boundaries were with the PHILISTINES in the W and ISRAEL in the N: its natural borders were with the Dead Sea in the E and the Negev in the S. The dynasty of David remained on the throne until the conquest of Jerusalem by NEBUCHADNEZZAR II (586), as also shown by J. being called *bt dwl* ("House of David") in the Aram. inscription of *Tel Dan (KAI 310,9) and in the Moabite inscription of king Mesha (KAI 181,32) (→MOABITES). While the Philistine coastal plain was dominated by important cities such as *Gaza, *Ashkelon, *Ashdod and Gat, and by their economic power, the east. Judean highlands instead had a more rural and peasant culture, inferior to that of the coastal plain.

After the Amarna period J. was reurbanized but at a slower pace than in ISRAEL in the same period. Above all, the capital Jerusalem is to be mentioned in this regard. The alleged personal union of the kingdoms

of J. and Israel under the rule of J. and Jerusalem represents a wishful image from the time of king Josiah (639-609), but not the historical reality of the 10th cent.

Under the Omrides (ca 882-845: →OMRI), J. was dynastically annexed to the N by the marriage of Omride Athaliah to the later king Joram (852-854) (2 Kgs 8,18) and was under Israel's supremacy, as proved by its participation in the campaigns led by Israel. According to the Mesha stela, J. also had temporary land ownership in Moab (KAI 181,31-32).

The political and economic dependence of J. on Israel continued until the time of Jeroboam II of Israel (787-747) and according to 2 Kgs 12,18-19 was interrupted only briefly by a dependence of J. under king Joash (840-801) and of Aram-Damascus under his king Hazael (843-803). In 734 king Ahaz of J. (736-725) called on the ASSYRIANS to assist him against the hostile coalition of Israel and *Damascus (2 Kgs 16,6-18), thus entering the first stage of vassalage to Assyria. King Hezekiah (725-697), however, wanted to free himself from the Ass. supremacy, which resulted in the siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrians under SENNACHERIB (704-681) in 701 (2 Kgs 18,13-19,37). Even though Jerusalem escaped conquest, a large part of J. came under Ass. or Philistine rule [FIG. 18]. Under king Manasseh (696-642) and king Amon (641-640), thanks to their loyalty to the Ass. rulers – Sennacherib (704-681), ESARHADDON (681-668) and ASHURBANIPAL (668-631) – there was a long period of peace and prosperity. When the Ass. empire fell, *Egypt tried to invade Palestine and *Syria. King Josiah (639-609) failed in his attempt to bring parts of the former Israel under his rule (2 Kgs 23,29). Nebuchadnezzar II (605-562) defeated the Egyptians at Karkemish in 605 and, as a consequence, the Neobab. empire was able to adopt the Ass. legacy.

In 594 delegates from Edom, Moab, Ammon, *Tyre and *Sidon met in Jerusalem to prepare an anti-Bab. coalition (Jer 27,3). After the failure of this meeting, the deposition of king Jehoiakim (598-597), his replacement by Zedekiah (597-586) and a first deportation by the BABYLONIANS (2 Kgs 24,1-25,7) followed. After the downfall of Zedekiah, Nebuchadnezzar II conquered Jerusalem, destroyed the city and deported the upper classes of J. in 586 (2 Kgs 24,8-25,21). The last Davidic king, Jehoiakim, was pardoned in 562 by the Bab. king Amēl-Marduk (562-560) (2 Kgs 25,27-30; Jer 52,31-34; 1 Chr 3,17).

J.'s political and natural limitations meant that the country had no Mediterr. ports and was only indirectly connected to major arteries, i.e. the *via maris* (accessible via the Philistine cities or Israel) and the King's Highway (accessible via Israel or the Ammonite region [→AMMONITES]). For this last connection, there was a road from Jerusalem through Jericho and across the Jordan to Heshbon. The main connection for traffic from S to N was from Hebron via Bethlehem to Jerusalem and from there to Sichem or to *Samaria. As a result, on the one hand J. found itself commercially dependent on its neighbours, but on the other hand it was protected from the passage of large enemy armies due to the small number of through routes.

Furthermore, under Jeroboam II of Israel (787-747) J. was involved in trade to Africa via *Kuntillet-ʿAjrud and Eilat (1 Kgs 9,26-28; 22,48-49). After the fall of Israel and its annexation as an Ass. province (720), many inhabitants of the former north. kingdom came to J. and Jerusalem, and settled there, bringing their traditions with them. Here the Jacob cycle, the traditions of the Exodus, the stories of Saul and the Judges, as well as the Prophetic books of Amos and Hosea can be mentioned. The name 'Israel' could be used in Jerusalem to denote the common past of both kingdoms. All this provided the basis for creating the ideal of a 'Biblical Israel'. Since the final editor of the OT was also from post-exilic Jerusalem, the primacy of J. and Jerusalem dominates in many of its books.

During its royal period, J. had political, cultural and economic contacts with Egypt, the PHILISTINES and the Transjordan kingdoms of Ammon, Moab and Edom, as well as north. Arabia across the Negev. Confirmation of relations with *Cyprus and the *Aegean is provided by the mention of the KITTIM (derived from *Kition) in the Arad ostraca and in the OT (Gen 10,4; Num 24,24; Isa 23,1.12f.; Jer 2,10; Ezek 27,6). Particularly noteworthy are the contacts with *Phoenicia, from where, thanks to the mediation of Israel, the Phoen. script, cedar, metal and luxury goods (metalwork, ivory, purple) came to J. The exported goods from J. mentioned in the OT, e.g. wheat, honey, wax, olives, almonds, mastic (Gen 43,11; 1 Kgs 5,25, Ezek 27,6.17, etc.), which contrast sharply with the importation of raw materials and luxury goods, illustrate J.'s insignificance in the context of Levantine trade relations. Particularly striking is the limited number of Phoen. inscriptions in J. during the monarchical period.

According to the relevant information (1 Kgs 5,15-6,38; 7,13-51), the temple in Jerusalem, as yet not documented by archaeology, reveals influence from Phoenicia (throne with cherubs) and North Syria, in both its construction and equipment. Noteworthy is its architectural similarity with the two temples of Tell Tayinat (*Building II* and *Building XVI*) on the Orontes and the temple of ʿAyn Dara in North Syria. Finds of proto-Aeolian capitals, also demonstrating Phoen. influence, may come from SOLOMON's palace (see 1 Kgs 7,1-12), also as yet not identified by archaeology. The Ramat Rahel palace, which resembles a smaller version of the Samaria palace (8th-7th cent.) – with its proto-Aeolian capitals and balustrades from strata VA and VB – is also proof of Phoen. cultural influence on Judah, which was transmitted via Samaria. On the other hand, the mention of child sacrifices and the *tophet in 7th cent. Jerusalem under king Manasseh (2 Kgs 23,10, Jer 7,30f.; 19,6.11-14) is based neither on Phoen. cultural influence nor on actual practice, but reflects the polemic of the Deuteronomistic Writer.

As a result of the conquest of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar II (586) and the fall of the kingdom of J., the advance of PHOENICIANS, Philistines, EDOMITES and Ammonites right to the core of J. is evident. The inscription on the sarcophagus of king ESHMUN-AZOR II of Sidon mentions the transfer of *Dor and *Jaffa in the Sharon Plain as the Pers. king's reward to the Sidonians (*KAI* 14,13-20), who had supported his Egypt. campaign of 525.

During the Achaemenid period (→PERSIANS), the influence of the Phoenicians extended to Jerusalem, where they appear as merchants (Neh 13,16). Possibly the name "Tyropoeon" given to the Central Valley in Jerusalem goes back to Tyrian traders. On the other hand, the mention of Sidonians and Tyrians as suppliers of cedar wood for the construction of the Second Temple in Ezra 3,7 is devoid of any historical basis, as it suggests a connection to the one built by Solomon mentioned in 1 Kgs 5,20-28 and 1 Kgs 6. According to post-exilic Psalm 45, Tyre delivers gifts to the king of J. on the occasion of his wedding (cf. 13a). Furthermore, Phoen. colonies have been found in *Lachish and in Marissa. Basically, however, the image of Phoenicians in post-exilic J. had been damaged (Ezek 27,1-28,23; Zech 9,2-4), made worse by Phoenicians penetrating into J. and accused of being deceiving traffickers (Joel 4,4-8; Amos 1,9).

The last traces of Phoen. influence in J. date from the 1st cent. BCE. until the 1st cent. CE and are provided by finds of Tyrian didrachms and tetradrachms in Jerusalem and J., which were highly valued for their unchanging silver content and therefore preferred for the payment of temple tax.

- Ben-David, A. (1969) *Jerusalem und Tyros*. Basel/Tübingen; Müller, H.-P. (1970-1971) *WO*, 6, 189-204; *RIA* 5, 1976-1980, s.v. "Israel und Juda", 200-208 (M. Weippert); Delavault, B. and Lemaire, A. (1979) *RSF*, 7, 1-39; Weippert, H. (1988) *Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit*. Munich; StPhoen 11; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1992) *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*. OLA 46 = StPhoen 12; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Bieberstein, K. and Bloedhorn, H. (1994) *Jerusalem. Grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft*. BTAVO 100/1-3. Wiesbaden; Willi, T. (1995) *Juda-Jehud-Israel*. FAT 12. Tübingen; Ådna, J. (1999) *Jerusalem Tempel und Tempelmarkt im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* ADPV 25. Wiesbaden, 96-118; Carter, C. E. (1999) *The emergence of Yehud in the Persian period*. JSOT SS 294. Sheffield; Stern, E. (ed.) (2001) *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible II. The Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian periods 732-332 BCE*. New York; Finkelstein, I. (2002) *ZDPV*, 138, 109-135; Zwickel, W. (2002) *Einführung in die biblische Landes- und Altertumskunde*. Darmstadt; Retsö, J. (2003) *The Arabs in antiquity. Their history from the Assyrians to the Umayyads*. London/New York, 136-147.212-234; Lipiński, E. (2004) *Itineraria Phoenicia*. OLA 127 = StPhoen 18. Leuven/Paris/Dudley, 493-545; Liwak, R. (2004) Israel und Juda. In: Eder, W. and Renger, J. (eds) *Herrscherchronologien der antiken Welt*. DNPS 1. Stuttgart/Weimar, 55-58; Killebrew, A. E. (2005) *Biblical peoples and ethnicity. An archaeological study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel 1300-1100 B.C.E.* Leiden/Boston; Lipschits, O. and Oeming, M. (eds) (2006) *Judah and the Judeans in the Persian period*. Winona Lake; Liverani, M. (2006⁵) *Oltre la Bibbia*. Rome/Bari; Miller, J. M. and Hayes, J. H. (2006²) *A history of ancient Israel and Judah*. Philadelphia; Küchler, M. (2007) *Jerusalem*. OBO 235. Göttingen; Lipschits, O., Knoppers, G. N. and Albertz, R. (eds) (2007) *Judah and the Judeans in the 4th century B.C.E.* Winona Lake; Niehr, H. (2008) Phoenician Cults in Palestine after 586 B.C.E. In: Cornelius, I. and Jonker, L. (eds) *From Ebla to Stellenbosch. Syro-Palestinian religions and the Hebrew Bible*. ADPV 37. Wiesbaden, 13-24; Stern, E. (ed.) (2008) *The new Encyclopedia of archaeological excavations in the Holy Land*. 1-5. London/Washington; Witte, M. and Diehl, J. F. (eds) (2008) *Israeliten und Phönizier*. Fribourg/Göttingen; Merlo, P. (2009) *La religione dell'antico Israele*. Rome; Weippert, M. (2010) *Historisches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*. GAT 10. Göttingen; Lipschits, O., Knoppers, G. N. and Oeming, M. (eds) (2011) *Judah and the Judeans in the Achaemenid period*. Winona Lake; Reich, R. (2011) *Excavating the City of David. Where Jerusalem's history began*. Jerusalem; Harrison, T. P. (2012) West Syrian 'Megaron' or Neo-Assyrian 'Langraum'? In: Kamlah, J. (ed.) *Temple building and temple cult*. ADPV 41; Wiesbaden, 3-21; Elayi, J. (2013) *Histoire de la Phénicie*. Paris, passim; Finkelstein, I. (2013) *Le Royaume biblique oublié*. Paris; Sergi, O. (2013) *TA*, 40, 226-246; Liwak, R. (2013) *Israel in der altorientalischen Welt*. BZAW 444. Berlin/New York, 152-162; Lehmann, G. and Niemann, H. M. (2014) *TA*, 41, 77-94; Steiner, M. L. and Killebrew, A. E. (eds) (2014) *The Oxford handbook of the archaeology in the Levant c. 8000-332 BCE*. Oxford;

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H. NIEHR

JUGURTHA

1. Son of MASTANABAL and therefore grandson of MASSINISSA (1), in his youth he made bonds of friendship with the Romans, especially with Scipio Aemilianus (→SCIPIONS [6]), fighting under his command at the siege of Numantia in 133 BCE (Sal. *Jug.* 7-9; App. *Hisp.* 69). This allowed him to make some bold manoeuvres at the expense of his relatives HIEMPSAL (1) and ADHERBAL (4), with whom he had to share the throne of Numidia (→NUMIDIANS) after the death of MICIPSA (1), in 118 (Sal. *Jug.* 10). After Hiempsal had been eliminated, a Rom. negotiator split the kingdom into two parts, assigning the more west. part to J. (Sal. *Jug.* 12ff.). However, friction with his brother Adherbal soon resumed, to the extent that in 112 J. invaded his territory, laying siege to the capital, Cirta (*Constantine). The massacre that followed the capture of the city also affected several Italic merchants living there (Sal. *Jug.* 26; Diod. 34,31). As a result, the following year, the Rom. people, in spite of opposition from the Senate, decided to take up arms against J. (Sal. *Jug.* 27). For the first few years the campaign stagnated without any successes. In fact, J. proved to be particularly shrewd, on the one hand organizing resistance using the techniques of guerrilla warfare, on the other exploiting the expected ambiguous

forces at work between the local princes and the Rom. representatives. Twice, between 111 and 110, a peace agreement was reached. However, its conditions seemed to be too lenient in the opinion of most of the Rom. public, who had it annulled (Sal. *Jug.* 28-30 and 36-39). A judiciary commission, set up specifically, established that the Rom. commanders had managed the whole affair improperly, as they had been bribed by the Numid. prince (Sal. *Jug.* 40-41; Cic. *Brut.* 127-128). J. was ordered to appear in person in Rome to explain his connections, but did not earn much sympathy. Indeed, he was accused of having ordered the assassination of Massiva, a Numid. prince, for years an exiled in Rome, who was killed at the same time as J. was staying in the city (Sal. *Jug.* 32-35; Liv. *Perioch.* 64,2). Protected by a safe-conduct, J. was able to return to Africa, but then the war resumed (Sal. *Jug.* 35). Between 109 and 108, under the new guidance of the *consul* Caecilius Metellus (later called *Numidicus* [Numidian] because of his successes in this campaign) (→CAECILII METELLI [2]), the Rom. army gained a series of positive results, including victory at the battle near the river Muthul (prob. Wadi Mellag: Sal. *Jug.* 46-54) and the capture of *Thala (Sal. *Jug.* 75-77). Unable to end the war, Metellus was then replaced by his legate Caius Marius, elected as *consul* in 107 specifically to bring the campaign to an end. Marius was able to inflict a new series of defeats on J. and his new ally BOCCHUS (1). After the Romans had seized *Capsa (Gafsa: Sal. *Jug.* 86-91; Str. 17,831) and his defeat at the battle near Cirta (Sal. *Jug.* 100-102; Diod. 36,1), J. took refuge in Gaetulia with Bocchus. However, at the beginning of 105, Bocchus decided to betray him and hand him over to the Romans (Sal. *Jug.* 112-113; Diod. 36,39; Vell. 2,12,1; Plut. *Sull.* 3,6-9). Dragged along in chains at the triumph of Marius on the 1st of January 104, shortly afterward J. was strangled in the Mamertine Prison in Rome (*CIL* VI 41024; Sal. *Jug.* 114,2; Liv. *Perioch.* 67; Vell. 2,12,1; esp. Plut. *Mar.* 12,2-4, although he says that J. died from starvation). The sources portray him as shrewd and courageous but unprincipled. In some sections of modern political journalism, he has taken on the archetypal connotations of a champion in the national anticolonial struggle for liberation. The main source for J. is Sallustius' *Bellum Jugurthinum*. See also Liv. *Perioch.* 44-46; Flor. 1,36; Plut. *Mar.* 7-10.

Saumagne, C. (1966) *La Numidie et Rome: Masinissa et Jugurtha*. Paris; Radnorthy-Alföldi, M. (1979) Die Geschichte des numidischen Königreiches und seiner Nachfolger. In: Horn, G. and Rüger, C. (eds) *Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara*. Stuttgart, 59-63; Cipriani, G. (1988) *Sallustio e l'immaginario. Per una biografia eroica di Giugurta*. Bari; Levene, D. S. (1992) *JRS*, 82, 53-70; Claassen, J.-M. (1993) *CIW*, 86, 273-297; Wiedemann, T. (1993) *G&R*, 40, 48-57; Coltelloni-Trannoy, M. (1993-1995) *BCTH*, 24, 59-82; Camps, G. and Chaker, S. (2004) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 26. Aix-en-Provence, 3975-3979; Ait Amara, O. (2012) Jugurtha stratège et tacticien. In: *AfRo* 19, 601-622; Alexandropoulos, J. (2012) *Anabases*, 16, 11-29.

2. A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 2,165.

Vattioni, F. (1980), *StMagr*, 12, 36.

U. LIVADIOTTI

JUNIUS PULLUS, LUCIUS

Consul in 249 BCE, during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), he was sent as the commander of a naval convoy to bring supplies to the Rom. army besieging *Lilybaeum. On arriving at *Syracuse and after joining the Rom. fleet already on the island, J. P. divided his convoy into two. One section, consisting of about 400 cargo vessels and a small fleet of warships, left immediately, crossing the south. coast of *Sicily. The other section, under the direct command of J. P., took a few days to collect all its supplies. However, both

convoys were intercepted beyond Cape Pachino by the Carthag. admiral CARTHALO (2), in command of 120 ships. The *quaestores* leading the first expedition preferred to sail to Phintias, a fortified centre under Rom. control, where they could contain the enemy attack by limiting the loss of about 80 vessels. Instead, the chief convoy, led by J. P., dropped anchor at *Camarina to avoid a battle, where he was caught in a sudden storm (which the Pun. fleet had managed to avoid): the storm destroyed almost all the ships at anchor, cargo vessels as well as warships (Plb. 1,52,5-54, with problems of dating; Diod. 24,1,7-9). In order to redeem himself, J. P. launched a land offensive, conquering *Eryx and occupying the nearby sanctuary of Aphrodite (cf. *Astarte of Eryx). However, according to Zonaras (8,15,14), during the immediate counter-attack by the Carthaginians, he fell into enemy hands (Plb. 1,55; Diod. 24,1,10-11). As was the case with his colleague, Claudius Pulcher (→CLAUDII [3]), who was responsible for the contemporaneous disaster at Drepanum (*Trapani), he was also criticized for underestimating the negative auspices. Possibly in order to avoid these accusations, J. P. committed suicide (Cic. *Nat. D.* 2,7 and *Div.* 2,71).

Konrad, C. F. (2016) *Hermes*, 144, 178-193.

U. LIVADIOTTI

K

KARCHEDON

Gk Καρχηδών.

A character named K. occurs in several sources, together with *Azoros of Tyre, as the legendary founder of *Carthage. Modern historians consider him to be a mythical character (→*Karchedon).

KITTIM

Hebr. *ktym*. Plural of the gentilic, originally denoting the inhabitants of the Cypr. city of *Kition.

K. is used in the biblical text (*Old Testament) not only as a gentilic but also instead of a toponym to refer specifically to Kition and more generically to the Cypriots, as well as more broadly to peoples in the W (Greeks, Macedonians, Romans). As an alternative hypothesis, proposed by O. Casabonne, the K. come from the Anat. region of Ketis (in *Cilicia Trachea). K. occurs ten times in the biblical text of the Hebr. canon: Gen 10,4; Num 24,24; 1 Chr 1,7; 1 Mac 1,1 and 8,5; Isa 23,1 and 23,12; Jer 2,10; Ezek 27,6; Dan 11,30. Only in the earliest of these (Isa 23, probably Ezek 27,6 and Gen 10,4) does K. seem to refer to a specific region, possibly Kition itself or more generally *Cyprus. In later texts, K. certainly refers to the Macedonians (1 Mac 1,1 and 8,5) or the Romans (Dan 11,30). This shift in meaning is confirmed by the Dead Sea Scrolls, where K. occurs several times (especially in the *Pesharim* and in the War Scroll) to refer to Hellenist. Gk rulers and Rom. armies. A group of K. mercenaries is mentioned repeatedly (ten times: 1,2; 2,2; 4,1; 7,2; 8,2; 10,2 e 5; 11,2; 14,2; 17,9; 5,7 [restored]) in the corpus of ostraca from the fortress of *Arad (end of the 7th – beginning of the 6th cent. BCE), as recipients of quantities of wine, oil and grain. Thanks to contemporary biblical parallels, it seems plausible to identify the K. of Arad as Cypr. mercenaries, even if they did not actually come from Kition.

Aharoni, Y. (1981) *Arad inscriptions*. Jerusalem; Heltzer, M. (1988) *RDAC*, 1, 167-172; Dion, P.-E. (1992) *RB*, 99, 70-97; Segert, S. (2000) Kition and Kittim. In: Åström, P. and Surenhaugen, D. (eds) *Periplus*. SIMA 127. Jonsered, 165-172; Eshel, H. (2001) The Kittim in the 'War Scroll' and in the *Pesharim*. In: Goodblatt, D., Pinnick, A. and Schwartz, D. R. (eds) *Historical perspectives: from the Hasmoneans to Bar Kokhba in light of the*

Dead Sea Scrolls. Leiden, 29-44; Casabonne, O. (2004) *La Cilicie à l'époque achéménide*. Paris, 77-89; Cannavò, A. (2010) Between Iadnana and Kittim: Eastern views of archaic Cyprus. In: Christodoulou, S. and Satraki, A. (eds) *POCA 2007*. Cambridge, 169-196.

A. CANNAVÒ

KULAMUWA

Phoen. *klmw*. K. was the king of the kingdom of Yādiya, the capital of which was Sam'al (*Zincirli) (ca 830-810 BCE). His Luwian name (→LUWIANS) means "Having the military strength of the army". He was the fifth king of Sam'al.

In the Phoen. inscription KAI 24 (Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin, S 6579) [Fig. 41], K. mentions his predecessors on the throne of Yādiya as follows: Gabbar, Banihu, Ḥayya and Ša'il. Ša'il was the brother of K. and Ḥayya was the father of them both. However, a change of dynasty between Gabbar and Banihu and between Banihu and Ḥayya must be presupposed. Whether, after K.'s death, one of his descendants came to the throne of Yādiya is unclear; the kings from Panamuwa I. (ca 790-750) to BARRAKIB (ca 733/732-713/711) no longer refer to K. in their genealogies (KAI 214,1; 215,1; 216,1; 218). K.'s reign is marked by a commitment to the ASSYRIANS under SHALMANESER III (858-823). This was necessary to thwart the king of Que's plans to expand eastward beyond the *Amanus. K. remained a faithful vassal

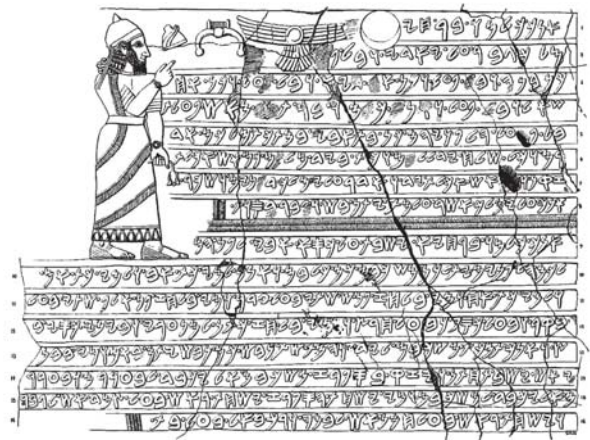


Fig. 41. Inscription of Kulamuwa king of Sam'al (Zincirli)

of the Assyrians, depicted on a relief from the entrance of Palace J in Sam'al dressed in the Ass. royal costume and performing the *ubāna-tarāṣu* gesture, his reference to the symbol of the Ass. god, which is preceded in turn by the symbols of his own gods. The construction of Palace J, on the NW acropolis in the capital Sam'al, must be ascribed to K. This is indicated by the relief found *in situ*, with a representation of the king as well as his Phoen. inscription (KAI 24). One hundred years later, the last king of Sam'al, Bar-rakib (ca 733/732-713/711), still remembers this building activity in an inscription (KAI 216,17-18). Noteworthy is the language policy of K., who had his most important inscription drawn up in Phoenician, to make it accessible to an international audience, and, at the same time, to show the notable importance of west. *Syria. Another inscription, which goes back to K., is a dedication to the dynastic god *Rakib-El (KAI 25; Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin S 3708), which had already been written in the Samalian language, asking that god for a long life for K. The attribution to K. of another relief from Palace J, which shows a king in Ass. costume, followed either by a servant or by his son (Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin S 6580), must remain open. Using the *ubāna-tarāṣu* gesture, the king points to gods (or divine symbols?) outside the relief while in his left hand he holds a lotus flower.

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H. NIEHR

L

Labashi-Marduk see BABYLONIANS

LACUMAZES

Younger son of OEZALCES, king of the Numid. MASSYLII. After his father had died and his elder brother CAPUSSA had succeeded him on the throne, a victorious revolt led by MAZAETULLUS, the tribal leader, made him the chief of the Massylli while still a young man, ca 206 BCE (Liv. 29,29). However, when MASSINISSA (1), who was also a pretender to the throne, returned to Africa from Spain, L. asked for assistance from SYPHAX, king of the Numid. MASAESYLII. Massinissa, strongly supported by some of his subjects, defeated the army that Syphax had supplied to L., which had been supplemented by forces under Mazaetullus. So L. and Mazaetullus took refuge with Syphax. Persuaded by Massinissa to change sides, L. quickly abandoned his host and was welcomed by his rival with all the honours due to that royal family (Liv. 29,30).

Fage, J. D. and Oliver, R. A. (1975) *The Cambridge History of Africa*. 2. Cambridge, 180; Thompson, L. A. (1981) *Historia*, 30, 120-136; Camps, G. (1993) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 12. Aix-en-Provence, 1770.

U. LIVADIOTTI

LADMUS

Character mentioned by Sil. *Pun.* 1,397, but may be a *falsa lectio* for Iadmus or Cadmus.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36; Geus, K. (1994), 213.

LAELIUS

1. Laelius, Caius (ca 235-ca 160 BCE). L. was from a humble plebeian family. As a personal friend of Scipio Africanus (→SCIPIONS [5]), he fought alongside him during the campaign in Iberia from 210-206, where he had commanding roles in the battle of *Baecula in 208 (Liv. 27,18), in the taking of Iliturgi in 206 (Liv. 28,19) and when he commanded the Rom. fleet anchored at Carthago Nova (Liv. 28,42). He was also a commander in the African campaign

of 204-202, during which, after guiding the disembarkation of the Rom. fleet near *Utica (Liv. 29,26-27), he defeated SYPHAX (setting fire to the Numid. encampments: Plb. 14,4 and 9; Liv. 30,4-5 and 11), conquered Cirta (*Constantine) (Liv. 30,12) and led the left wing of the cavalry in the Rom. formation at *Zama (Plb. 15,9-14; Liv. 30,33-35). Later, he was elected as *aedilis* (197), *praetor* (196) and *consul* (190), and was entrusted with several diplomatic missions in Gaul and the East. Before dying, he came to know Polybius, one of the sources for reconstructing the exploits of Scipio Africanus against the Carthaginians (Plb. 10,3,2).

RE XII,1, s.v. (2) cols 400-404 (F. Münzer).

2. Laelius, Caius (ca 188-ca 125 BCE). Son of L. (1), nicknamed *Sapiens*, he was a collaborator and friend of Scipio Aemilianus (→SCIPIONS [6]), whom he followed as a *legatus* in the expedition against *Carthage in 147 (App. *Pun.* 126; Cic. *Rep.* 2,67; *De amic.* 103; Zonar. 9,3). L. was in command of the troops that managed to seize a section of the Carthag. walls in the spring of 146. This action started the conquest of the Pun. city (App. *Pun.* 127). He became *praetor* in 145 and *consul* in 140. Cicero made him the protagonist of his work *De amicitia*.

RE, XII,1, s.v. (3) cols 404-410 (F. Münzer); Broughton, T. R. S. (1951) *The magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 1. New York, 464.468; Astin, A. E. (1967) *Scipio Aemilianus*. Oxford, 70.75.

U. LIVADIOTTI

LAGIDS

Gk dynasty, also known as the Ptolemies, from its founder, Ptolemy I Soter son of Lagos, who was one of ALEXANDER THE GREAT's generals. After Alexander's death in 323 BCE, Ptolemy took control of *Egypt, assuming the title of king in 306. The dynasty lasted until the Rom. conquest in 30 BCE, when queen Cleopatra VII committed suicide. Her daughter, Cleopatra Selene II, was married to JUBA II (2), king of Mauretania (→MAURI). Ptolemy I had PUMAYYATON king of *Kition executed, destroyed the city walls and the temple of *Melqart and seized control of

*Cyprus. He later abolished all the local kingdoms of the island. The power of the L. lasted there until 58 BCE, but for the period 306-294 Ptolemy I also gained control of *Phoenicia, probably from 288/287 even as far as the Eleutheros river, as *Arwad was part of the Seleucid kingdom (→SELEUCIDS). Under the L., local monarchies were abolished in Phoenicia at different times (in *Sidon probably after the death of PHILOCLES, who had been appointed king of Sidon by Ptolemy II). In about 199, Phoenicia came under the complete control of the Seleucid Antiochus III. Part of Phoenicia briefly came back under the L., when Marcus Antonius gave it to Cleopatra VII. The L. also had good relations with *Carthage, but stayed neutral during the PUNIC WARS (Ptolemy II offered to be an arbitrator between ROME and Carthage during the I Punic War).

Mitford, T. B. (1953) *Aegyptus*, 33, 80-90; Skeats, T. C. (1969) *The reigns of the Ptolemies*. Munich; Bagnall, R. S. (1976) *The administration of the Ptolemaic possessions outside Egypt*. Leiden; Huss, W. (1979) *AncSoc*, 10, 119-137; *DCPP*, s.v. (H. Hauben); Hölbl, G. (2001) *A history of the Ptolemaic Empire*. London/New York.

G. MINUNNO

LATINS

Latium is bounded by the Tiber to the NW, the hills of the Sabina to the E and S in a region bordering Campania, called *Latium Adjectum* by Pliny the Elder. Most of the region is flat, reasonably fertile and well-watered, enjoying a classic Mediterr. climate. The limestone hills around *Praeneste (Palestrina) and Tivoli are the earliest geological features, but the most significant impact on the landscape came from the volcanic activity of the Alban mountains between 130,000 and 30,000 BCE, which created the hills and lakes of central Latium, and the volcanic sediments in the plains.

Latium is not so agriculturally fertile as Campania to the S and does not have the mineralogical richness of Etruria (→ETRUSCANS) to the N. Nevertheless, Latium participates in the slow development of central Italy up to the LBA, when we begin to note more radical differences from her neighbours through burial evidence. The earliest Lat. necropoleis have been found at ROME and in the Alban Hills. The burial rite is cremation, and the ashes of the deceased were placed in a hut-urn, made of clay, apparently representing an

early form of dwelling made of wooden posts covered with wattle and daub. Sometimes, instead of the hut-urn there was a vase with a covering shaped like a hut-roof or, more rarely, a bronze helmet. This was accompanied by a number of other rough pottery vessels and some bronze objects, including miniaturised versions of everyday objects such as knives, spears or razors. All these objects were put into a large jar or *dolium*, which was then placed in a hole or pit. There is little wealth differentiation between graves, though there does seem to be a quite strong gender differentiation. Some graves stand out for the quantity of weaponry, which may indicate differentiation by role. The cemetery at Osteria dell'Osa, with over 600 burials, which have been carefully excavated and published, is our most significant necropolis site in Latium. There are a number of cremations from around 900 BCE, all apparently male, which form the centre of burial groups, with inhumations around them. Two groups have been distinguished by pottery techniques that continued to be different for about a century; one group had well-made pots with some moulded decoration, whilst the other had less well-made pots that were free of decoration. The central cremations (four in one group, five in the other) have traces of food which might indicate a ritual meal at the funeral; the pottery in the surrounding inhumations sometimes shows signs of use prior to deposition. It has been suggested that the two groups represented two kinship groups from Osteria dell'Osa.

The funerary ritual in the late 8th and 7th cent. in some other sites shows increasing amounts and sophistication of the weaponry found in the tombs, including a chariot in a number of instances. The increased use of armour may be connected to the development of fortifications, the earliest of which are dated, albeit tentatively, to the 8th cent. Both the presence of weapons and the development of the fortification increase in the 7th cent. This may reflect growing particularism and self-definition by communities, and the wealthy male depositions with their armour probably indicate the role of an élite in military activity. Very rich or 'princely' burials can be found in the later 7th century; in terms of the buried goods, the richest burial in Latium, at Praeneste, is almost identical with a contemporary burial at Cerveteri (*Caere), suggesting a close link between the two sites at the level of the élite. It reflects a lifestyle which was an eclectic mix of local forms and imported styles. There are silver gilt bowls from

*Phoenicia, pottery from Greece and a local chariot. In life, the owners of these princely tombs were part of a Mediterranean-wide nexus of wealthy men, who competed with each other in games, sought marriage alliances with each other, demonstrated their prowess in war, lived in palaces, and whose position must have rested on extensive networks of dependent labour. This was a society of conspicuous, possibly even flashy and vulgar consumption. Competition was at its heart, and it was fuelled by the economy introduced back in the 8th cent. by Phoen. movement westwards. It is clear therefore that we are dealing with the rise of an urban society. It may be that preconditions for Rome's success as a city lie partly in the success of nucleated settlements in Latium, thereby creating a wider network based on the exploitation of resources and consequent trade. The relevant developments are the reorganization of the central political spaces, and the development of monumental cult sites, with new forms of terracotta architectural decoration, and stone houses replacing huts. During the 6th cent. Rom. territory increased – we are told that the number of Rome's rural tribes grew (Liv. 2,21,7). There are other hints too of political change which emerged from economic and demographic growth; and Rome's presence in and control of some of the cults – the development of a cult of Diana at Rome may have been a challenge to a Latin one at Aricia. This is also visible in the claim which Rome makes in its first treaty with *Carthage (Plb. 3,22), which implies Rom. control as far S as Circeii (→TREATIES).

Early in the 5th cent., the L., perhaps in an attempt to halt this inexorable progress, fought Rome in a war that culminated in the battle of Lake Regillus. In 493, Spurius Cassius struck the treaty which settled the dispute; it was inscribed on a bronze pillar in the Rom. forum, where it could still be seen at the end of the Republic (Cic. *Balb.* 53; Liv. 2,33,9; Dion. Halic. 6,95). The treaty sets down the terms of a perpetual peace and mutual aid, equal shares of booty, and provisions for the settlement of commercial disputes. This raises various questions about how the L. organized themselves before and after Lake Regillus, and the nature of their legal relationships with each other and with Rome. There were various kinds of organization, some based on religious association, and it may be incorrect to search for a fixed group of Lat. peoples (many of the modern accounts refer to wholly modern constructions such as the thirty Lat. peoples).

Three lists of Lat. communities exist. Cato 'the Elder' (PORCIUS CATO) (fr. 58 Peter) gives (some of) the peoples who were present in the grove of Diana at Manius Egerius Laevius' dedication as Lat. *dictator*. Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives a list of the twenty-nine Lat. cities that agreed to wage war on Rome at the beginning of the 5th cent., and Pliny the Elder (*Nat.* 3,69) tells us the names of the cities of Latium, some of whom shared the meat of the annual sacrifice on the Alban Hill, and concludes *ita ex antiquo Latio LIII populi interiire sine vestigiis* – "so from old Latium fifty-three peoples have disappeared without trace".

It has been suggested that the text of Cato 'the Elder', referred to earlier, reflects a religious dedication at the grove of Diana, led by the Lat. *dictator*, and that when the L. arranged themselves against Rome they did so under the leadership of another *dictator*, Octavius Mamilius. The L. continued to meet annually, we are told, at the spring of Ferentina to discuss a military campaign (Festus p. 276 L.). It appears that the L. fought in their own contingents alongside the Romans – they were joined in 486 by another tribe called the Hernici from around Anagnia (Liv. 2,41; Dion. Halic. 8,69,2). There were thus a number of significant religious associations in which the L. participated, some of them based on the Alban Hills, which remained an important site for cult even though settlement was limited there after about the 8th cent. Every year, all the Rom. magistrates processed to the Alban Mount to celebrate the festival of Jupiter Latiaris. The case of Lavinium is particularly interesting. The famous sanctuary of thirteen altars is in fact a sequence of altars, the first built in the mid-6th cent., then joined by more – the total number has now exceeded thirteen; by the mid-5th cent., at least four more had been added, three of which were built on a common foundation. Further altars were added in the 4th cent., but others were covered over, and the sanctuary ceased to be used by the end of the 3rd cent. These leagues may have existed before the urban settlements; but they have been affected by the way those urban settlements developed.

So by the 5th cent., the L. had probably developed a culture which was very close to that of the Romans, bound by religious associations, and with a military organization that operated alongside the Romans in the difficult circumstances of the 5th cent. invasions. Rome's view of an area subjected to its power may overstate the case, and cities such as Praeneste and

Tibur remained independent until the 1st cent. Underpinning this relationship were a series of legal rights of trade and intermarriage. However, Rom. demands may have been onerous, and the sack of Rome by the Gauls in 390 may have encouraged opposition. Latium and Lat. colonies resisted in various ways (Liv. 6,29,6; 7,18,2 and 19,1). Rom. intentions may be discerned from the forcible incorporation of Tusculum into Rom. citizenship in 381, an act subsequently interpreted as generous, but surely more sinister at the time. Indeed the fifty years or so after the sack of Rome see a range of local disturbances which suggest that Rome may not have been far ahead of her peers at all, and that there was a fierce struggle between nearly equal states to be the dominant. By the mid-4th cent., and the second Rom.-Carthag. treaty, Rome was still claiming dominance, but not offering to protect coastal cities from Carthag. depredations. This situation culminated in a fierce war from 341 to 338, which was interestingly characterised in the sources as based on a claim to share the consulship and therefore the command of the military. The L. were finally defeated. Again Lavinium offers an interesting indication of the interweaving of memory and history; an old tumulus was renovated and claimed as a tomb of *Aeneas. It is not known whether this was a Lat. claim for a closer relationship to this important founder figure than Rome had, or a Rom. imposition of their story of Aeneas onto a key Lat. site.

The ultimate settlement after 338 was innovative and bold. The outcome was that even Rome's nearest neighbours were divided in the way in which they related to Rome; some were incorporated as full Rom. citizens with a concomitant loss of local identity; others had their walls razed, their aristocracy banished and the territory redistributed to Romans. The L. stayed loyal to Rome, even through the difficult times of the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), (although the competition between Sulla and Marius brought communities into conflict). Some L. gained citizenship and entered the ranks of the Rom. magistracies. Similarly, Rom. aristocrats used the countryside of Latium as a place for their villas, and this continued into the imperial period. Latium was and continued to be Rome's vital hinterland.

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C. J. SMITH

LEASTARTOS

Γκ Λεάσταρτος.

Probably a Phoen. theophoric PN *l'strt*, "Astarte is by/with him", which does not occur in inscriptions. The father of →METHOUSASTARTOS, king of *Tyre, according to Josephus (*Ap.* 1,122).

G. MINUNNO

LEOCRITUS OF CARTHAGE

Γκ Λεώκριτος.

Pythagorean philosopher who was active in *Carthage probably during the 4th cent. BCE, together with ANTHES, HODIUS, and MILTIADES (*Iamb. VP* 36,267).

Huss, W. (1985), 505; Geus, K. (1994), 11.172f.198f.

G. MINUNNO

Libyan(s): a term which generally denotes the ancient native languages of North Africa, see NUMIDIANS.

LIBYO-PHOENICIANS

There are several problems with the actual term L., used by some Gk and Lat. authors. The first concerns its actual origin. We can assume that the concept of 'Phoenician' is a Gk creation, and so reflects an external view of several cities and a culture that never used this name. Instead, the term 'Libyo-Phoenician' is rich in this very idea and so is an exo-ethnic term, which at least when it was created, would only have referred to PHOENICIANS living in Libya (North Africa). However, we have one indication, of some relevance, which suggests that this Gk word could be a translation into Greek of a specific concept that is due to a particular group of people. A list drawn up by Polybius (3,33,15) of the troops that HANNIBAL (9) moved from Africa to Iberia on the very eve of his campaign against ROME (→PUNIC WARS), mentions contingents of Libyo-Phoenician cavalymen. The interesting fact is that Polybius (3,33,18) is certain that this account can be read in the (bilingual?: Liv. 28,46,16) inscription that the general had dedicated in the sanctuary of Hera Lacinia. This means that, quite possibly, Punic had its own term for these peoples, which can be translated into Greek as "Libyo-Phoenician". The explanation that Livy (21,22,3) gives of this term, in the sense that it refers to a mixed Pun. and African people, is based on the author's personal judgement. Therefore, even though it has been considered as important, it does not take historical events into account, as we shall try to show below. However, this is not the oldest information to be found in the sources concerning the L.

One of the most complete and accurate definitions we have of the L. is provided by Diodorus, in the context of the first campaign by AGATHOCLES in Africa (310-307 BCE), when he placed them among the four peoples inhabiting Libya. He says of them that "they own many of the coastal towns and share with the Carthaginians the right to marry among themselves (*epigamia*) and the fact that they shared kinship (*syngeneia*) was the reason why they had this name" (Diod. 20,55,4). Diodorus (or his source) provides one of the main keys to understanding this group: it is ethnically related to the Carthaginians. This clearly indicates that they are also Phoenicians and, on the other hand, undoubtedly in relation to the preceding,

their legal status is close enough to that of the Carthaginians for them to be able to marry them legitimately and on the same footing. This situation, which would last during the 4th cent., may also apply even earlier. Included in the first lines of the Periplus of HANNO (3) (lines 1-2) (→*Peripli) – which we believe to be neither a literary exercise nor a forgery, but in all likelihood an authentic document – is the decision made by the Carthaginians that Hanno should found "cities of L.". Since the enterprise of colonization was led by *Carthage, in which it had a direct interest, it would seem that the city wished to settle people in new territories, who although not citizens of Carthage, were the closest to them and, at that time, had strong relations with that city.

In the 6th cent., Hecataeus of Miletus mentions a certain city of the L. called Kanthelia, a city near Carthage or Kanthele, a city of the L. (*FGrHist* 1 F 338 a-b), and the island Eudeipne (*FGrHist* 1 F 339). Strabo (17,3,18) locates them above the coast of Carthage and between the promontory called Cephala and the MASAESYLII, reaching as far inland as the mountainous territory of the GAETULI. Of the Lat. writers, Pliny (5,24-25) provides us with the most complete information. According to him, they lived in *Byzacena, the perimeter of its territory was 250,000 paces and its lands were extremely fertile. In it were the free cities (*oppida libera*) of *Leptis, Hadrumetum (*Sousse), *Ruspina, Thapsus (*Ras Dimasse), Tenas, Aves, *Macomades, Tacape and *Sabratha, already sharing a border with Sirte Minor. Finally, Ptolemy's *Geographia* refers twice to the L., as living below Carthage (*Geogr.* 4,3,22) and Byzakitis (Byzacena) in the S of the territory (*Geogr.* 4,3,26).

It is likely that, with time, the meaning of (the concept) L. was gradually modified, but the impression we have is that they are populations of Phoen. origin who had settled on the North African coast, most densely on the Byzacena and Tripolitanian coasts. Possibly, early on (6th cent.), their relations with Carthage had been close, perhaps because they were their allies and that city had used them to carry out their expansionist policies. In the 4th cent. at least, this relationship may have been closer, if we consider the information about possible marriages between the L. and the Carthaginians, although it is also possible that these shared rights could always have been present. This does not exclude that, at that time, those cities could have depended more directly on Carthage,

always interested in safeguarding its own economic interests in the region and in guaranteeing the security of those cities, as the first two Rom.-Carthag. TREATIES seem to show (Plb. 3,22-24).

The existence of this composite name gave rise – already to some extent from ancient tradition, especially of Lat. origin, which adopted the Gk name unchanged – to various interpretations regarding the origin of these peoples which, in turn, have filtered down to modern criticism. The first of these indications occurs in the passage from Livy cited already (21,22,3). He is copying the list of contingents that moved from Libya to Iberia just before Hannibal left, but when mentioning the L., he adds from Polybius that they are “a mixed race of Punics and Africans” (*mixtum Punicum Afris genus*). Since this detail does not occur in Polybius and the text from Livy is a translation of it into Lat., we must consider it to be his own addition (or is from an intermediate source). A similar description – although the specific term L. is not used – occurs in Sallustius when he refers to Leptis, which he says is of Sidonian origin. He only changed the language in respect of marriages (*lingua conuersa conubio Numidarum*) while the other laws and customs remain Sidonian (*Jug.* 78). As Leptis is a Libyo-Phoenician city, Sallustius feels obliged to introduce the idea of marriages with the indigenous people to explain this terminology, referring only to language. On the other hand, he states that for everything else they continued to retain their Phoen. (Sidonian) character. Certainly there may have been contacts and unions between Phoenicians and indigenous populations not only in Africa but undoubtedly in all or most of the places where the Phoenicians settled. However, he does seem not to have considered this relevant from the viewpoint of retaining a specific identity. As a result, the L. would not be the outcome of a ‘mix’ of Phoenicians and Libyans but of the Phoenicians who settled in Libya. The fact that, as noted above, in Phoenician there could have been a specific term for them, suggests that, as part of the politics of Carthage, the Phoen. cities and villages that sprang up from its east. borders could have been called by a generic name which, already from the 6th cent., the Greeks translated as L.

Although we cannot be completely certain, it is possible that these peoples are represented in the treaty that HANNIBAL (9) and PHILIP V of Macedonia signed in 215. In that treaty, Carthage speaks in the name of several entities under its control, although within it

different legal statutes are distinguished. It is possible that the entities usually called L. are the ones described as “those who are under the authority of Carthage, those who used its same laws” (Plb. 7,9,5). Among all those mentioned in the treaty, they would have had the most favourable relationship with the city.

Besides these populations, some sources mention the presence of L. in the Iberian Peninsula. There are not many references, but they have prompted important discussions, especially because in numismatics, since the 19th cent., some coins with a clear Pun. typology and an ‘aberrant’ or ‘non-standard’ script have been labelled completely incorrectly as “Libyo-Phoenician”. Accordingly, we leave out this numismatic evidence, which we do not consider as relevant, although the use of this incorrect term to refer to these coins has helped to introduce further mistakes in modern publications. The earliest mention, which is not without problems due to the nature of the work, is in the *Ora Maritima* by the 4th cent. CE poet, Rufus Festus Avienus. In this work, the L., together with other peoples, would be in the territory around the river Crisus and the *Pillars of Hercules (Avien. *Or. Mar.* 412-419), where they are described as “warlike” (*feroces*). If the main source of this work is in the 6th cent. BCE, as many scholars have suggested, it would indicate the presence of Phoenicians from Africa in the Iberian Peninsula, even though the text does not allow us to specify whether or not they are the same L. who appear in sources concerning the N of Libya. The other reference is in the *Periplus* by Pseudo-Scymnus (196-198) who places them in the coast facing the Sardinian Sea and says that they come from a colony of Carthage. The context in which this author was writing is little known, although we know that he uses sources from very different origins, which makes it difficult to determine the period to which this information refers. In any case, it must have come from writers who wished to insist on Carthag. expansionism. Nor is it certain that the L. of Avienus are the same as those to whom Pseudo-Scymnus refers. In any case, before the Barcid presence in Iberia (→BARCIDS), there is no evidence for a clear intent of Carthag. colonization in this area. It is possible, then, that the same term, especially when it comes from a world foreign to the Phoen.-Pun. world, as the Graeco-Rom. world was, had been changing its meaning throughout the period of its use. Even so, some features seem to be

common, especially when we focus on Gk writers, who apparently attempted to understand what it really meant:

- they are Phoenicians who settled in Libya and were grouped in various cities, mostly around Byzacena and Tripolis (*Oea);
- they maintained links of identity with other Phoen. cities, including Carthage, which seems to have coined its own term to refer to them;
- they established fairly intense legal relations, perhaps between themselves, but also with Carthage (mixed marriages, identical laws);
- they had been linked with Carthage, possibly in a way that changed over time, perhaps initially as allies but eventually becoming subjects;
- some L. may have settled in other parts, both in Africa and in the Iberian Peninsula, although it is not completely clear whether or not their presence was due to the expansionist policies of Carthage.

Bondì, S. F. (1971) *RAL*, 26, 653-661; García-Bellido, M. P. (1985-1986) *Veleia*, 2-3, 499-519; López Castro, J. L. (1992) *RSF*, 20, 47-65; García-Bellido, M. P. (1993) Las cecas libiofenicias. In: *Numismática Hispano-Púnica. Estado actual de la investigación. VII Jornadas de Arqueología Fenicio-Púnica*. Ibiza, 97-146; Domínguez Monedero, A. J. (1995) De nuevo sobre los 'libiofenicios': un problema histórico y numismático. In: García-Bellido, M. P. and Sobral Centeno, R. M. (eds) *La Moneda Hispánica. Ciudad y Territorio*. Madrid, 111-116; Domínguez Monedero, A. J. (1995) *Gerión*, 13, 223-239; Ferrer Albelda, E. (2001) *Spal*, 9, 421-433; Desanges, J. (2008) Libyphéniciens. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 28-29. Aix-en-Provence, 4394f.

A. J. DOMÍNGUEZ MONEDERO

LILAEUS

Carthag. sailor in Sil. *Pun.* 14,489.

Geus, K. (1994), 213; *NAN*, 75.

LIXUS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 2,112, killed during the siege of *Saguntum. His name must be related to the TN *Lixus.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36; Geus, K. (1994), 213.

Lukka see SEA PEOPLES

LULI

Akk. *Lu-li-i*; Gk Ἐλουλαῖος.

King of *Sidon and *Tyre. According to the historian Menander of Ephesus, quoted by Josephus (*Ap.* 9,283-287), L. was also called Pyas and reigned for 36 years, crushing a revolt in *Kition. The same source tells us that Tyre, with the support of Sidon and other Phoen. cities, resisted a siege by an Ass. king (→ASSYRIANS). In fact, according to his own inscriptions, in 701 BCE SENNACHERIB subdued Sidon and other Phoen. cities, forcing L., king of Sidon, to take refuge “in the middle of the sea”, where he “disappeared”. Sennacherib then placed ITTOBAAL (4) on the throne instead of L.

Cogan, M. (1973) *JCS*, 25, 96-99; Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia: l'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 182.184.187f.; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1992) *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*. OLA 46 = StPhoen 12. Leuven, 165ff.200ff.; Na'aman, N. (1998) *Or*, 67, 239-247; PNA 2/II, 668f., s.v. “Luli” (3) (E. Frahm); Lipiński, E. (2006) *On the skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age. Historical and topographical researches*. OLA 153. Leuven, 188ff.; RINAP 3/I: 63.95.114.131.175.192.210.222.

F. MAZZA

LUTATIUS CATULUS, CAIUS

Member of a noble plebeian family, he was a *consul* in 242 BCE, when the Romans, just after Claudius Pulcher (249) (→CLAUDI [3]) was defeated at *Trapani, for the first time decided to reorganize their own naval forces. These were 200 quinquiremes (according to Polybius; as many as 300 according to Livy) fitted out by using the remaining funds in the treasury and loans (possibly forced) from the wealthier families. At the head of this fleet, in the summer of 242, L. C. went to *Sicily, in order to interrupt the supplies brought by sea that allowed HAMILCAR (9) Barca to survive while blockaded in *Eryx. Having occupied the port of Trapani, on the 10th of March, 241, in the waters of the island of *Favignana, in front of *Lilybaeum, L. C. intercepted the convoy that had set sail from *Carthage with provisions for Hamilcar. Moving like lightning, in spite of the stormy weather, the Rom. fleet were easily able to overpower the Pun. ships, which were manned by a poorly trained crew and overloaded with supplies. The sources record some 50 Carthag. ships sunk, about 70 captured and almost 10,000 prisoners, several thousand dead but

with a loss of only 12 Rom. vessels (from which some bronze *rostra*, found at the bottom of the sea, are now exhibited in the Pepoli Museum in Trapani). The booty as well, which comprised not only supplies of food but also precious metals and war machines, was immense. This naval encounter, which has gone down in history as the Battle of the Egadi Islands, was perhaps followed by a victory on land in the vicinity of *Eryx (although it is not mentioned in Gk sources). In any case, the result was an immediate request for peace from Hamilcar. L. C., aware that the resources also available to the Romans were also exhausted (and perhaps wishing to associate his own name with the prestige that would come from accepting the enemy's surrender) accepted the proposal immediately (as a *proconsul*). However, the Rom. people retained the right of a subsequent ratification of the treaty. In fact, its clauses were considered as too lenient and were made harsher the following year by a commission of ten men sent specifically to Sicily from Rome. Quintus Catulus Cerco (the brother of L. C. and his successor as *consul* in 241) played an important role in the ratification of the agreements and the reorganization of Sicily as the first Rom. province. For his naval victory, L. C. received the honour of a triumph, which was contested, in vain by the *praetor* Quintus Valerius, actually in command of the Rom. fleet at the time of the battle in which L. C. did not actually take part, since his foot had been wounded.

Among the most important ancient sources are: Plb. 1,59-63; Liv. 22,14,13 and *Perioch.* 19,12-13; Flor. 1,18,33-37; Eutrop. 2,27; Oros. 4,10,5-11,2; Zonar. 8,17; on the triumph: Val. Max. 2,8,2; *Fasti Capitolini*.

Broughton, T. R. S. (1951) *The magistrates of the Roman republic*, 1. New York, 218; Bleckmann, B. (2002) *Die römische Nobilität im Ersten Punischen Krieg: Untersuchungen zur aristokratischen Konkurrenz in der Republik*. Berlin, 214-218; Famà, M. L. (ed.) (2007) *Antiche testimonianze di pace e guerra dal mare di Trapani (Museo Pepoli, 29 settembre-30 novembre 2007)*. Trapani; Olivieri, F. (2012) *Skyllis*, 12, 117-124; Tusa, S. and Royal, J. (2012) *JRA*, 25, 7-48.

U. LIVADIOTTI

LUWIANS

Together with the HITTITES (Nesites) and the Palaics, the L. represent one of the most important groups – possibly the most important – of Indo-European migrations, settling in *Anatolia probably since the

3rd mill. BCE. Thus, the 'Luwian' countries (cf. the name of this period: [country] *Lu(w)iya*, *lu(w)ili* = "in Luwian"), roughly corresponds to the kingdom of Arzawa in its broadest sense (W and SW of Anatolia) and the west. part of Kizzuwatna (west. *Cilicia) [PLATE 1].

Although strongly competing with the Hittite (Nesite) language – which became the administrative language of the Hitt. empire (the Hitt. capital Hattusa was located in the land of Hatti) – the Luwian language was the conveyor of a great culture and was maintained not only at the local level, but increased in power because of the momentary transfer of the imperial capital to Tarhuntassa, in the heart of the Luwian region, corresponding more or less to Pamphylia.

With Hattusili III, who moved the imperial capital back to Hattusa and enlarged it, and the arrival of Hurrian (→HURRIANS) and Luwian scribes who were specialists in religious texts, the Hitt. language was influenced by Luwian (in both lexis and grammar). However, it was used chiefly on many monuments, where the inscriptions were written in the so-called hieroglyphic script (see the contemporary monuments of Tudhaliya IV or Suppiluliuma II).

The progressive weakening of the Hittite state, towards 1180, particularly in Anatolia itself, as well as the conquest of the capital, probably by the Phrygians, saw the emergence and even the reinforcement and expansion of two of the largest cities after Hattusa. These were *Karkemish (to the E) and Tarhuntassa (to the W), two cities where Luwian culture dominated. Afterward, several small kingdoms started emerging from the ruins of the Hitt. empire (e.g. Malatya, Tuwanuwa, Marash, *Karatepe): all were characterized by Luwian culture and were situated, according to the available documentation, in the SE and E of Anatolia and in north. *Syria. The situation remains more obscure for these periods in west. Anatolia and the NW. Several 'indigenous' languages – recorded in various degrees since the 6th cent. – represent a simple evolution of 'classical' Luwian. The best documented example of these is Lycian, which can be defined as residual Luwian. To these must be added Carian, Pisidian and probably Cilician, which is known only indirectly.

On the one hand, Luwian textual sources are derived from some of the many cuneiform tablets found at Boghazköy-Hattusa (14th-13th cent.), which are essentially ritual in character. On the other hand, we have the numerous Luwian inscriptions with 'hieroglyphic'

writing, extending from the 14th cent. (*Aleppo inscription) until ca 690 (Hamath inscription).

From the beginning of the 1st mill., the Luwian world of east. and south. Anatolia was marked by the emergence of a series of small kingdoms, often prosperous, each with a sovereign holding the title of *tarwana-*, probably the origin of Gk τῡραννος. It was with these kingdoms that the PHOENICIANS came into contact, principally for commercial reasons. Important Phoen. settlements were established, as shown by the bilingual (Luwian-Phoenician) inscriptions from Karatepe (the longest Phoen. inscription known), *Çineköy (near Adana) and *Ivriz. Also relevant are the Phoen. inscriptions of KULAMUWA, king of Sam'al (*Zincirli) in the 9th cent. BCE, and from Cebel-ires-Dağı in SW Anatolia, a long 7th cent. text that includes many Luwian names. Of obvious significance, in this respect, is the town of Phoinikia on the Lycian coast. All this highlights the contacts between the L. and various peoples from Phoen. cities.

As for religion, each pantheon in a Luwian city, as well as in Lycia, Caria and Cilicia, was dominated by the *Storm-god, Tarhunt, defined in several Cilician

cities [of Tarhunt] as “Tarhunt of the vineyard and wheat” (e.g. at Ivriz), a very pacific and agrarian aspect of the Storm-god, who was called Zeus in the Graeco-Roman period. At his side we find a mother goddess, his bride (Kubaba), a son-god (Sarrumma), a deity protecting the living forces of nature ([Ku]-runta), and sometimes a war-god; the lunar god (Arma) was also important. This pantheon remained deep-rooted in the cities of Luwian heritage until the first centuries of our era.

Starke, F. (1985) *Die keilschrift-luwischen Texte in Umschrift*. StBoT 30. Wiesbaden; Mosca, P. G. and Russel, J. (1987) *EpAn*, 9, 1-28; Dinçol, B. (1994) *TA*, 21, 117-128; Hawkins, J. D. (1995) *The hieroglyphic inscription of the Sacred Pool Complex at Hattusa (Südburg)*. StBoT Beiheft 3. Wiesbaden; Cambel, H. (1999) *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions. II. Karatepe-Aslantaş*. Berlin/New York; Hawkins, J. D. (2000) *Corpus of Hieroglyphic inscriptions, 1. Inscriptions of the Iron Age*. Berlin/New York; Ipek, I., Lemaire, A., Tekoğlu, R. and Kazim Tosun, A. (2000) *CRAI(BL)*, 961-1006; Melchert, H. C. (ed.) (2003) *The Luwians*. HdO 68. Leiden/Boston; Lebrun, R. and De Vos, J. (2006) *Anatolia Antiqua*, 14, 45-64; Lebrun, R. (2011) *Approche du monde louvite*, 5-6, 111-137.

R. LEBRUN

M

MAGO

A very popular PN, Phoen. and Pun. *mgn*; Gk *Μάγων*; Lat. *Mago*. Neither its etymology nor its grammatical and syntactic analysis is entirely clear. It is not clear whether it is from *mgn*, “to give” (“gift” etc.), or from *gnn*, “to protect”, and even whether the sentence is verbal or nominal.

PNPPI, 133-137.339; Vattioni, F. (1979) *AIONArchStAnt*, 1, 180.

1. Traditionally recognized as the founder of a powerful Carthag. family (the →MAGONIDS, named after him), he lived around the mid-6th cent. BCE and is specified by Justinus as the one who *imperium Poenorum condidisset* (19,1,1). Again according to Justinus, he succeeded MALCHUS as *imperator* of the Carthaginians and under his command *Carthage grew richer, its military glory increased and its territorial boundaries expanded (18,7,19). He was also the first to regulate military discipline (19,1,1). His prestigious legacy passed on to his children or grandchildren HASDRUBAL (1) and HAMILCAR (1) (Just. 19,1,2; but see Hdt. 1,165-167, according to whom Hamilcar was the son of HANNO [1]).

Sources: Hdt. 1,165,1-167,1; 8,165; D. Chr. *Or.* 25,6-7; Just. 18,7,18-19,1,2.

Huss, W. (1985), 63f.475f.; Ameling, W. (1993) *Karthago. Studien zu militär, Staat und Gesellschaft*. Munich, 183-190; Geus, K. (1994), 173-175.

G. GARBATI

2. Carthag. *nauarchos* and *strategos* (*basileus* according to Diod. 15,15,3), the father of HIMILCO (4), between 397 and 392 BCE, and perhaps also in 383-382, he clashed with Dionysius I of *Syracuse (Diod. 14,49,2; 59-61). In those years, the Carthag. and Siceliote side had alternating successes in the war without a definite outcome. Then, in 392 a peace treaty was signed (→TREATIES), although its clauses were not favourable to Carthage. Even though Diodorus did not describe the rules of the covenant in detail, it is quite likely that the Gk cities succeeded in eliminating the Carthag. hegemony previously sanctioned by the treaty of 405, leaving much of the

island in the hands of Dionysius (Diod. 14,95-96). The war resumed in 383, when M. suffered a severe defeat at Cabala, where he died (Diod. 15,15,3).

Sources: Diod. 14,49,2; 59,1-61,4; 90,2-4; 91,1-2 and 7; 96,1-4; 15,15,2-4; 16,2; Polyae. 5,10,5; 6,16,1.

Huss, W. (1985), 124-139; Geus, K. (1994), 175-177.

G. GARBATI

3. Of unknown origin, M. was a *strategos* in the war against TIMOLEON. In 345/344 BCE he led a powerful Carthag. contingent in *Sicily to keep the allied cities under control and deter possible enemies from military action. Only later was he forced to take an active part in events in Sicily, especially on account of Timoleon's actions. He arrived in Syracuse, possibly in 343, to be of help against Timoleon. After several vicissitudes, he ended up retreating within the boundaries of the Carthag. EPARCHY for not entirely clear (probably even domestic) reasons, so that when he returned he committed suicide and his body was crucified (→*Crucifixion).

Sources: Diod. 16,66,5-7; 67; 68,4-8; 69,3-5; Plut. *Tim.* 9,5-10,5; 17,1-19,6; 20,2-21,1; 22,8.

Huss, W. (1985), 158-162; Geus, K. (1994), 177-179.

A. ERCOLANI

4. Of unknown origin, M. was a traveller who, in Aristotle's time or immediately before, crossed the Sahara desert three times, perhaps in connection with the gold trade between Carthage and the regions of central Africa.

Source: Arist. fr. 103 Rose (= Athen. 2,44e).

DCPP, s.v. (14) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 179f.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

5. Of unknown origin, a Carthag. *nauarchos*, M. offered his army to ROME in the war against PYRRHUS in 279 BCE. The Rom. Senate declined, although it is likely that on that occasion the Rom.-Carthag. treaty was renewed. Then he went to Pyrrhus as a peace mediator and tested his intentions with regard

to Sicily. Subsequently, in accordance with the treaties, he took part in a joint action with the Romans against the Italiote city of Locri. There is no further information in the sources.

Sources: Diod. 22,7,5; Val. Max. 3,7,10; Just. 18,2,1-4.

Huss, W. (1985), 211f.; Geus, K. (1994), 180f.

P. XELLA

6. A member of the Barcid family (→BARCIDS), M. was the youngest son of HAMILCAR (9) and the brother of HANNIBAL (9) and HASDRUBAL (6). Born before 228 BCE, he was a brilliant military commander after Hannibal during the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). He had several successful military operations against the Romans after the battle of Ticino (218). After the battle of Cannae, he travelled to Carthage with news of the victory. He presented three baskets and a half of gold rings, taken from the Rom. cavalry, to the Senate, convincing the senators to grant aid (troops, money and supplies) to his brother Hannibal. Once the preparations were complete, in 215, originally heading for Italy, he changed his plans and assisted the Carthag. armies in Spain. There, alongside Hasdrubal (6) and HANNIBAL (11) he fought against the Romans under the command of the two SCIPIONS (3-4). They had varying success but in 211 they defeated the Rom. army. After the battle of *Baecula in 208, M. handed the command of his troops to HASDRUBAL (8) and travelled to the *Balearic Islands to recruit MERCENARIES. Present at the battle of Ilipa, where the Carthaginians suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of Scipio (SCIPIONS [5]), M. took refuge in *Cádiz, where he recruited new contingents in North Africa and the surrounding Iberian territories. He tried repeatedly and with every means possible to improve Carthag. fortunes in the Iberian Peninsula: he tried to gain the support of the Senate of Carthage and attempted a handshake with the fleet to recover Carthago Nova (*Cartagena). The attempt failed and on his return to Cádiz, he was prevented from entering the city. Then, using a pretext he arranged a meeting with the *Suffetes and the treasurer of the city, took them prisoners, flayed alive and crucified them. Although he was the last Carthag. *strategos* to remain in Spain, he received an order from the Senate of Carthage to sail with the fleet to assist Hannibal in Italy. From the Balearic Islands, where he recruited further troops, he reached the coast

of north. Italy, in Liguria, in the summer of 205, in an attempt to gain the support of the Celts and Ligures. In 203 he and his army went to Carthage. At this point, the sources provide contradictory and partially unreliable information about him. According to Cornelius Nepos, he was still alive in 193. Exiled by Carthage, either he was assassinated by his slave or else died while crossing the sea to reach Antiochus III. The main sources include: Plb. 3,71,5-9; 74,1ff.; 79, 3ff.; 85,6; 114,7; 9,11,1ff.; 10,6,5; 7,3; 37,2; 39,9; 11,20,1; Nep. *Hann.* 7,3-4; 8,1-2; Liv. 21,47,4-7; 54,1-4; 59,9; 22,2,4; 46,7; 23,1,4; 11,7-13,8; 32,5-7 and 11-12; 49,5-14; 24,41,1; 42,6; 25,34,9-36,14; 39,14-15; 26,20,6; 41,20 and 22; 27,20,1-8; 28,1,4-2,12; 12,13-15; 16,13; 23,6-8; 30-32; 35,3; 36-37; 42,8 and 13; 46,7-14; 29,3,15; 4,6; 5,2-9; 13,4; 36,10-12; 30,1,10; 18,1-19,5; *Perioch.* 23; 25; 28-30; App. *Hisp.* 16,60 and 63; 24,93-25,100; 27,105-28,112; 31,120-32,127; 34,138; 37,151-152; *Hann.* 54,227; *Pun.* 7,26; 9,34-35; 31,133; 32,135; 59,260; Zonar. 8,24; 9,1-3; 8-15.

Huss, W. (1985), 335-337, 348f, 394-401, 413ff.; Geus, K. (1994), 181-187.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

7. Of unknown origin, M. is referred to as *gerousiastes*, a member of a college of elders who played an important role in the Carthag. state order. In 215 BCE, during the II Punic War he swore an oath together with MYRCANOS and BARMOCAROS to sanction the treaty between HANNIBAL (9) and PHILIP V of Macedonia. The identification of M. with M. (8) can be excluded completely.
Source: Plb. 7,9,1.

Geus, K. (1994), 188.

P. XELLA

8. Of unknown origin, together with BOSTAR (5) and GISGO (6) he took part in the embassy sent by HANNIBAL (9) to Philip V in the spring of 215 BCE to boost his loyalty. However, the embassy was intercepted by the Romans at the temple of Hera Lacinia. Sources: Liv. 23,34,1-9; 38,1-7.

Geus, K. (1994), 188.

A. ERCOLANI

9. A member of the Barcid family (→BARCIDS), perhaps a son of HASDRUBAL (5). According to Livy, in 215 BCE he was captured by the Romans in Sardinia together with HASDRUBAL (10) and HANNO (23). Source: Liv. 23,41,1-2.

Geus, K. (1994), 188f.

A. ERCOLANI

10. Nicknamed ‘the Samnite’ (Plb. 9,25,4) and belonging to an unknown family, M. was a military commander operating in Bruttium during the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). In 212 BCE he supported military operations against the Thourioi and later succeeded in killing the *proconsul* Sempronius Gracchus (→GRACCHI [2]) in an ambush. In 208, we find him in command of the town of Locri, besieged by the Romans.

Sources: Plb. 8,35,1; 9,25; Liv. 25,15,8-17; 16,7-17,7; 27,28,14-17; Diod. 26,16; Val. Max. 1,6,8; 6,1 *ext.* 6; Polyæn. 6,38,1; Fron. *Str.* 4,7,26; App. *Hann.* 34,146-147; 35,151-152; Zonar. 9,5,9.

Huss, W. (1985), 364f.; Geus, K. (1994), 189f.219.222.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

11. Of unknown origin, M. was a cavalry officer during the II Punic War. His identification with M. (10) can be excluded (see Huss [1985], 378, fn. 14). Source: Liv. 25,21,24.

Huss, W. (1985), 377f.; Geus, K. (1994), 190.

A. ERCOLANI

12. Of unknown origin, in 209 BCE he was in command of Carthago Nova when the city was attacked and besieged by P. Cornelius Scipio (SCIPIONS [5]). Forced to climb onto the citadel after alternating successes, he handed the city to Scipio in exchange for his life. He was transported to Rome along with other eminent Carthaginians (two *gerousiastai* and 15 senators, according to the reports by Polybius and Livy). Sources: Plb. 10,12-19; Liv. 26,44,1-46,9; 49,1-2; 51,1-2; App. *Hisp.* 19,74-23,90.

DCPP, s.v. (10) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 190f.

P. XELLA

13. Of unknown origin, M., a cavalry commander during the II Punic War, in 204 BCE together with HASDRUBAL (8), he launched an attack against P. Cornelius Scipio (SCIPIONS [5]) and MASSINISSA I (1), suffering a defeat with disastrous results. Source: App. *Pun.* 15,64-65.

Geus, K. (1994), 191.

A. ERCOLANI

14. Of unknown origin, M. was part of the embassy sent from Carthage to Rome in 149 BCE – together with GILLIMAS, GISGO (9), HAMILCAR (17) and MISDES – in order to dissuade the Romans from military action against Carthage.

Sources: Plb. 36,3,6-4,9; Liv. *Perioch.* 49; App. *Pun.* 76,354-355.

Geus, K. (1994), 191.

A. ERCOLANI

15. Nicknamed ‘the Bruttius’ (ὁ Βρῆττιος), of unknown origin, M. was perhaps a member of the Carthag. Senate. According to the sources, in 149 BCE, when the Pun. delegation returned from Rome, he gave a pragmatic discourse, realistically outlining the possible outcomes of Carthag. choices on the eve of the III Punic War.

Source: Plb. 36,5,1-5.

Geus, K. (1994), 191f.219.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

16. Of unknown origin, after the I Punic War, during the 3rd cent. BCE, M. wrote a famous agronomic treatise in 28 books in Punic, drawing on Pun. and Gk sources. His work survived the destruction of Carthage and the Rom. Senate ruled that a special commission, directed by D. Silanus, should translate it into Latin (Plin. *Nat.* 18,22). A shortened Gk translation into 20 books, dedicated to the *praetor* Publius Sextilius, was the work of Cassius Dionysius of *Utica, dating to approximately the first decade of the 1st cent. BCE. From it Diophanes of Nicaea extracted a further digest in 6 books in late-republican times (Varro *RR* 1,1,8).

M.’s treatise had enormous influence and popularity, but we only possess extracts – especially concerning

arboriculture – which were preserved by writers such as Varro (*RR* 1,1,10), Columella (6,26,2) and Isidorus (*Etym.* 18,1,1).

Martin, R. (1971) *Recherches sur les agronomes latins et leurs conceptions économiques et sociales*. Paris, 36-52; Speranza, F. (1974²) *Scriptorum de re rustica reliquiae*. I. Messina, 75-119; Heurgon, J. (1976) *CRAI(BL)*, 441-456; *DCPP*, s.v. “Agriculture. Afrique du Nord” (S. Lancel – E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 192f.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

17. M. the son of Adon(i)baal (*ʿdnbʿl*), is mentioned as *rb hmštrt*, “chief intendant/administrator” – a function that may also have had military implications – on a votive inscription from the *tophet of El-Hofra (*Constantine) (*EH* 76). Cf. also BAALSHILLEK. It cannot be excluded that another M., also mentioned at El-Hofra with an identical title (*EH* 84), is the same person.

Szynger, M. In: *SPC*, 83; *DNWSI* II, s.v. *mštr* and *mštrh*, 700.

P. XELLA

The Mago mentioned by Liv. *Perioch.* 21 and Oros. 4,14,9 as responsible for controlling the North Iberian region during the II Punic War, is probably to be identified with BA(A)NNO (1). Also a misunderstanding is the case of the M. mentioned by Liv. 25,18,1: for proposals about his identity cf. Geus (1994), 188. A Μάγος took part in a dialogue with Heraclides Ponticus set in the court of Gelon of Syracuse. He was also a traveller and even circumnavigated Africa (*Str.* 2,98). His name suggests that he may have been a Μάγων (cf. Geus [1994], 213). This information, while not historically reliable, has some plausibility (see e.g. M. [4], *supra*).

MAGONIDS

Pun. *mgnm*. Famous Carthag. family at the highest level of the political life of *Carthage, between the second half of the 6th and the 4th cent. BCE.

As the name of the clan indicates, its founder is traditionally acknowledged to be MAGO (1), mentioned specifically by Justinus. The Lat. writer remembers him as the one who *imperium Poenorum condidisset* (19,1,1), father of the commanders HAMILCAR (1) and HASDRUBAL (1), who in turn led important military

expeditions in North Africa, in *Sardinia and *Sicily. However, it should be noted that in fact Herodotus remembers HANNO (1) as the parent of Hamilcar (and therefore of Hasdrubal?), married to a woman from *Syracuse (7,165-167).

Two other persons called Hanno, understood almost as archetypes of Carthag. history, are mentioned by Pompeius Trogus and Dio Chrysostomus: they are respectively a Hanno ‘Sabellus’ (HANNO [2]), who is credited with significant exploits in North Africa and in Sicily (Pomp. Trog. *Prol.* 19), and someone called a *daimon* of the Carthaginians (see Hanno [1] again), who made them all change from being Tyrians into Libyans (D. Chr. *Or.* 19,5-8). According to some reconstructions (Geus, Huss), the Hanno of Herodotus would be the son of Mago, who, therefore, would remain the head of the clan. Instead, the Hanno mentioned by Dio Chrysostomus, would have been confused in the source with Mago (Hamilcar and Hasdrubal, therefore, would be the grandsons – not the sons – of Mago) [FIG. 42]. In another hypothesis (O. Devillers), which however has not been well received by scholars, the clan was actually created by Hanno, also mentioned by Herodotus and corresponding to the persons mentioned by Pompeius and Dio Chrysostomus (in that case, the confusion would be due to Justinus, who mistakenly cited Mago instead of Hanno, where Mago is a completely separate person). Beyond the problem concerning the founder of the clan, the literary sources as a whole reconstruct the image of a very powerful family. First it led the consolidation of the economic and territorial interests of Carthage in North Africa (besides Hasdrubal [1] and Hamilcar [1] cf. their respective sons: HANNIBAL [1], HASDRUBAL [2], SAPHO, HANNO [4], HIMILCO [2] and GISGO [1]). Then it led the consolidation of the expansionist strategies of the metropolis in regions overseas, specifically in the two largest Italian islands (most of the members of the dynasty were at the centre of conflicts between Carthage and some of the Gk sections of Sicily, especially Syracuse, between the final decade of the 5th cent. and the first twenty years of the 4th cent. BCE; cf. HANNIBAL [2], HIMILCO [3 and 4], MAGO [2]). It is still a matter of debate, instead, whether the famous travellers HANNO (3) and HIMILCO (1) also belong to this clan. It is no accident that classical writers agree in conferring many M. with prominent roles, defining their functions and personalities using the terms *basileus* (e.g. in Herodotus and Diodorus), *dux* and *imperator*

(cf. especially Justinus but also Pliny (*Nat.* 5,8 and 6,200). For some time it has been suggested (G.-Ch. Picard, S. Lancel) that these definitions should be understood in the sense of carrying out particularly military and diplomatic tasks, as distinct from the office of Suffete (*Suffetes) and often obtained thanks to ‘official’ choices based on personal merit linked to or derived from the family to which he/they belonged and also possibly expressed, by means of strategic connections with important foreign (Greek or Sicily in this case) families. Indicative examples are the cases of Hamilcar (1), son or grandson of Mago (1) and a woman from Syracuse, defeated at *Himera in 480, and of Hannibal (2), the grandson of Hamilcar who gained a victory over the same city about seventy years later. The nature of the *basileia* of the first (Hamilcar [1]) is qualified in Herodotus by the term *andragathia* (7,165-6). The same function, for the second (Hannibal [2]), is defined by Diodorus Siculus using the expression *kata nomous* (13,43,5), which seems to presuppose the application of legal procedures for conferring such offices. Furthermore, it does not exclude that some of these persons could also claim religious functions. Again, in respect of Hamilcar of Himera, Herodotus records a tradition that after his troops were defeated, the commander threw himself on the pyre that he himself had prepared for sacrifices in order to obtain good omens on the outcome

of the war (7,167). Moreover, following the destruction of Syracuse in 408, his grandson Hannibal (2) offered 3,000 prisoners as a sacrifice on the site where Hamilcar had died (Diod. 13,62,4). The rise of the M. dynasty, at least in its initial phases, coincided with a general consolidation of internal institutions in Carthage. This corresponded to the emergence of certain family groups and outstanding individuals (especially strategists and naval leaders) who monopolized some public sectors at the time (especially concerning foreign policy). Groups and prominent individuals made themselves bearers of a progressive “interventionism on the Mediterr. chessboard” (M. Guirguis), at least according to the sources, in order to affirm and safeguard the economic strategies adopted by Carthage. In the period marked by the presence of M. at the summit of Carthag. politics with particular reference to the first members, however, this “interventionism” need not have meant an actual conquest, also made a reality in the form of military occupation. Rather, its aim perhaps was to sustain a foreign policy intended to create and defend a complex trading network, as part of the first attempts by Carthage to assert itself internationally. On the other hand, a similar approach is well documented by the stipulation in the first treaty with ROME (→TREATIES) and by the cultural and diplomatic climate to which the famous plaques from *Pyrgi belong. It has also been proposed

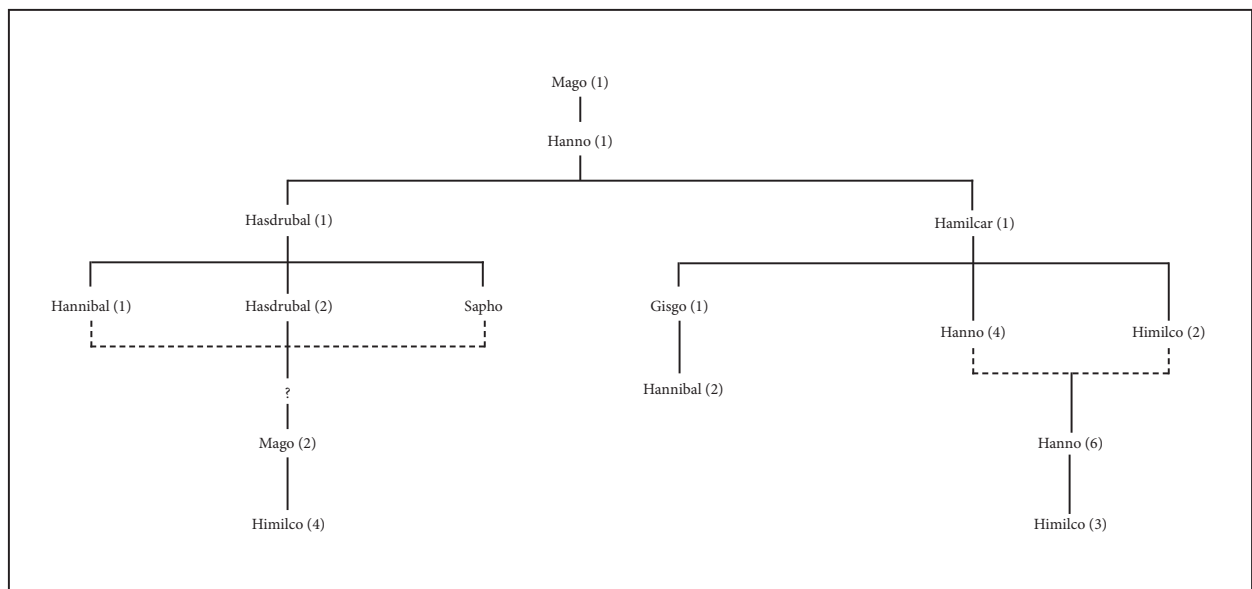


Fig. 42. The Magonids

by several scholars that these military actions also had a strong ‘personal’ stamp, intended to satisfy the specific economic interests of a powerful family group, able to organize and administer very demanding military undertakings using their own resources (interests that, on the other hand, could also coincide with the requirements ‘of the state’). As noted at the start, the ‘fortunes’ of the M. lasted until the beginning of the 4th cent. BCE. After the defeat of HIMILCO (3) at Syracuse in 396, for which he committed suicide (Diod. 14,76,3-4), prob. there was a grave political and institutional crisis in Carthage that involved the dynasty, marking the end of the powers they had gained up to that moment (L. Maurin). Finally, it should be remembered that even though our knowledge is almost confined to the literary sources, there seems to be an indication of two M. in a first-hand document from Carthage, namely CIS I, 5510. In its last two lines (9-11), the inscription mentions two *rb* (“great”, “leader” and specifically “commander-in-chief”, “general”), with evocative names and genealogies: *ʾdnbʾl bn grskn*, “Adonibaal son of Gisgo”, and *hmlkt bn hn*, “Himilco son of Hanno”. They are followed by the mention of a *ʾgrgnt*. On the basis of this text, recently the possibility has been resumed of interpreting the term *ʾgrgnt* as the place-name *Agrigentum and of identifying the two commanders mentioned as the two leaders recorded by Diodorus Siculus (13,80,2). They directed the siege of Agrigentum in 406 and can be identified as Hannibal (2), son of Gisgo (1), and Himilco (3), son of Hanno (6) (Ch. R. Krahmalkov, M. G. Amadasi Guzzo). In addition, the inscription seems to record also the drafting of a peace treaty or at least a truce, between the Carthag. and the *bʾl nws*. The latter must be ‘refugees’ and so correspond to a group of Greeks who had tried to defend Agrigentum but were forced to abandon that city. Another reference to the two Carthag. commanders can be found in a Gk inscription, dated 407/406, in which, following some readings, they appear as *strategoi* in Sicily (B. D. Meritt).

HAAN, II, 186-192; Meritt, B. D. (1940) Athens and Carthage. In: *Athenian studies presented to W. S. Ferguson*. Cambridge (MA)/London, 247-253; Maurin, L. (1962) *Semitica*, 12, 5-43; Picard, G. Ch. and Picard, C. (1970) *Vie et mort de Carthage*. Paris, 53-122; Krahmalkov, Ch. R. (1974) *RSF*, 2, 171-177; Whittaker, C. R. (1978) Carthaginian imperialism in the fifth and fourth centuries. In: Garnsey, P. D. A. and Whittaker, C. R. (eds) (1978) *Imperialism in the ancient world*. Cambridge, 59-90; van den Branden, A. (1981) L’inscription punique CIS, 5510. In: *al-Hudhud. Festschrift Maria Höfner zum 80. Geburtstag*. Graz,

35-44; Lipiński, E. (1984) *OLP*, 15, 126-130; Huss, W. (1985), *passim*; Anello, P. (1986) *Kokalos*, 32, 115-179; Picard, G. Ch. (1988) Le pouvoir suprême à Carthage. In: *StPhoen* 6, 119-124; Sanders, L. J. (1988) *Historia*, 37, 72-89; *DCCP*, s.v. “Magonides” (G. Ch. Picard); Lancel, S. (1992) *Carthage*. Paris, 157-162; Geus, K. (1994), *passim*; Schmitz, Ph. C. (1994) *JNES*, 53, 1-13; Bondi, S. F. (1995) Les institutions, l’organisation politique et administrative. In: Krings, V. (1995), 290-302; Günther, L. M. (1995) L’aristocratie des grands négociants à Carthage et sa politique d’outre-mer aux VI^e et Ve siècles av. J.-C. In: *APC* 3, 128-132; Bartoloni, P., Bondi, S. F. and Moscati, S. (1997) *La penetrazione fenicia e punica in Sardegna trent’anni dopo*. Rome; Krings, V. (1998) *Carthage et les Grecs, c. 580-480 av. J.-C. Textes et histoire*. Leiden/Boston/Köln, *passim*; van Dommelen, P. (1998) *On colonial grounds. A comparative study of colonialism and rural settlement in 1st millennium B.C. West Central Sardinia*. Leiden, 115-159; Anello, P. (2000) L’area elima tra V e IV sec. a.C. In: *Atti delle terze giornate internazionali di studi sull’area elima (Gibellina-Erice-Contessa Entellina, 23-26 ottobre 1997)*. Pisa/Gibellina, 13-39; Bondi, S. F. (2000) Fenici e Punici nel Mediterraneo Occidentale tra il 600 e il 500 a.C. In: Bernardini, P., Spanu, P. G. and Zucca, R. (eds) *Μάχη. La battaglia del Mare Sardonio. Studi e ricerche*. Cagliari/Oristano, 57-71; Devillers, O. (2000) ‘Magonides’ ou ‘Hannonides’? A propos de Justin, *Historiae Philippicae* XIX 1,1. In: *APC* 4, 147-151; Manfredi, L. I. (2003) *La politica amministrativa di Cartagine in Africa*. Rome; Bernardini, P. (2004) *RSF*, 32, 35-56; Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. (2006) Epigrafia e storia politica fenicia e punica in Sicilia. In: *Guerra e pace in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo antico (VIII-III sec. a.C.): arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della guerra. Atti delle Quinte Giornate Internazionali di studi sull’area elima e la Sicilia occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo (Erice 2003)*, I-II. Pisa, 693-702; Bondi, S. F. (2006) Obiettivi e modalità dell’azione di Cartagine in Sicilia. In: *ibidem*, 131-138; Domínguez Monedero, A. J. (2010) *Mainake*, 22, 735-759; Blasetti Fantauzzi, C. and De Vincenzo, S. (2012) *KuBA*, 2, 5-30; De Vincenzo, S. (2013) *Tra Cartagine e Roma: i centri urbani dell’eparchia punica di Sicilia tra VI e I sec. a.C.* Berlin/Boston; Fumadó Ortega, I. (2013) *Gerión*, 31, 117-146; Bondi, S. F. (2014) Phoenicity, Punicities. In: Quinn, J. C. and Vella, N. C. (eds) *The Punic Mediterranean. Identities and identification from Phoenician settlements to Roman rule*. Cambridge, 58-68; Guirguis, M. (2016) *Cartagine. Studi e Ricerche*, 1 (<http://ojs.unica.it/index.php/caster/>).

G. GARBATI

MAHALCES

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 7,599. His name may derive from the root *mhr*.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 36; Geus, K. (1994), 214.

MAHARBAAL

Phoen. theophoric PN *mhrbʾl*, “Hero/Soldier of Baal”; Gk *Μάαρβαλ*, *Μάαρβα*, *Μέρβαλος*; Lat. *Maharbal*.

PNPPI, 137f.340f.; Vattioni, F. (1979) *AIONArchStAnt*, 1, 179.

1. King of *Tyre, mentioned by Josephus (*Ap.* 1,158); he probably reigned between 555 and 552 BCE.

Lipiński, E. (2006) *On the skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age*. OLA 154. Leuven, 200f.

2. King of *Arwad, who reigned in about 480 BCE and at the battle of *Salamis was an admiral in the Phoen. fleet on the side of the PERSIANS (*Hdt.* 7,98).

Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans.* 19. Pendé, 136f.

3. Carthag. Suffete (→*Suffetes), whose son was also a Suffete, mentioned in an inscription (*CIS* I, 176 = *KAI* 82) on a votive *aedicola* from *Carthage dating to the 3rd cent. BCE.

DCPP, s.v. (3) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 193 (1).

4. Carthag. character of uncertain chronology (ca 396 BCE), possibly the instigator of an unsuccessful revolt by the Libyans, some of whom were killed while the rest were taken captive (*Fron. Str.* 2,5,12; *Polyaen.* 5,10,1).

Huss, W. (1985), 123, fn. 116; *DCPP*, s.v. (4) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 193.

5. Carthag. officer who led the siege of *Saguntum during HANNIBAL's (9) forced absence in 219 BCE. Not to be confused with M. (6).

Huss, W. (1985), 283; *DCCP*, s.v. (5) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 194.

6. Son of BOMILCAR (2), a cavalry officer under HANNIBAL (9) during the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), and renowned as one of his most talented and loyal officers. He led numerous battles (Ticino, Trasimeno, Cannae) and is credited with the famous dictum: *vincere scis, Hannibal, victoria uti nescis* (*Liv.* 22,51,4).

Main ancient sources: *Plb.* 3,84,14; 85,2-4; 86,4-5; *Liv.* 21,45,2-4; 22,6,11; 8,1; 13,9-10; 14,1; 46,7; 51,1-4; 23,18,4; *Perioch.* 22 (where he is erroneously called Atherbal); *Flor.* 1,22,19; *Amm.* 18,5,6; *Zonar.* 9,1. Add *Sil. Pun.* 4,562-566 etc.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36; Huss, W. (1985), 317f.332f.338; *DCPP*, s.v. (5) (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 12.194-196; *NAN*, s.v., 79.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

MALCHUS

Lat. *Malchus*, a correction of the forms *Maceus*, *Maleus* and *Mazeus* in *Just.* 18,7 (also *Mazeus* in *Oros.* 4,6,7-8), derived from a conjecture that dates back to I. Vossius (1618-1689), who connected the name of a Carthag. general (see below) with Sem. *mlk* ("to reign").

M. is the name traditionally given to a Pun. general who, in the years immediately after the mid.-6th cent. BCE, was at the head of what has long been considered as the first attempt by *Carthage to extend its territory. *Justinus* (18,7,1-2) records especially a series of military operations led by M. on North African soil, which were followed by important and successful expeditions in *Sicily. After the victories in the largest Italian island, the general's action shifted to *Sardinia, where his army suffered a severe defeat (it has been proposed to link that defeat with the famous battle of the Sardonian Sea, caused by Gk expansion in the Tyrrhenian sea: →ALALIA). For some time, M.'s interventions – together with those of the commanders who followed him (HAMILCAR [1] and HASDRUBAL [2] the MAGONIDS) – have been understood as the outcome of an increasingly colonial policy by Carthage, principally aimed at imposing its power and authority over some of the regions where the ancient Phoen. colonies arose. At present, however, a more nuanced viewpoint is preferable. Indeed, it is not easy to reconstruct the real nature of these 6th-cent. military actions and determine their consequences. But then, historical and archaeological investigations have helped to overhaul the traditional idea of a sudden and definitive Carthag. dominance, both economic and political, over Phoen. towns (a more 'commercial' perspective, for instance, has been suggested). After all, the sources – namely *Justinus* about M. – are quite ambiguous and do not specify the identity of his enemies and the chronology of events. Moreover, it must be said that the actual historicity of the commander has been often questioned, due to the relationship of his name with the Sem. root *mlk*, which seems to turn M. into a symbolic figure (but, as stressed above, this connection derives from mere conjecture). After M.'s failure

in Sardinia, the Carthag. authorities forced him into exile. Strongly supported by his army, he responded to the threat by besieging Carthage and by crucifying his own son for refusing to join him (→*Crucifixion). That son, called CARTHALO, was a priest of *Melqart (→*Priesthood) who had just returned from his annual voyage to *Tyre. The episode was resolved by M. being condemned to death, accused of tyranny. These events – and the story of M. as a whole – could somehow be symptomatic of a crisis in Carthag. institutions, marked by the emergence of single charismatic characters (including M. and his followers, the Magonids) and by the gradual search for a renewed balance in the political organization of the metropolis. Main sources: Aristot. *Pol.* 5,12 (1316a); Just. 18,7; Oros. 4,6,6-9.

Bunnens, G. (1979) *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée*. Rome, 288f.; Huss, W. (1988) *Latomus*, 47, 53-58; Lancel, S. (1992) *Carthage*. Paris, 158; Lilliu, G. (1992) *RAL*, 9,3, 17-35; Geus, K. (1994), 196-198; Bondi, S. F. (1996) *Siciliae partem domuerant*. Malco e la politica siciliana di Cartagine nel VI secolo a.C. In: *Studi Moscati*, 23-28; Acquaro, E. (1998) Giustino XVIII, 4-7: riletture e considerazioni. In: Rolfe, R., Schmidt, K. and Docter, R. (eds) *Archäologische Studien in Kontaktzonen der antiken Welt*. Göttingen, 413-417; Krings, V. (1998) *Carthage et les Grecs*. Leiden/Boston/Köln, 33-91; Bernardini P. (2000), I materiali etruschi nelle città fenicie di Sardegna. In: Bernardini, P., Spanu, P. G. and Zucca, R. (eds) *Μάχη. La battaglia del Mare Sardonio*. Studi e ricerche. Cagliari/Oristano, 175-194; Bondi, S. F. (2000) Fenici e Punici nel Mediterraneo Occidentale tra il 600 e il 500 a.C. In: *ibid.*, 57-71; Fantar, M. H. (2000), Carthage au temps de la bataille de la Mer Sardonienne. *Ibid.*, 77-84; Gras, M. (2000) La battaglia del Mare Sardonio. *Ibid.*, 37-46; Acquaro, E. (2001) *Gerión*, 19, 119-125; Bondi, S. F. (2006) Obiettivi e modalità dell'azione di Cartagine in Sicilia. In: *Guerra e pace in Sicilia e nel Mediterraneo antico (VIII-III sec. a.C.): arte, prassi e teoria della pace e della guerra*. Atti delle Quinte Giornate Internazionali di studi sull'area elima e la Sicilia occidentale nel contesto mediterraneo (Erice 2003), I-II. Pisa, 131-138; Domínguez Monedero, A. J. (2010) *Mainake*, 22, 735-759; Blasetti Fantauzzi, C. and De Vincenzo, S. (2012) *KuBA*, 2, 5-30; De Vincenzo, S. (2013) *Tra Cartagine e Roma: i centri urbani dell'eparchia punica di Sicilia tra VI e I sec. a.C.* Berlin/Boston; Fumadó Ortega, I. (2013) *Gerión*, 31, 117-146; Guirguis, M. (2016) *Cartagine Studi e Ricerche*, 1 (<http://ojs.unica.it/index.php/caster/>).

G. GARBATI

Mamertines see MERCENARIES; PUNIC WARS

MANLIUS TORQUATUS, TITUS

Member of the patrician *gens* of the Manlii, elected as *consul* in 235 BCE and sent to subdue *Sardinia, which the Romans had just taken from the Carthaginians

(*Inscr. It.* XIII.1, 76f., 549; Liv. 23,4,5; Eutr. 3,3,3; Oros. 4,12,2). He was re-elected as *consul* in 224. After the disaster at Cannae, during the Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), he supported a hard-line approach and was against paying a ransom for Rom. prisoners (Liv. 22,60). In 215 he was again sent to Sardinia, where he repressed the revolt by HAMPSICORA and defeated HASDRUBAL (10) 'the Bald'. He succeeded in capturing several Pun. aristocrats, including Hasdrubal himself (Liv. 23,34,10-15 and 40,1-41,7; Eutr. 3,12,4 and 13,2; Zonar. 9). He died in 202.

RE, XIV,1, s.v. "Manlius" (82) cols 1207-1209 (F. Münzer); Broughton, T. R. S. (1951) *The magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 1. New York, 223.231.256.

U. LIVADIOTTI

MARAXES

Carthagin. commander in Sil. *Pun.* 7,324. A Lib. origin of the name is not excluded.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36; Geus, K. (1994), 214; NAN, 82.

Marcellus see CLAUDII (4)

MARINUS OF TYRE

Gk Μαρίνοϛ.

A geographer whose work is only known through Claudius Ptolemy, who mentions it in his *Geography*. Although correcting some of M.'s faults, Ptolemy praised him and his work, which was his own main source of geographical data. M. also created a map of the inhabited world and a cartographical treatise, which probably went through several revised editions. Presumably M. died early in the 2nd cent. CE.

RE XIV,2, s.v. "Marinos" (2) cols 1767-1796 (E. Honigmann); Berggren, J. L. and Jones, A. (2000) *Ptolemy's Geography. An annotated translation of the theoretical chapters*. Princeton/Oxford, 23-30; Jones, A. (2012) Marinus of Tyre. In: *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History* (<http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com> [Accessed 15.08.2017]).

G. MINUNNO

MASAESYLII

Gk Μασσαισύλιοι; Lat. *Massaesyles*.

Name by which a series of ancient writers (Plb. 3,33,15; Liv. 28,17,5; Plin. *Nat.* 5,19; 21,77; Str. 17,3,9; Dion. Per. 5,186) call the west. Numid. populations between the MAURI to the W and the tribes of the MASSYLII (with which some authors confuse them: cf. e.g. Sil. *Pun.* 16,170ff.) to the E. The territory of the M. – which included the important cities of Siga (*Takembrit) and Cirta (*Constantine) – was located approximately between the Mulucha river and Cape Bougaroun. Around the second half of the 3rd cent. BCE, at the time of the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), the sources speak of centralized and fairly organized Numid. kingdoms. Previously, however, more or less distinct and independent Numid. tribes were involved in important events of North African history (such as the expeditions of AGATHOCLES and ATILIUS REGULUS), characterized by different and often changing tendencies and strategies. In the final glimpse of the 3rd cent., SYPHAX was the king of the M.; on his death, in 201, sovereignty passed to the king of the Massylii, MASSINISSA I (1), although a remnant of an autonomous Masaeslyian kingdom survived under the guidance of VERMINA. On the eve of the III Punic War, according to Livy (*Perioch.* 48), there is evidence of guerrilla activity by ARCOBARZANES, the grandson of Syphax.

HAAN III, 175f.; *RE* XIV,2, s.v. col. 2057 (E. Schwabe); Desanges, J. (1962) *Catalogue des tribus africaines. De l'Antiquité classique à l'ouest du Nil*. Dakar, 62; Desanges, J. (2010) Masaesyli/Masaesyles. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 30. Leuven, 4630f.

U. LIVADIOTTI

MASGABA

Numid. prince, the son of MASSINISSA (1). He participated in the congratulatory journey to ROME after the Rom. victory against Antiochus IV of Macedonia at Pydna. On that occasion (168 BCE), he took the opportunity to remind the Senate of his father's service to the Romans during the PUNIC WARS. His purpose was to make Rome consent to Massinissa's acquisition of Carthag. territory. After that episode (Liv. 45,14,5), Livy makes no further mention of him and, as a consequence, it is unclear what happened to him.

Huss, W. (1985), 430, fn. 40; Geus, K. (1994), 128.

P. XELLA

MASSINISSA

Pun. *msnsn*; Gk Μασσανάσσης; Lat. *Masinissa*.

1. Numid. prince, son of GAIA, M. was king of the tribe of the MASSYLII. Brought up in *Carthage (App. *Pun.* 10), during the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), from 212 BCE, he fought alongside the Carthaginians in Iberia. There he fought successfully against the Romans, also contributing to the defeat and death of Scipio's father (→SCIPIONS [4]) (Liv. 25,34). However, the Carthag. failures in Iberia led him, in 206, to offer his friendship to the young Scipio (→SCIPIONS [5]), who, while fighting against him, had appreciated his qualities (Liv. 28,35). Also in 206, his father's death had led to another branch of the family coming to the throne of the Massylii and the emergence of a dynastic struggle. M., who refused to acknowledge his cousin LACUMAZES as king, went back to Africa and defeated his rival there. Meanwhile however, Lacumazes had asked for the support of SYPHAX, king of the Numid. MASAESYLII (Liv. 29,29-30). Syphax, who had long been an ally of the Romans, had recently gained the support of the Carthaginians, thanks to his marriage to the Pun. woman Sophonisba (→SOPHONIBAAL [3]) (with whom, according to many ancient sources, M. had fallen madly in love) and repeatedly defeated M. At the end of an adventurous escape across the desert, M. took refuge on the Lib. coast. There, in 205 he contacted LAELIUS (1), who succeeded in making an agreement with the Romans (Liv. 29,31-33). Therefore, when Scipio landed in Africa in 204, M. was able to rush to his side, with an army (although the ancient sources do not agree on its initial size). However, during the African campaign, with the invaluable assistance of his cavalry, M. proved to be the most important ally of the Romans. After taking part in the siege of *Utica, in a night attack on the encampments of Syphax and in the battle of the *Campi Magni* (Plb. 14,3-4 and 8; Liv. 30,5-6 and 8-9; App. *Pun.* 22-23), M. pursued his rival into Numidia, defeating him and occupying Cirta (*Constantine) (Liv. 30,11-12). After the battle of *Zama (in which his role was fundamental) and the resulting surrender of the Carthaginians, M. obtained the title of king (directly from Scipio, according to Liv. 30,15,11). In the following decades he maintained a considerably deferential attitude towards Rome and the Scipions, remaining their faithful client. This allowed him, over time, to extend

his properties towards the E and eventually (at the expense of the Carthaginians) to the markets on the Sirte and the town of Thugga (*Dougga) (Plb. 31,21; Liv. 34,62; App. *Pun.* 67) [Fig. 43]. However, the clauses of the peace treaty drawn up between Romans and Carthaginians in 202 (→TREATIES) forbade the latter from defending their own territory autonomously, using weapons. Therefore, whenever M. strayed over their borders, they were forced to appeal to Rome to arbitrate, as happened in 193, in 182, in 174, in 172 and again in 153 – to no avail, as the border commissions sent by the Romans always favoured M. Finally, in 151, the Carthaginians broke the peace treaty with Rome and began hostilities against M. He defeated them the following year (App. *Pun.* 71-73), even before the Romans had landed in Africa, setting off the III Punic War. M. died shortly afterwards, aged well over 90, in 148. On the instructions of Scipio Aemilianus (→SCIPIONS [6]), whom M. chose as the executor of his will, his kingdom was divided up between his sons MICIPSA (1), GULUSSA and MASTANABAL (Liv. *Perioch.* 50,5; App. *Pun.* 105-107). To each of his ten sons were left flourishing farms of almost 900 hectares (Plb. 36,16,6; Diod. 32,16). Described in the sources as an individual of great physical strength and courage, M. was able (thanks also to his extremely long reign) to reorganize the social, political and cultural bases of the territory under his control. Strabo (17,833) considers him to be the architect behind the transformation from nomadism to sedentary agriculture. He bound the various local tribal leaders to himself as vassals and improved urban life. He encouraged the spread of the Pun. language and of Pun. art and culture in the whole vast area under his control. Even though commercial exchanges with the Hellenist. East do not seem to have been very intense, it is generally accepted that M. aspired to the political and institutional *Hellenization of the Numid. world.

Camps, G. (1961) *Aux origines de la Berberie, Massinissa ou les débuts de l'histoire*. Libya VIII. Alger; Walsh, P. G. (1965) *JRS*, 55, 149-160; Saumagne, Ch. (1966) *La Numidie et Rome: Massinissa et Jugurtha*. Paris; Kotula, T. (1976) *Masyinissa*. Warsaw (Polish); Radnorthy-Alföldi, M. (1979) Die Geschichte des numidischen Königsreiches und seiner Nachfolger. In: Horn, H. G. and Rüger, Ch. B. (eds) *Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara*. Köln, 51-57; Haley, S. P. (1990) *Historia*, 39, 375-381; Huss, W. (1990) *AntAfr.* 26, 39-42; Coltelloni-Trannoy, M. (1993-1995) *BCHT*, 24, 59-82; Ripoll, F. (2003) *AC*, 72, 95-111; Aoulad Taher, M. (2004) *AntAfr.* 40, 29-41; Storm, E. (2001) *Massinissa. Numidien im Aufbruch*. Stuttgart; Lassère, J.-M.



Fig. 43. Coin of Massinissa I (Cirta)

(2010) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 30. Leuven, 4650-4661; Badi, D. (ed.) (i.p.) *Massinissa, au cœur de la consécration du premier état Numide. Actes du Colloque International. El-Khroub, Constantine, du 20 au 22 septembre 2014*.

2. M. was a Numid. prince whom POMPEIUS MAGNUS placed at the head of west. Numidia (→NUMIDIANS) in 81 BCE. According to [Aur. Vict.] *Vir. Ill.* 77,2, that region had been taken away from king HIARBAS (1). In 46 BCE, having sided with Pompeian forces during the civil war, M. was defeated by BOCCHUS II (2) and P. SITTUS, allies of Caesar, who divided his kingdom between them. We do not know how and when M. died, although we know that his son ARABION survived him (App. *BC* 4,54).

Camps, G. (1984) *BAC* NS 17B, 303-311; *DCPP*, s.v. (M. Dubuisson – E. Lipiński).

U. LIVADIOTTI

MASSYLII

Gk Μασσύλιοι (with several variants); Lat. *Massylīi*, *Maesuli*. Name used by Gk and Lat. writers (Plb. 3, 33,15; Str. 2,131 and 17,829; Plin. *Nat.* 5,30; App. *Pun.* 10,27) for the Numid. (→NUMIDIANS) tribes who had settled directly S and W of *Carthage and to the E of the MASAESYLII. The ancient sources mention them after the 3rd cent. BCE in connection with Rom. campaigns in Africa. The first leader we know of is ZELALSEN, who was succeeded by his son GAIA (or Gala), the father of MASSINISSA (1) (Liv. 24,48,3). It was Massinissa who formed a single unified kingdom on the death of SYPHAX, king of the Masaesylīi. After the 1st cent. BCE, this gentilic does not seem to have been used except by poets in the late imperial

age with the vague meaning of someone indigenous to N. Africa.

RE XIV,2, s.v. col. 2166 (E. Schwabe); Fantar, M. H. and Decret, F. (1981) *L'Afrique du Nord dans l'Antiquité*. Paris, 97ff.; DCP, s.v. "Massyles" (E. Lipiński); Chaker, S. (2010) Massyles et Massaesytes. Note linguistique complémentaire. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 30. Leuven, 4663; Desanges, J. (2010) Massyli/Massyles. *ibid.*, 4662f.

U. LIVADIOTTI

MASTANABAL

Pun. *mstn'b'*.

Younger son of MASSINISSA (1), highly educated in Gk culture (Liv. *Perioch.* 50: *graecis litteris eruditus*). In 158 BCE his stable competed in the Panathenaic Games in Athens and he won a chariot race (IG II² 2316). On the death of his father (148) he acceded to the throne of Numidia (→NUMIDIANS) together with his brothers MICIPSA (1) and GULUSSA. When powers were shared out among the three, M. was chiefly responsible for the administration of justice (Sal. *Jug.* 5; App. *Pun.* 106). He died of an illness (Sal. *Jug.* 5) in an unspecified year, before 139 (the year in which his brother Micipsa began to rule on his own: cf. KAI 112) leaving two sons: GAUDA and JUGURTHA. It has been proposed that the famous 'Berber's head' (→BERBERS) found at Cyrene in 1861 is a portrait of M.

Roller, D. W. (2002) *JHS*, 122, 144-146; Aoulad Taher, M. (2004) *AntAfr.* 40, 29-41; Kerbouche, F. (2010) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 30. Leuven, 4664-4667.

U. LIVADIOTTI

MASTANESOSUS

Pun. *mstns(n)*.

Prince of several west. Numid. tribes, he reigned in 62 BCE. M. is known from a reference in Cic. *Vat.* 5,12. Some scholars consider him to be Sosus, the father of BOCCHUS II (2) and BOGUD (2), whose names occur on coins and perhaps even as the MASSINISSA (2) mentioned in [Aur. Vict.], *Vir. Ill.* 77. Possibly the father of BOCCHUS (1) had the same name.

Février, J.-G. (1961) *Semitica*, 11, 9-15; Euzennat, M. (1966) Le roi Sosus et la dynastie maurétanienne. In: *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'épigraphie et d'histoire offerts à Jérôme Carcopino*.

Paris, 333-339; Camps, G. (1970) Sosus ou Mastanesosus, roi de 80 à 49 av. J.-C.? In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, édition provisoire, Cahier no. 5; Amandry, M. (1989) *RN*, 31, 80-85; DCP, s.v. (M. Dubuisson – E. Lipiński); Majdoub, M. (1998) Pompéius Magnus et les rois Maures. In: *AfRo* 12, 1321-1324.

U. LIVADIOTTI

MASULIS

Name of a soldier in the army of HASDRUBAL during the siege of *Saguntum in Sil. *Pun.* 1,405. Probably, it is the Lat. form of a Lib. PN, which occurs with various spellings in North African texts.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36; Geus, K. (1994), 214; *NAN*, 88.

MATHO

Gk Μάθος.

Lib. soldier, one of the leaders who emerged during the war of the MERCENARIES (241-238). Having fought in the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS) in the Carthag. army in *Sicily, when the revolt of the mercenaries who had returned to north. Africa began, M. put himself at their head, inciting the Lib. people to revolt as well. M. was captured only at the end of the war. Once the rebellion had been crushed, M. was taken in triumph to *Carthage and tortured horribly. Main source: Plb. 1,65-88.

HAAN III, 100ff.; RE XIV,2, s.v. "Mathos" cols 2195-2197 (V. Ehrenberg); Huss, W. (1988) *GNS*, 38, 30-33.

G. MINUNNO

MATTAN

Phoen. and Pun. PN *mtn*, probably "Gift (of the deity)"; Hebr. *mtn*; Akk. *Mé-e-te-en-na*, *Meli-tu-nu*; Gk Μάθαν, Ματτήν (and variants); Lat. *Mettes*, *Mutto*, *Muttun*, *Muttines*.

PNPPI, 356.

1. King of *Tyre in the second half of the 9th cent. BCE, over which he ruled for 29 years. According to one tradition, he was *Belos, the father of *Elissa and *Pygmalion.

Sources: Just. 18,4,3; Serv. A. 1,343; Joseph. *Ap.* 1,125.

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 185-188.

2. King of Tyre who gave tribute to the official sent by TIGLATH-PILESER III (amounting to 150 talents of gold and 2000 talents of silver), probably shortly after 732 BCE.

RINAP 1: 47 rev. 16'; 49 rev. 26'.

3. Priest of *Baal in *Jerusalem. He was killed in the rioting when queen Athaliah was overthrown and Jehoash placed on the throne, in about 835 BCE (2 Kgs 11,18; 2 Chr 23,17).

Source: Joseph. *Ap.* 9,154.

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 181.

4. Governor of the Ass. province of Isana (which probably had its capital on the River Tigris) under SARGON II and SENNACHERIB. He was the eponym for the year 700.

Ungnad, E. (1938) Eponymen. In: *RIA*, 2, 450; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Parpola, S. (1987) *The correspondence of Sargon II. I. Letters from Assyria and the West*. Helsinki, 45.

5. M., together with GERASTRATOS, governed Tyre as a Suffete (*Suffetes) for six years (562-557 BCE ca). Source: Joseph. *Ap.* 1,157.

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 327.341.

6. King of Tyre, son of HIRAM IV (4). At the head of a naval squadron, he took part in the expedition of XERXES against Greece in the II Persian War.

Source: Hdt. 7,98.

Katzenstein, H. J. (1979) *BA*, 42, 28; Elayi, J. (2006) *JAOS*, 126, 411-418.

7. M., Libyo-Phoen. commander (→LIBYO-PHOENICIANS), born in *Hyppo Diarrhytus. During the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS), after the fall of *Syracuse (212 BCE), he was chosen by HANNIBAL (9), who had trained him, to fight alongside Epicides and HANNO (24) in command of the Carthag. troops in *Sicily, replacing Hippocrates, who had died. Epicides and Hanno put him in command of the Numid.

troops, with which he made successful raids in the island, making Hanno envious. Eventually, Hanno replaced him with his own son, so inducing M. to switch allegiance to the Romans, whom he allowed to enter *Agrigentum (210), and then he joined forces with their cavalry. Subsequently, at the head of the Numid. cavalry, M. took part in Rome's war against Antiochus III of Syria.

Sources: Liv. 25,40; 26,21,15; 26,40; 27,5,6-7; 27, 8,18; 38,41.

RE XVI,2, s.v. "Myttones" cols 1428-1430 (V. Ehrenberg).

8. M. son of Hanno, was a Suffete of *Leptis Magna, as recorded in a bilingual (Lat./Pun.) inscription dating to 8 BCE (*KAI* 120).

G. MINUNNO

MATTANBAAL

Phoen. *mtnb'l*, "Gift of Baal"; Akk. *Ma-ta-an-ba-'a-al*, *Ma-ta-an-bi-'i-il*, *Ma-ti-nu-ba-'a-li*. A very popular theophoric PN in Phoen. and Pun. *Onomas-tics.

PNPPI, 145.356f.

1. M. I, king of *Arwad towards the middle of the 9th cent. BCE, took part in an anti-Ass. coalition – by contributing 200 soldiers – against SHALMANESER III at the battle of Qarqar in 853.

DCPP, s.v. (E. Lipiński); *RIMA* 3,23; *PNA* 2/II, 746, s.v. "Mattan-Baal" (1) (M. Jursa); Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 86.

2. M. II, king of Arwad in the second half of the 8th cent. BCE, is mentioned among the subject kings who paid tribute (in his case, particularly rich) to the Ass. king TIGLATH-PILESER III, according to a text dated to 729 or slightly later.

PNA 2/II, 746, s.v. "Mattan-Baal" (2) (E. Frahm – A. Fuchs); *RINAP* 1: 47 rev 10'; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 95-98.

3. M. III, king of Arwad in the 7th cent. BCE, is mentioned by the Ass. king ESARHADDON among the kings forced to contribute to the construction of his palace in Niniveh (673).

PNA 2/II, 746 s.v. “Mattan-Baal” (3) (E. Frahm – A. Fuchs); RINAP 4: 1 v 60; 5 vi 11’; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 105f.

4. A M. who held the office of “Chief of the priests” or “High priest” (*rb khnm*) (→*Priesthood) is known from his funerary inscription at *Carthage (*CIS I*, 5946, 3rd cent. BCE) [FIG. 44], found in the necropolis of Sainte Monique, ‘Secteur des Rabs’ (and whose genealogy goes back to his great-great-grandfather).

RÉS, 538; Bénichou-Safar, H. (1982) *Les tombes puniques de Carthage*. Paris, 208, no. 8.

G. MINUNNO



Fig. 44. Funerary inscription of the high-priest Mattanbaal (4) (Carthage)

Mauretania see MAURI

MAURI

The name M. (Gk Μαῦροι, Μαυρούσιοι; Lat. *Mauri*) was given various meanings and expansions in the course of history. For the LATINS, the M. were a part of the indigenous peoples of North Africa and, according to several classical sources, a tribal kingdom of Mauretania existed from the mid-4th cent. BCE from the Atlantic shores to the river Mulucha (current Moulouga). The first reliable mention is by

Livy (19,30,1), who refers to a king called Baga, as an ally of MASSINISSA (1). The next reference is to BOCCHUS, king of Mauretania, at the turn of the 2nd/1st cent. BCE. The territory of the M. corresponded roughly to modern north. Morocco and west. Algeria. Over time, however, the name came to have a broader meaning, later denoting other North African populations as far away as Cyrenaica. It is the origin of the term ‘Moor’, which was applied to Muslims in the Iberian Peninsula and North Africa in the Middle Age.

HAAN V, 88ff. and *passim*; Julien, C.-A. (1931) *Histoire de l'Afrique du Nord*. Paris, 102ff.134-142; Gaggero, G. (1990) I Mauri nella storiografia del tardo impero. In: *AfRo* 7, 299-308; Fentress, E. (1993) La Mauretania. In: Schiavone, A. (ed.) *Storia di Roma*. 3.2: *L'età tardoantica. I luoghi e le culture*. Turin, 367-378; Coltelloni-Trannoy, M. (1997) *Le royaume de Maurétanie sous Juba II et Ptolémée*. Paris; *ead.* (2010) Maurétanie. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 31. Leuven, 4717-4732; Desanges, J. (2010) Maures (Antiquité). In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 31. Leuven, 4710-4712; Modéran, Y. (2013) *Les Maures et l'Afrique romaine (IVe-VIIe siècle)*. Rome.

P. XELLA

MAXIMUS OF TYRE

Gk Μάξιμος.

Philosopher (Middle Platonist), or philosophy lecturer, who lived in the 2nd cent. CE. M. may be identified with the Cassius Maximus to whom Artemidorus of Daldis dedicated his book on dreams. Forty-one short philosophical discourses by M. are preserved. They were given by M. when he was lecturing in ROME, at the time of the Emperor Commodus, and they seem to have been intended for a young audience of beginners.

RE XIV,2, s.v. “Maximus” (37) cols 2555-2562 (W. Kroll – H. Hobein); Szarmach, M. (1985) *Maximos von Tyros. Eine literarische Monographie*. Toruń; Trapp, M. B. (1997) *Maximus of Tyre. The Philosophical Orations*. Oxford; Campos Daroca, J. and López Cruces, J. L. (2005) Maxime de Tyr. In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 4. Paris, 324-348.

G. MINUNNO

MAZ(A)DAY

Aram. and Phoen. *mzdy*; Gk Μαζαῖος.

The last Pers. *Satrap of the Trans-Euphrates region (390-328 BCE).

In about 361 M. was appointed Satrap of the Trans-Euphrates region by the Pers. king Artaxerxes II and this title appears on coins from *Tarsus: *mzdy zy 'l 'brnhr' whlk*, “M. who is in charge of Trans-Euphrates and *Cilicia”. As a Satrap, M. minted a large number of coins, particularly in order to pay the troops during the wars in the 4th cent. Between 360 and 330 the most important mints were located in Tarsus, *Sidon and Babylon. During his Satrapy in *Cilicia, he minted silver coins with Obv./male deity and Rev./fight between a lion and a bull. This deity has been identified as the Luwian god Tarhunt (→LUWIANS), whose Phoen. name (in the Aram. script) was recognized in the legend *b'ltz*, “Baal of Tarsus”, which could also be translated as “the dwellers/citizens of Tarsus”. The coins minted in *Sidon are dated between 353 and 333, during the reigns of Artaxerxes III and DARIUS III, and they cover 21 years in an almost complete sequence (only the series for years 7, 8, 12, 13 and 15 are missing). This interruption does not seem to be related to a temporary break in M.’s rule, but to the need for completing coverage with already existing denominations. As in Tarsus, M. chose the type, diameter and year numbering system which were already used in Sidon: the only differences from civic coins being the complete expression of his name, the letter B- indicating the date, and the language, which is Aramaic. The expression of the year is typical of coins minted in Sidon at the time of BAALSHILLEM II and does not appear on other emissions of M. in Tarsus and Babylon. In 351 M. was ordered by Artaxerxes III (358-338) to repress the revolt by the cities in *Phoenicia against the Syrian Satrap (Diod. 16,42,1). After the first defeat suffered by Tennes (→TABNIT) king of Sidon, M. managed to subdue the revolts and became Satrap of Syria and Cilicia until 333. In that year he became ruler of Mesopotamia and Coelesyria in order to face the advance of ALEXANDER THE GREAT. After leading the Syrians in Gaugamela in 331 (Arr. *An.* 3,8,6), he was approached from behind by the troops of Alexander the Great, and so was forced to retreat with great losses. At the end of the war, he retired to Babylon, where he was left in isolation after the PERSIANS had escaped from Ecbatana. When Alexander arrived in Babylon, M. himself opened the city gates (Curt. 5,1,7) in order to retain the Satrapy of Babylon until 328, the year of his death (Arr. *An.* 3,16,4; Curt. 5,1,44).

Badian, E. (1965) *G&R*, 12, 166-168; Lane Fox, R. (1973) *Alexander the Great*. London; *DCPP*, s.v. “Mazaïos/Mazaday” (E. Lipiński); Bordreuil, P. (1998) *CRAI*, 219-229; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2004) *Trans*, 27, 155-162; Worthington, I. (2012) *Alexander the Great: A Reader*. London/New York, 177f.

L.-I. MANFREDI

MAZAETULLUS

Numid. tribal leader, related to the royal family of the MASSYLII but also their rival, in 206 BCE he led a revolt against CAPUSSA. After his victory, M. placed LACUMAZES on the throne, the youngest son of OEZALCES, of whom he had assumed the tutelage. Probably to gain support from the Pun. aristocracy, M. married the last wife of Oezalces. She was a Carthaginian, the daughter of the sister of HANNIBAL (9), and a widow. When MASSINISSA (1) returned to Africa in order to dethrone Lacumazes, M. attacked him with a combination of his own powerful forces and auxiliaries supplied by SYPHAX, but was routed. He then took refuge with Syphax but later, because Massinissa had promised to pardon him and restore his lands, he returned home together with Lacumazes (Liv. 29,29-30). Nevertheless, M. is probably the same person as Μεσότυλος who, according to App. *Pun.* 6,33, with a thousand horsemen, rushed to the assistance of Hannibal just before the battle of *Zama (202).

Thompson, L. A. (1981) *Historia*, 30, 120-126; Lazenby, J. F. (1998²) *Hannibal's war: A military history of the Second Punic War*. Liverpool, 217f.

U. LIVADIOTTI

MAZAEUS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 4,627. The Lat. form of the name implies the Gk form Mazaïos (cf. MAZ[A]DAY).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 36; Geus, K. (1994), 214.

Mazaïos see MAZ(A)DAY

MENAHEM

Hebr. *mnḥm*; Phoen. *mnḥm*; Akk. *Mi-in/ni/nu-ḥi-im-mu*, *Mi-nu-uḥ-mu/im-mu*; PN “Consoler” or “Consolation”.

Name of a king of *Samsimuruna, a principality in *Phoenicia that joined an anti-Ass. coalition of Syro-Palest. cities with the external support of *Egypt. The coalition was severely defeated by SENNACHERIB during his campaign of 701 BCE and all the rulers were subjected to heavy tribute and the constraints of vassalage were renewed.

Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 185; DCP, s.v. (E. Lipiński).

F. MAZZA

MERCENARIES

In view of the lack of suitable archaeological indicators for perceiving the complex Pun. military machine, the principal contribution is provided by ancient Gk and Rom. documentary evidence.

Purged of the defamatory messages against their 'Levantine' enemy, for which, with rare exceptions they are often the vehicle, the literary sources present an image of the PUNICS that is very different from the artificial depiction of a 'pacifist' people, whose interests are exclusively marine and mercantile, which even today obscures some historiographic views. During the long period of clashes between Greeks and Punics in *Sicily, the Carthaginians considered the war as an opportunity to gain prestige and to assert themselves socially. Proof of this is the custom of wearing a ring for every campaign fought (Arist. *Pol.* 7,2 [1324b]). Although the ancient composition of the army (→*Militaria) remains unknown, in the classical period a substantial civic contribution and a tactical formation similar to the Gk model, which focused on hoplite infantry, can be assumed. At least from the 5th cent. BCE, the civic army included M. among its own forces, and increasingly so in the Hellenist. period, in line with elsewhere in the Mediterr. ecumene. Written tradition provides a picture that is as varied as it is vague, of the recruitment of *xenoi*, "strangers", where it is not always possible to separate out the 'occupational' contingents, who were professional enough to supply actual markets. For some peoples, such as the Libyans, or AFRI – autochthonous to Punicized North Africa, the backbone of the warrior commitment of *Carthage – the MAURI, NUMIDIANS, Sards (Sardo-Punics or Sardo-Libyans) and PHOENICIANS, various types of inclusion can be

supposed. These were obligatory conscription, *symmachia* and emergency recruitment. Among the mercenary hordes of Carthage there are Iberians, Balearics, Italics and Italiotes – Campanians, Samnites, Lucanians, Bruttians – Ligurians, Celts, Celtiberians, Greeks, Corsicans and ETRUSCANS. However, each ethnos contributes in disparate and variable ways to the military undertakings of the North Africa *polis*, both in respect of actual numbers and of the various periods when they took part. Up the time of HANNIBAL (9), the official cadres of military command and some élite divisions – such as the contingent of heavy infantry called the 'Sacred battalion' that faced TIMOLEON in 339 BCE (Diod. 16,80,4) – are under members of the Carthag. aristocratic families. With the BARCIDS, in some cases the highest military ranks included Iberians, Siceliotes and LIBYO-PHOENICIANS. The latter, perhaps, represented a sort of integrated indigenous élite. Instead, the persistence of some conscripts, such as the Italics, first guaranteed by a mercenary contract, is assured by combined anti-Rom. interests, not to mention Hannibal's charisma, able to convert them into allied forces. The Carthag. commanders, or their deputies, provided for the important engagements assigned by the Senate, even if during the wars between Romans and Punics, certain 'specialists' whom the Lat. sources call *conquistores* and Gk sources call *xenologoi* are prominent. Perhaps these are the officials called *štr* or *mštr* in Punic. The forms of remuneration are not always known for certain. Between the 4th and 3rd cent. BCE, the *misthos* ("payment") conferred on discharge is often in silver, rarely in gold. However, for some catchment areas of enrolment, valid alternatives seem to have been the granting of lands, a share in the booty, the inclusion of autochthonous communities within Carthag. trading circuits or even extended payment in bronze coins to soldiers, after the war emergency.

Fariselli, A. C. (2002) *I mercenari di Cartagine*. La Spezia; Costa, B. and Fernández, J. (eds) (2005) *Guerra y ejército en el mundo fenicio-púnico. XIX jornadas de arqueología fenicio-púnica* (Eivissa, 2004). Eivissa; Costa, B. and Fernández, J. (eds) (2009) *Instituciones, demos y ejército en Cartago. XXIII jornadas de arqueología fenicio-púnica* (Eivissa, 2008). Eivissa; Fariselli, A. C. (2011) *Cartagine e i misthophoroi: riflessioni sulla gestione delle armate puniche dalle guerre di Sicilia all'età di Annibale*. In: Couvenhes, J. Ch., Crouzet, S. and Péré-Nougues, S. (eds) *Pratiques et identités culturelles des armées hellénistiques du monde méditerranéen*. Hellenistic Warfare 3. Bordeaux, 129-146.

A. C. FARISELLI

Mercenary war see MERCENARIES; PUNIC WARS

Merneptah see ISRAEL; SEA PEOPLES

Metellus, Metelli see CAECILII

METENNA

King of *Tyre around the mid-8th cent. BCE, a contemporary of the Ass. king →TIGLATH-PILESER III (745-727) (→ASSYRIANS), to whom he pledged loyalty and paid heavy tribute.

RINAP 1, nos. 47 and 49.

P. XELLA

METHOUSASTARTOS

Gk Μεθουσαστάρτος. The etymology of the Phoen. original name is unclear, but it is possibly a theophoric PN such as *mtn šrt*, “Gift of Astarte”.

Allegedly king of *Tyre according to Josephus (*Ap.* 1,122-123), M. was the eldest of the four sons of the nurse of ABDASTRATOS (→ABDASHTART), who were guilty of his murder. M. reigned for 12 years. However, it has been suggested that the mention of M. by Josephus is only the result of a corrupt text.

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 122.126f.; Mazza, F. (1983) Le fonti classiche per la più antica storia fenicia: Giuseppe Flavio e la dinastia dei re di Tiro. In: *APC* 1, 239-242; *DCPP*, s.v. “Methonastartos” (E. Lipiński).

G. MINUNNO

MICIPSA

Lib. name, Pun. *mkwsn*; Gk Μικίψα; Lat. *Micipsa*.

NNPI, 61.64ff.182.

1. M. was the eldest of the three sons of MASSINISSA (1), who designated him as his successor. On Massinissa’s death in 148 BCE, at the insistence of Scipio Aemilianus (→SCIPIONS [6]), the kingdom was divided among M. and his two brothers, MASTANABAL and GULUSSA (*App. Pun.* 106). For his part, during

the III Punic War (148-146) (→PUNIC WARS), M. was on the side of the Romans and supported them by providing contingents of *Elephants and auxiliary cavalry for the wars in Iberia, at first against Viriatus in 142/141 (*Val. Max.* 9,3,7 and *App. Hisp.* 67), then at Numantia in 134/133 (*App. Pun.* 111 and *Hisp.* 89; *Sal. Jug.* 7; *Vell.* 2,9). A few years later he supplied grain to the Rom. army in *Sardinia (*Plut. C. Gr.* 2). At least from 139, after both his brothers’ deaths, he was finally alone to govern a unified Numid. kingdom (*Sal. Jug.* 5). Following his father’s model, he pursued a policy of *Hellenization, trying to accredit himself as a Hellenist. monarch and inviting Gk people to settle in the capital, Cirta (*Constantine) (*Str.* 17,3,13; *Diod.* 34,35). From our literary sources (*Liv. Perioch.* 60; *Jul. Obs.* 90; *Aug. CD* 3,31; *Oros.* 5,11,1-5) we know that there was a disastrous invasion of locusts, accompanied by a famine and followed by a terrible plague, which occurred during his reign in 125. In 120, two years before his death, M. adopted his nephew JUGURTHA (the son of his brother Mastanabal), appointing him as successor together with his sons HIEMPSAL (1) and ADHERBAL (4) (*Sal. Jug.* 16-20). On his death, in 118, a struggle for succession between the three designated heirs broke out. M.’s sepulchral monument has not been located with any certainty. Theoretically, despite the capital being at Cirta, it may be at Iol-Caesarea (cf. *Cherchel) or nearby, as a passage of Pomponius Mela would seem to suggest (1,6,30-31). However, the *Mausoleum of Es-Soumâa, at el-Khrub, 14 km from Cirta, seems preferable, as can be inferred from the text of M.’s dedicatory inscription. It is an inscribed funerary stela (*KAI* 161 = *HNPI*, Cherchel N 2; now in the Louvre, *AO* 5118 = 1028), which can be dated between 118 (the year of M.’s death) and 105 (the year that Jughurta became his foster son) [Fig. 45]. The monument was erected by Ya’zam, M.’s great-grandson. In the text, the deceased is flattered by solemn titles and epithets, including “living among the living” (or “the most living person”) (*ḥy ḥym*), “regent of the country” (*myšr ṛšt*), “great king” (*rbt mmlk’t*) and “dispenser of benevolence” (*ḥšb n’m*). What follows in the text is partly damaged and difficult to interpret; however, it is possible to read hints about a statue, columns and bases, as well as allusions to works achieved by the deceased king.

The name of M. also occurs in several Pun. and Numid. inscriptions, where – as in the case of other Numid. kings – there are dating formulae according



Fig. 45. Funerary inscription of Micipsa (Cherchel)

to his regnal years. A votive inscription from the *tophet of El-Hofra (*Constantine), *EH* 63 = *KAI* 112, mentions the 56th year of the joint reign of M., Gulussa and Mastanabal. As W. Huss (1990) has convincingly demonstrated, this year still belongs to Massinissa's reign, even though it was the beginning of the divided monarchy; according to a local custom, the new regnal year was not indicated if a full year had passed since accession to the throne: as a consequence, it was 149/148 BCE. A second tophet inscription from El-Hofra, *EH* 64, is dated to the 11th year of M., i.e. 138/137. The famous inscription of *Dougga (Thugga) (concerning Massinissa's mausoleum: *KAI* 101) is dated in the 10th year of his reign (139/138). *KAI* 142 (= *HNPI*, Djebel Massoudj 1) is dated in M.'s 21st regnal year (128/127).

Radnorthy-Alföldy, M. (1979) *Die Geschichte des numidischen Königreiches und seiner Nachfolger*. In: Horn, H. G. and Rüger, C. B. (eds) *Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara*. Köln, 57-59 and 111-116; Huss, W. (1990) *AntAfr.* 26, 39-42; *DCPP*, s.v. (M. Dubuisson – E. Lipiński); Aoulad Taher, M. (2004) *AntAfr.* 40, 29-41; Xella, P. (2013) Le testimonianze epigrafiche. In: Manfredi, L.-I. and Mezzolani Andreose, A. (eds) *Iside Punica. Alla scoperta dell'antica Iol-Caesarea attraverso le sue monete*. Bologna, 143ff.

2. A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 2,160.

U. LIVADIOTTI – P. XELLA

MILKIRAM

Phoen. *mlkrm* "The king/*Mrk* is exalted"; Akk. *Mil-ki(-i)-ram^{am}*, *Mil-ki(-i)-ra-me*, *Mil-ki(-i)-ra-mu*; theophoric PN of several historical characters.

PNPPI, 140.345.

1. The existence of a M. king of *Tyre in about the first half of the 8th cent. BCE has been proposed on the basis of several Phoen. inscriptions. This hypothesis is supported by the gap in our sources for the chronology of Tyrian kings between 785 and 738 (Josephus, Ass. texts).

Lemaire, A. (1976) *Syria*, 53, 83-93.

2. A certain M. held various positions at the Ass. court, was eponymous in 656/655 BCE and took part in ASHURBANIPAL's war against Elam. Probably he was the same M. who married the daughter of the *šakintu* AMATASHTART, in about 625.

Lipiński, E. (1987) Phéniciens en Assyrie: l'éponyme Milkiram et la surintendante Amat-Ashtart. In: *APC* 2, 151-154; *PNA* 2/II, 752f., s.v. "Milki-rāmu" (3) (E. Lipiński).

G. MINUNNO

MILKON

In Eun. fr. 83, the name of the cavalry commander HIMILCO (12) is erroneously given as M. As far as the form of the PN is concerned, the same error occurs in the title of a comedy by Alexis (Alex. 98 K.-A.). The form Μίλκων is not attested elsewhere.

A. ERCOLANI

Milkuru see UMMAHNU

MILKYASAP

Phoen. theophoric PN *mlkysp* (not occurring in the inscriptions) "The (divine) king/*Melqart* (?) has added (another son ?)"; Akk. *mil-ki-a-šá-pa*,

Name of a sovereign of *Byblos, vassal of the Ass. kings ESARHADDON and ASHURBANIPAL in the second quarter of the 7th cent. BCE. He was among those who had to supply timber and building materials for the new royal palace built by Esarhaddon in Nineveh. It has been proposed that the PN *mksp*, engraved on a scarab-shaped seal from the Levant and dating to the same period, is possibly a hypocoristic form of this name and may refer to M.

PNPPI, 323f.; Gubel, E (1991) Notes sur l'iconographie royale sigillaire. In: *APC* 2, 913-922, esp. 915f.; Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 78.92f.196.225; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński); *PNA* 2/II, 750f., s.v. "Milki-ašapa" (E. Frahm).

F. MAZZA

Milkyatan see MILKYATON

MILKYATON

Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *mlkytn*, "Mlk/The king has given"; Cypr. *mi-li-ki-ya-to-no-se*.

King of *Kition and *Idalion, the son of BAALROM (who was a prince and not a king) and the father of PUMAYYATON. M. is mentioned in several inscriptions from Kition, Idalion and *Tamassos (*IK* III, A 1-3; 5-7; 29-30; F 1: cf. *ICS* 150 and 220; *KAI* 32, 33, 39, 41, 44, and *CIS* I, 88-92), in addition to issues of coins. M. reigned for at least 30 years (391-361 BCE ca), in a period of prosperity and political stability. Several inscriptions commemorate votive gifts made by M. to *Reshep-*mkl*, who helped him against his enemies. In particular, an inscription from the first year of his reign (392?) – a trophy discovered at Larnaka in 1990 – states that M. obtained a naval victory over his enemies and their allies, the Paphians (→EVAGORAS).

PNPPI, 139.344f.; Hill, G. F. (1904) *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Cyprus*. London, xxxv-xxxvii; Yon, M. (1992) Le royaume de Kition. Époque classique. In: *StPhoen* 9, 243-260; Yon, M. and Szzyrmer, M. (1992) *RDAC*, 157-165.

G. MINUNNO

MILPHIO

Name of a character in →PLAUTUS' *Poenulus*.

MILTIADES

Gk Μιλτιάδης.

Pythagorean philosopher who was active in *Carthage, probably during the 4th cent. BCE, together with ANTHES, HODIUS, and LEOCRITUS (*Iamb. VP* 36,267). An episode about him, possibly only anecdotal, is recorded in *Iamb. VP* 27,128.

Huss, W. (1985), 505; Geus, K. (1994), 11.172f.198f.

A. ERCOLANI

MISDES

Gk Μίσδης. PN that may correspond to Pun. (or Lib.?) *msd*[?].

Of uncertain origin, M. was part of the embassy sent from *Carthage to ROME in 149 BCE – together with GILLIMAS, GISGO (9), HAMILCAR (17) and MAGO (14) – to dissuade the Romans from military action against Carthage (*Plb.* 36,3,6-4,9; *App. Pun.* 76,354-355; *Liv. Perioch.* 49).

PNPPI, 355; Geus, K. (1994), 199.

A. ERCOLANI

MOABITES

Belonging to the same process of sedentarization of seminomadic peoples that affected the Transjordan region, are the M. Their territory lay on the plateau of the Kerak, delimited to the W by the Dead Sea, to the E by the upper valley of the River Arnon and the Arabian desert and to the S by the River Zered.

This region had already been inhabited since the 13th cent. BCE by peoples speaking Sem. languages who practised stock farming and agriculture. Even though the name Moab occurs in an Egypt. text from the period of Ramses II, in the first half of the 13th cent. BCE, it was not actually a state but a territory that later gave its name to the state. While it was preceded by a phase of urbanism in oases between the 23rd and 11th centuries, a real Moabite kingdom was not set up before 900 BCE, after a new settlement process, all along the King's Highway that crossed the Transjordan region. The foundation of the Moabite kingdom, with its capital at Qir-Moab (modern el-Kerak) may be due to Kamoshyatt, the father of Mesha who



Fig. 46. Stela of Mesha king of Moab (Dhiban)

wrote the inscription that goes back to the 9th cent. [Fig. 46]. The history of the M. sees them involved in regional struggles for survival and for expansion of territory, initially against local peoples, and so against the Israelites. Defeated by David, after the split between ISRAEL and JUDAH, the M. come under the sphere of influence of the north. kingdom. King OMRI (885-874) and his son ACHAB (874-853) impose a periodic tribute, controlling the territory of Madaba. On the death of Achab, king Mesha rebels and conquers part of the region N of the river Arnon and a series of strongholds. These lands were re-annexed and connected to the plateau of the Kerak. To some extent we know of these events indirectly through the biblical account (2 Kgs 3,4-27), and directly from the inscription of that Moabite king, which is also a propagandist document. As related in the stela of Mesha, the king successfully rebelled against the yoke of Israel and as a result, founded his own capital at Dibon and encouraged intense building activity – both construction and

restoration – in the cities of his kingdom. His successors seem to have contributed to extending the territory further and to guaranteeing its prosperity. Having become vassals of Assyria (→ASSYRIANS), the M. then became part of the Neobab. Empire, and later, of the Pers. empire.

From the aspect of religion, it should be emphasized that, in respect of the war between M. and Israelites, the two texts – the Mesha inscription and the biblical account – diverge in interpreting and ascribing who was successful, but both share the same theological presuppositions. The war involves both national deities (Yahweh and Kamosh) whose power, at the head of their respective peoples, is exalted. Even in the biblical narrative (2 Kgs 3,4-27) the outcome of the battle does not favour the Israelites, as the sacrifice of the Moabite king's son, thrown from the city walls, succeeds in putting the besiegers to flight. Confined by the siege to his own capital, as a last resort Mesha decides to sacrifice his own son as a holocaust on the walls. Then enormous fury is unleashed against the Israelites, who give up the siege and return to their homeland. The episode in question – found only in the biblical text – is often included among cases of human sacrifice practised by peoples neighbouring the Phoen. world. Sacrifice of a king's son is well known in the traditions of the region, in situations of severe crisis or danger, as shown by the account of the foundation of the practice instituted by the god *El (Kronos) in mythical times (in *Philo of Byblos). The attribution of the rite to the M., which has no equivalent explanation in the biblical text, must therefore be considered evidence that this practice was known in the traditions of the area. Other documents of direct Moabite origin are scarce and fragmentary and say little or nothing about the beliefs or the cult and especially about Kamosh, a divine name with ancient Sem. roots already found in *Ebla and *Ugarit. Perhaps there is a representation of that deity as a warrior god wearing a helmet and holding a spear (later he will be assimilated to Ares). From the *Old Testament we learn that SOLOMON built shrines (→*Cult places) for Milkom (→AMMONITES) and *Astarte, but also one for the god Kamosh near *Jerusalem (1 Kgs 11,7; 2 Kgs 23,13; further information in an oracle against Moab in Jer 48,1ff.). The episode of the mass killings that Mesha carried out during his war, with the victims dedicated Kamosh, is exactly the same as the Hebr. *ḥrm*. The sacrifice of the king's son on the city walls, performed in order

to confuse the besiegers and make them stop the battle, is incorrectly compared to typical Phoen. and Pun. human sacrifices: it was an exceptional ritual killing, carried out to resolve a crisis and regain divine protection. There are clearly similarities, theological and cultic, between the M. and the Israelites: both are implicated in monolatrous worship of the national god, and in both there is an institution that envisages the total offering of men and goods to the deity who guides them in war and looks after their destiny.

Saracino, F. (1982) Il sacrificio di Mesha. In: Vattioni, F. (ed.) *Sangue e antropologia nella letteratura cristiana*. I. Rome, 405-423; Sawyer, J. F. A and Clines, D. J. A. (eds) (1983) *Midian, Moab and Edom: The history and archaeology of Late Bronze and Iron Age Jordan and North-West Arabia*. JSOT SS 24. Sheffield; Dearman, J. A. (ed.) (1989) *Studies in the Mesha inscription and Moab*. Atlanta; Timm, S. (1989) *Moab unter den Mächten*. Wiesbaden; Bienkowski, P. (ed.) (1992) *Early Edom and Moab: The beginning of the Iron Age in Southern Jordan*. Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 7. Sheffield; Lemaire, A. (1993) *Revue de la Société Ernest Renan*, NS, 41, 41-67; MacDonald, B. (1994) *Ammon Moab and Edom*. Amman; Routledge, B. (2004) *Moab in the Iron Age. Hegemony, polity, archaeology*. Philadelphia; Lipiński, E. (2006) *On the skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age. Historical and topographical researches*. OLA 153. Leuven, 319-360; Bienkowski, P. (ed.) (2009) *Studies on Iron Age Moab and neighbouring areas in Honour of Michèle Daviau*. Suppl. to ANES 29. Leuven; Kratz, R. G. (2011) Der Zorn Kamoschs und das Nein Jhwhs. Vorstellungen vom Zorn Gottes in Moab und Israel. In: *Prophetenstudien. Kleine Schriften* II, 2. Tübingen, 71-98.

P. XELLA

Mochos of Sidon see DARDANUS OF PHOENICIA

MONAESUS

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 7,604.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36; Geus, K. (1994), 214.

MOPSOS

Phoen. *mpš*; hieroglyphic Luwian *Muk(a)sas*. The name M. occurs three times in the bilingual inscriptions of *Karatepe (A I 16; II 15; III 11) and once in the bilingual inscription of *Çineköy (lin. 2). The three occurrences of Karatepe are in the syntagma *bt mpš*, “House of M.”, which denotes the kingdom of the Danunians, i.e. the kingdom of Que (*Cilicia). In the bilingual of Çineköy, king URIKKI proclaims himself as “belonging to the lineage of

M.” (*šph mpš*). The name Mukšu/Mukasa/M. occurs in several Asianic and Gk inscriptions and is also mentioned in several Gk legends. In particular, a mention in the *Chronicle* by Eusebius of Caesarea related to the year 1184 BCE has been linked to M.: *Mopsus regnabat in Cilicia, a quo Mopsicrenae et Mopsistiae*. This mention seems to imply that the M. dynasty ruled over the kingdom of Que/Cilicia Campestris from the end of the Hitt. empire (→HITTITES) to the end of Urikki’s reign, around 709 BCE. However, the *Cebel Ires Daği inscription suggests that some members of this dynasty also ruled in Pamphylia at least until the second half of the 7th cent. BCE, according to some Gk inscriptions from Pergé and Sillyon, which attributed the foundation of several Pamphylian cities to M.

Bron, F. (1979) *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe*. Genève/Paris, 172-176; Vanschoonwinkel, J. (1990) *Hethitica*, 10, 185-211; Baldriga, R. (1994) *QUCC*, 46, 35-71; Hawkins, J. D. (1995) *Muksas*. In: *RIA* 8, 413; Lemaire, A. (2004) ‘Maison de David’, ‘maison de Mopsos’, et les Hivvites. In: Cohen, C., Hurvitz, A. and Paul, S. M. (eds) *Sepher Moshe. The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume*. Winona Lake, 303-312; Lemaire, A. (2006) *Res Antiquae*, 3, 99-107; Bremmer, J. N. (2008) *Greek religion and culture, the Bible and the Ancient Near East*. Leiden/Boston, 136-143; Oettinger, N. (2008) The seer Mopsos (Muksas) as a historical figure. In: Collins, B. J., Bachvarova, M. R. and Rutherford, I. (eds) *Anatolian interfaces. Hittites, Greeks and their neighbours*. Oxford, 63-66; Lanfranchi, G. B. (2009) *StOr*, 106, 127-150; Gander, M. (2012) *SMEA*, 54, 281-309; Yakubovitch, I. (2015) *AnSt*, 65, 35-53; Bryce, T. (2016) *AnSt*, 66, 67-79.

A. LEMAIRE

MORINUS

Bugler in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 7,605. This name also occurs in inscriptions.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 36; Geus, K. (1994), 214; *NAN*, 98.

MURRUS

Soldier of HASDRUBAL (6) and husband of TIBURNA in Sil. *Pun.* 15,467 (see also 2,556).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 37.

MUSONIUS OF TYRE

According to the sophist Philostratus (*VS* 2,1,9), M. was a philosopher, and one of his pupils, called Lucius, was a friend of Herodes Atticus. It has been

suggested that Philostratus could have confused Herod's friend Lucius with another Lucius, a pupil of the philosopher Musonius Rufus (who was from Volsinii), whose epithet 'Thyrrenos' ('the Etruscan'), was corrupted to 'Tyrian'. If that is the case, a M. of Tyre never existed.

RE XVI,1, s.v. (1) cols 893-897 (K. von Fritz); Heath, M. (1996) ZPE, 113, 66-70.

G. MINUNNO

Muttines see HANNO (24); LIBYO-PHOENICIANS

MYCENAEANS

The Mycen. civilization appears in Greece between the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 16th cent. BCE as a result of contacts between the Middle Helladic culture of *Mainland Greece and the Minoan civilization of *Crete.

The Minoan civilization was a palatial one, characterized, among other things, by intensive trade relations with the Near East and *Egypt. The initial phase of development of the Mycen. civilization (16th-15th cent.) coincides with the Cretan neopalatial period (17th-mid-15th cent.), i.e. with the phase of maximum expansion of the Minoan civilization. During that period the island of Crete is dominated by the Knossos palace and the whole Aegean is strongly influenced by Cretan culture, in some cases through emporia and colonies like those present on Kythera, in the Cyclades and the Dodecanese. A major consequence of this influence is the widespread adoption of both the Linear A script and of the Minoan weight system. The Minoan palaces import raw materials from the Mainland (especially silver, lead and copper, in part extracted from the Laurion mines), whereas the Mainland élites import manufactured goods and prestige items from Crete.

In this same phase the expansion of Cretan trade leaves tangible traces throughout the east. Mediterranean. Neopalatial pottery is present in *Cyprus, *Syria and Egypt. On the island of Cyprus there appears a script derived from Linear A, the so-called Cypro-Minoan script. Raw materials imported from the Near East and Egypt are found in Crete: Canaanite amphorae, elephant tusks, ostrich eggs, lapis lazuli, objects made of alabaster and faïence, etc. Syria is probably

the main trading partner of the Minoans, as suggested by the presence of the word *Kaptaru* in Mari already at the time of Zimri-Lim (18th cent.), a phase corresponding to the First Cretan Palaces (19th-18th cent.). The term, which in the Mari texts refers both to men and goods, is most probably to be linked to Hebr. *Caphtor*, the biblical term for Crete. The relationships with Egypt are reflected by an amphora inscribed with the name of Tuthmosis III found in the Cretan site of Poros-Katsambas, as well as by the Minoan-style frescoes from Tell el-Dab'a in the Nile Delta and the wall paintings in some Theban tombs, dating back to the time of Tuthmosis III and Amenophis II and showing tributary groups offering a number of Cretan-style vases to the Pharaoh. These tribute bearers are designated as *Keftiu*, a word which is usually related to *Kaptaru* and *Caphtor*. From the XVIII dynasty texts that attest the word we learn that the *Keftiu*, whose language was known in Egypt, exported metal vases and acted as intermediaries in the trade of gold, silver, lapis lazuli and other precious stones.

In the period of the Second Palaces, Minoan Crete seems thus to have played an active role in trade with the Near East and Egypt, both as a direct commercial partner and as an intermediary. It was certainly a naval power and its élites were also somehow present in the network of 'diplomatic' exchanges that involved the major powers of the time.

On the Mainland, during the 15th cent. some centres of power, such as Mycenae in the Argolid, Pylos in Messenia, and Thebes in Boeotia, begin to emerge. The local communities become more hierarchical and trade begins to play an increasingly important role. As shown by findings in the central Mediterranean, the M. entertain relationships not only with Minoan Crete, but also with Italy and *Sardinia. They also begin to manifest themselves in the Aegean islands, mostly on *Rhodes and in the Dodecanese. It is at this stage that the Mycen. civilisation begins to show the typical features of a palatial civilisation and that arguably the Linear B script is created.

Around the middle of the 15th cent., the island of Crete experiences a wave of destructions that strikes both palaces and towns. Immediately afterwards the face of the island changes radically: the settlements are rebuilt, but only one palace survives, that of Knossos. In the neighbourhood of Knossos and Chania appear the so-called Warrior tombs, characterized by the presence of weapons and Mainland-type pottery (esp. alabastra and 'Ephyrean' goblets).

Finally at Knossos, Linear A is replaced by Linear B. As shown by the Linear B documents, since then the island is under the control of the M., a control which probably extends also to the trade routes to the East. Some indications in this sense are provided by the Egypt. and Hitt. sources. In a list (E_N), engraved on the base of a statue in the funerary temple of Amenophis III at Kom el-Hetan near Thebes (first half of the 14th cent.), the word *Keftiu* is associated with a list of toponyms that can be interpreted as Cretan (Amnisos, Phaistos, Kydonia, Knossos, Lyktos) and Mainland place names (Mycenae, Thebes, Messenia, Nauplion, Kythera). In a number of Hitt. texts, dating from the 14th to the 13th cent., the expression KUR URU *Aḫḫiyawa* (or URU *Aḫḫiya*) “land of *Aḫḫiyawa*” is found, which is usually considered as related to Gk Ἀχαιοί (< **Ak^haiwoi*) “Achaeans”. According to these sources, the land of *Aḫḫiyawa* interferes with Hitt. interests not only in west. Anatolia (esp. in the area of the city of *Millawanda*/Miletus), but also in Cyprus (by attacking *Alašiya*) and in the Levant (by violating through Syria a commercial embargo set by the HITTITES against the ASSYRIANS).

The Linear B documents do not contain direct information on overseas trade, but offer some indications on the regions with which contacts existed. The existence of relations with the Aegean islands and the west. coast of Anatolia is demonstrated by a series of ethnics (in the Aa, Ab and Ad texts from Pylos) designating groups of female workers, such as *ku-te-ra₃* /*Kut^hērrai*/ “women from Kythera”, *ra-mi-ni-ja* /*Lāmniai*/ “women from Lemnos”, *ki-si-wi-ja* /*Kswiai*/ “women from Chios” (?), *a-*64-ja* prob. /*Aswiai*/ “women from Asia” (cf. Hitt. *Aššuwā*), *mi-ra-ti-ja* /*Milātiai*/ “women from Miletus”, *ze-pu₂-ra₃* /*Dze-p^hurrai*/ “women from Zephyrion” (ancient name of Halikarnassos, cf. Str. 14,16), *ki-ni-di-ja* /*Knidiai*/ “women from Knidos”. Relations with the Syro-Palest. area are indirectly witnessed by some Sem. loanwords (mostly *Wanderwörter*) designating raw materials or products, such as *ku-ru-so* /*k^hrūsós*/ “gold”, *ki-to* /*k^hitōn*/ “tunic, chiton”, *sa-sa-ma* /*sāsama*/ (pl.) “sesame” and *ku-mi-no* /*kuminon*/ “cumin” (cf. e.g. Ug. *ḥrṣ*, *ktn*, *ššmn*, *kmn*). Finally, contacts with Cyprus and Egypt are reflected in some personal names derived from ethnic adjectives, such as *ku-pi-ri-jo* /*Kuprios*/ from /*Kupros*/ “Cyprus”, *a-ra-si-jo* /*Ala(s)sios*/, directly comparable with *Alašiya*, *a₃-ku-pi-ti-jo* /*Aiguptios*/ from /*Aiguptos*/ “Egypt” and *mi-sa-ra-jo* /*Misraios*/ from a term connected with Sem. *Miṣr* “Egypt”. [The

term *po-ni-ki-jo* /*p^hoinikion*/, which denotes a dyeing product (possibly *Alkanna tinctoria*) and a particular type of red hue, does not fall into this category.]

Among the written sources, further evidence of contacts with the Levant has emerged recently with the discovery of an ivory rod inscribed in Ugaritic in the north. area of the Tiryns *Unterburg*.

The archaeological evidence shows that since the 14th cent. Mycen. presence in the Dodecanese and the Miletus area tends to intensify. Mycen. pottery becomes popular among the Cypr. élites and appears, mainly in the form of stirrup jars, in numerous sites of the Syro-Palest. area, including Ras Shamra-**Ugarit*, Minet el-Beida, **Sarepta*, **Tell Habu Hawam*, **Megiddo*, Amman and **Lachish*, often in association with Cypr. pottery (which suggests that Cyprus possibly had an intermediary role with the Levant). Finally, Mycen. pottery is also present in Egypt, with a particularly high concentration in Amarna at the time of Amenophis IV (**Tell el-Amarna*). It cannot be excluded that among the Mycen. exports there were also perishable goods such as textiles and perfumed oils, two of the products registered in the Linear B archives. It is interesting in this regard that in an Akk. text from Ugarit (RS 16.238+), recording a tax exemption granted by king Ammishtamru II (13th cent.) to a merchant named Sinaranu travelling to Crete (DUGUD.RI = *Kaptāri*), the goods exempted are wheat (?), beer and olive oil.

In Greece and Crete finished products of Cypr., Levantine or Egypt. origin are relatively rare: there are Canaanite amphorae, ivory, faïence plaques, Egypt. scarabs (with the names of Hatshepsut, Amenophis III and Ramses II), Mesopot. cylinder seals but few other items. It is probable, however, that the bulk of the imports were of raw materials, such as ivory, precious stones and metals.

In this regard, particularly important evidence is provided by the **Uluburun* shipwreck, sunk off the south. coast of Anatolia at the end of the 14th cent. with a cargo that included 10 tons of copper ingots, 1 ton of tin ingots, numerous glass ingots, elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, ostrich eggs, various types of precious stones (agate, cornelian, quartz), weapons, gold and jewels. Among the other finds from the shipwreck, a wooden diptych for accounting and various sets of balance weights possibly of a Levantine type also deserve to be mentioned.

Our sources do not allow us to reconstruct in detail the history of Mycen. trade in the east. Mediterranean.

It is evident, however, that after a long period of expansion, between the 14th and the first half of the 13th cent., a crisis takes over. In the Cyclades imports fall drastically and sites are fortified. In the island of Rhodes and in the Dodecanese a period of decline begins, most probably due to the Hitt. recapture of Miletus by Mursili II at the end of the 14th century (→HITTITES). The same happens in Cyprus, where there is a wave of destructions. The crisis of trade is the effect of a wider international crisis, which around 1200 BCE causes the end of the Mycen. palatial system, the collapse of the Hitt. empire and the destruction of various Levantine sites, including the city of *Ugarit.

The end of the Mycen. palaces has different consequences depending on the regions involved. Some of them enter into crisis (like Messenia and Boeotia), others slowly recover (like Argolid), while yet others begin to develop (like Attica, Achaia and Euboea). In this last phase (12th cent.) the Mycen. civilisation is of the post-palatial type. Palaces are abandoned (even if some fortified citadels, such as Mycenae and Tiryns, survive), the Linear B script is no longer used and the society is politically and economically reorganised on different bases.

Despite these changes, overseas trade continues to play a very important role. In this phase, Mycen. pottery is found in considerable quantities both in the Cyclades and in the Dodecanese, whereas in Cyprus it rivals local productions. It is likely that the process of the *Hellenization of Cyprus began precisely in this phase, following migratory flows from the *Greek Mainland. It is interesting in this sense that in a post-palatial context of the Tiryns *Unterburg* a clay ball with a Cypro-Minoan inscription has recently been found. After the disintegration of the Hitt. empire, moreover, the south. coast of Anatolia also opens to Mycen. influence. Proof of this is the discovery of Mycen. pottery in *Cilicia and the existence in Pamphylia of a Gk dialect similar to Cypriot and Mycenaean.

Between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th cent. some Egypt. sources mention two successive attacks by the so-called SEA PEOPLES, defeated first by Merneptah (end of the 13th cent.) and then by Ramses III (first half of the 12th cent.). This 'coalition' has been held responsible for the destruction of the Mycen. palaces and the Cypr. and Syro-Palest. towns. Such a hypothesis, however, is mostly baseless, as is the identification of the *Ekwesh*, one of the

peoples of the 'coalition', with the Achaeans (and therefore with the M.). The equation between the *Peleset*, another of the peoples of the 'coalition', and the PHILISTINES of south. Palestine, for which a Mycen. origin has been hypothesized on a rather fragile basis, is also questionable.

The 12th cent. is certainly a time of confusion and is characterized by migrations, confrontations and a redefinition of the balance of power at both local and international levels. This is essentially due to the disappearance of some state entities and the destabilization of a number of geographical areas. In the Aegean, as mentioned, in some regions a recovery can be observed, but there are signs of general insecurity, such as the strengthening of the fortifications in the Cyclades or the abandonment of many coastal sites in Crete and the transfer of the communities into refuge centres on the mountains.

At the end of the 12th cent., events move swiftly and for unknown reasons a new wave of destructions puts an end to the citadels of Mycenae in Argolis and Araxos in Achaia, as well as to the buildings of Lefkandi in Euboea. At the same time Tiryns is abandoned. It is the sunset of the Mycen. civilisation and the beginning of a series of profound changes, which will lead Greece towards the IA and new horizons.

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M. DEL FREO – F. ROUGEMONT

MYCONUS

A soldier in the Pun. army in Sil. *Pun.* 15,447.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 214.

MYRCANOS

Gk Μύρκανος. PN of uncertain origin (possibly Lib.: *mkrn*, *mrknh*?).

A person of unknown origin who, according to Plb. 7,9,1, swore an oath to sanction the treaty (TREATIES) between HANNIBAL (9) and the Macedonian king, PHILIP V (215 BCE), together with BARMOCAROS and MAGO (7).

Geus, K. (1994), 199.

A. ERCOLANI

MYTTHUMBAAL

Lat. form of the Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *mtn-b'l*, "Gift of Baal" (→MATTANBAAL) also found in inscriptions. It is the name of HANNO's (2) father in →PLAUTUS' *Poenulus*.

PNPPI, 356f.; *NNPI*, 245; Geus, K. (1994), 214.

A. ERCOLANI

NAARESHMUN

Phoen. theophoric PN *n'r'smn*, “Young boy/Valet (?) of Eshmun”.

Name of a character mentioned in an inscribed Lebanese stela of unknown origin (35×10.5 cm: FIG. 47), representing in high relief a male beardless person seen from the front, clothed in a stole, in an attitude of blessing. According to the inscription, N. held the post of “chief of the doorkeepers” (*rb š'rm*), a title that occurs elsewhere in Phoen. inscriptions, probably reflecting a high rank in the priestly hierarchy (→*Priesthood).

Xella, P. and Zamora, J. Á. (2008) *Inscriptions sur pierre*. B3. In: Xella, P. and Zamora, J. Á. (eds) *Inscriptions phéniciennes inédites ou peu connues dans la collection de la Direction Générale des Antiquités du Liban*. BAAL Hors Série 15. Beirut, 31ff.

P. XELLA – J. Á. ZAMORA



Fig. 47. Stela of Naareshmun chief of the doorkeepers (provenance unknown)

NABATAEANS

Between the end of the 4th and the beginning of the 3rd cent. BCE in *Transjordan, nomadic tribes became more unified and sedentary, leading to the birth of the Nabataean state, which lasted until 106 CE. The origins of these peoples – referred to as *nabatu* in the inscriptions – are fairly obscure. Nabataean and Gk inscriptions associate the N. with the *Shalamu* tribes, but there are good reasons for looking at areas peripheral to modern Saudi Arabia. Ideally, the N. are the continuation of the EDOMITES, not only as they share the same territory but also for the partial preservation of the cult of the god Qos and for linguistic features that go back to Arabic.

At its height, the Nabataean kingdom extended to the W as far as the Nile Delta and included the Sinai Peninsula, the Negev and Transjordan. Going from N to S, it included the region of Hauran as far as the Gulf of 'Aqaba and even Heğra (modern Mada'in Salih), whereas to the E there was the desert.

This region was crossed by caravan traders who had travelled the routes that went from the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea as far as the Mediterranean. For a long period, the N. controlled the trade in spices and perfumes. What originally had been small commercial encampments became permanent settlements and, after the Rom. period, fully fledged towns. Rather than a real kingdom, the Nabataean state was a sort of inter-tribal dominion ruled by a central authority, which had control over the territory, paying special attention to the trade routes and the watering holes. Aspects of nomadic society and of clan structure can also clearly be deduced from classical sources: e.g., Strabo (16,4,21-24) relates that the king, described as democratic, chose from among his peers a minister who took the title of “Brother (of the king)”; the office of *strategos* would have been hereditary; laws were observed, but customary law was also in force. From the beginning of the 1st cent., Nabataean inscriptions allow us to reconstruct, in part, the sequence of the various kings up to the last, Rabbel II, as well as various events involving fluctuating relations with neighbouring peoples.

Classical sources define the N. as “Arabs” and generally portray them as nomadic caravaners, shepherds, even as marauders. The earliest historical

information goes back to contacts with Antigonos Monophthalmus (311 BCE), heir to a vast portion of the empire of ALEXANDER THE GREAT, who tried in vain to subdue them. The inclusion of south. *Syria and *Palestine in the Seleucid kingdom (→SELEUCIDS) had no great repercussions for the N. Around the mid-2nd cent. BCE, they interacted in various ways with the Maccabees. Their first contact with ROME dates to the 1st cent., who saw the N. first as communicators, then as clients and finally as subjects. After Trajan's conquest (106) the Nabataean kingdom was annexed to the empire and became part of the province of Arabia, with Bosra as its capital, still flourishing right up to the Sasanide invasions. The loss of political autonomy did not mean the end of Nabataean culture. However, the disappearance of the monarchy meant an important change, at least for the cult of Dushara, whose personality was changed from dynastic god to local deity, in a process marked by several forms of syncretism (as Dionysus, Zeus and even Helios).

After annexation by the Romans, the term 'Nabataean' no longer indicates a specific political entity. Instead, it denotes a culture that is less restricted locally and of a fairly composite nature, traces of which can be followed essentially on the basis of pottery (produced up to the 3rd cent.) and writings. Documents in Nabataean are spread over a very wide area, beyond Jordania, which includes north. Arabia, north. *Syria and Egypt. As for literary sources, several Gk and Lat. writers, as well as Syriac and Arabic writers, provide valuable information of various kinds. Archaeological evidence – essentially cult places and funerary buildings – comes from the principal sites, chiefly in Jordan (especially Petra, but also from other places), in Israel (Negev), in Arab territory and in the Egypt. Delta.

The members of the Nabataean pantheon seem to be limited: Herodotus mentions only the cult of Dionysos (Orotal) and Aphrodite Urania (Alilat), whereas Strabo refers to the worship of Zeus and Dionysos. The model of a divine couple is apparent, with all the other gods as their subjects. The principal god of the N. was Dushara (Gk Dusares), whose cult is also found elsewhere in the Mediterranean (Miletus, *Delos, *Pozzuoli). Originally, perhaps, Dushara was a local deity (his name means "Belonging to [the mountain chain] Sharat", a mountainous region of S Jordan, more or less equivalent to ancient Edom). Dushara rose to the role of dynastic god and patron

of the state. He seems to have been a celestial god: he is invoked by the N. in parallel to Baalshamin (→*Baalshamem) and, especially, he is identified with Zeus. As for Dushara's divine consort, in Petra at least she seems to be the goddess al-Uzza, whereas in the Safaitic inscriptions he is associated with another great goddess, Allat. Baalshamin is a very famous Syrian god, introduced after Nabataean expansion in S Syria, where he was very popular among the peoples of Hauran and had several sanctuaries.

Ancestor worship, especially of ancient kings, merits a separate discussion. A certain king Obodas (I or III), who may have been deified, had a tomb in Avdat, an inscribed cult statue and a thyasis known as a *Marzeah in Petra. The actual temples are usually of two kinds. One is 'Arabian' (especially in the S), with typically a central cultic installation with various divisions, arranged so that ritual processions around it were possible (a clear precursor of the custom in Mecca) and the other 'Syrian' (to the N), which usually has a *pronaos* and a cella. The most important (Syrian type) sacred building in Petra was certainly the Qasr el-Bint Firaun, a square construction dedicated possibly to Dushara who was worshipped together with his consort. A noteworthy type of sacred site rock sanctuary is especially typical of Petra, where there are about forty. They are older than the temples, which were managed by priests, whereas the rock sanctuaries were curated by families or clans. These installations include terraces, cultic rooms, niches and platforms. The niches are conceived as miniature temples in most of which there are *betyls representing Dushara or other deities associated with him. The use of betyls is typical of the N. and reflects their reluctance to portray gods in human form. Sacrifices included immolations of animals and bloodless offerings. The sacrifices were mostly of sheep, but there is good evidence for the sacrifice of camels. The ceremonies took place in various sacred locations but also on roofs. Processions around temples and sacred buildings were also commonplace. Terracotta statuettes are indicative of rites involving musicians and music. The practice of *Circumcision is probable.

In the private cult there were religious associations called *marzeah* as a continuation of an ancient tradition (already found in *Ugarit and well documented in the Phoen. world). Its members would gather in designated chambers to celebrate communal meals

and the consumption of *wine. At Petra, some texts indicate that these associations, presided over by a chief (*rb*), could comprise professional groups, such as merchants, soldiers, scribes or various kinds of worker. Such associations focused on a common cult, e.g. of Dushara, invoked as “Lord of the temple”, or of Obodat, an ancient deified king.

As for the festival calendar, the spring month of Nisan was a special period marked by various celebrations. There are also indications that a feast of the summer solstice was celebrated in the main N. cities. There was a considerable number of processions, with Petra and Tannur as the most frequented pilgrimage centres. The funerary cult was of particular importance, documented by spectacular remains, such as the 600 or so monumental tombs in Petra and the 80 or so in Heğra, several royal burials among them. Less well-off people were buried in the earth, while the wealthy had their tombs cut into the rock, in a range of forms with beautiful sculptured facades. The interiors of these tombs were complex and could contain several chambers, and there may have been the practice of double burials.

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P. XELLA

NABIS

A soldier in the army of HASDRUBAL (9) at the battle by the river Metaurus, in Sil. *Pun.* 15,672.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; *NAN*, 105.

Nabonidus see BABYLONIANS

Nabopolassar see BABYLONIANS

Nabuchodonosor see NEBUCHADNEZZAR

NARAVAS

Gk *Ναρούας*; a Lib. PN, probably *nrbs(h)* (cf. *RIL* 446).

N. was a Numid. prince, whose name may occur on Carthag. coins. After joining the rebels in the mercenary war against *Carthage, in 240 BCE (→MERCENARIES), N. changed sides. With a force of 2,000 knights, he supported HAMILCAR (9) Barca, who had promised him his daughter in marriage. According to Polybius (1,78 and 82,13), his military action largely contributed to the victory of the Carthaginians and the repression of the rebellion.

Baldus, H. R. (1983) Naravas und seine Reiter. Numismatische Zeugnisse numidischer Kavallerie im karthagischen Heer. In: *Deutscher Numismatikertag München 1981. Vorträge*. Augsburg, 9-19; Huss, W. (1985), 260; Geus, K. (1994), 52f.; Loreto, L. (1995) *La grande insurrezione libica contro Cartagine del 242-237 a.C. Una storia politica e militare*. CEFR 211. Rome, esp. 154f.; Hoyos, D. (2007) *Truceless war. Carthage's fight for survival, 241 to 237 B.C.* Leiden/Boston.

U. LIVADIOTTI

NARIS

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 7,598.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 35; Geus, K. (1994), 206.

NEALCES

Carthag. commander in Sil. *Pun.* 9,226ff.268.363.392; 15,448.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 214.

NEBUCHADNEZZAR II

Akk. *Nabû-kudurrî-uṣur*, “Oh Nabu, protect my heir!”; Heb. *nbwkdñšr*; Gk *Ναβουχοδόνωσος*.

N. II, the son and successor of Nabopolassar, was king of Babylonia (605-562 BCE) (→BABYLONIANS). Even though his inscriptions chiefly boast about his building activities, N. expanded the Neobab. empire to its maximum extent. However, he had to fight against Egypt. designs on *Syria and *Palestine. N.'s campaigns in this region, in order to affirm Bab. hegemony, brought him to the capture of *Jerusalem

(597) and the deportation of king Zedekiah to Babylon. Then came the destruction of the rebellious city of Jerusalem (587). According to Josephus (*Ap.* 1,156) N. besieged *Tyre for 13 years during the reign of ITTOBAAL III. However, the chronology remains uncertain. A passage of Ezekiel (29,18) provides evidence that N. was unable to seize Tyre. Possibly, an agreement was reached, entailing the replacement of Ittobaal by BAAL II. Subsequently, an uprising in Tyre might have prompted N. to oust the dynasty and establish ‘judges’ (*Suffetes). In the two enormous rock inscriptions of Wadi Brisa, in the *Beqa’ Valley, N. describes in great detail the extensive felling of the cedars of *Mount Lebanon and their transportation to Babylonia.

Streck, M. P. and Czichon, R. M. Nebukadnezzar II. In: *RIA* 9, 194-206; Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 305-341; Arcari, E. (1989) *RSF*, 17, 159-172; *PNA* 2/II, 841f., s.v. “Nabû-kudurrî-ušur” (7) (J. A. Brinkman); Eph’al, I. (2003) *IEJ*, 53, 178-191; Zawadzki, S. (2003) Nebuchadnezzar and Tyre in the light of new texts from the Ebabbar Archives in Sippar. In: Eph’al, I. et al. (eds) *Hayim and Miriam Tadmor Volume. EriS*, 27, 276-281; Arnaud, D. (2004) *Nabuchodonosor II, roi de Babylone*. Paris; Schaudig, H. (2008) *UF*, 40, 533-545; Zawadzki, S. (2008) Nebuchadnezzar’s campaign in the 30th year: a conflict with Tyre. In: Cogan, M. and Kahn, D. (eds) *Treasures on camels’ humps. Historical and literary studies from the Ancient Near East presented to Israel Eph’al*. Jerusalem, 331-336; Da Riva, R. (2012) *The twin inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar at Brisa (Wadi esh-Sharbin, Lebanon): A historical and philological study*. Vienna; Zawadzki, S. (2015) *AoF*, 42, 276-287; Fantalkin, A. (2017) *AoF*, 44, 201-208.

G. MINUNNO

Neriglissar see BABYLONIANS

NICOCLES

Gk Νικοκλῆς, syllabic Cypr. Gk Νι- [=Νι(κοκλῆς)]; Lat. *Nicocles*.

This name was adopted by several princes or kings of the island of *Cyprus in the 4th cent. BCE: e.g. N. the son of Timarchos, king of *Paphos (died 309), or N. the son of Pasocrates, king of *Soloi, who fought in the campaigns of ALEXANDER THE GREAT from 331, even if the most famous is N. king of *Salamis. All these homonyms have sometimes caused confusion among the various N. mentioned in the literary sources; e.g. the dramatic tale in which “N. king of Cyprus” (Polyaen. 8) or “king of Paphos” (Diod. 20,21), is the hero with his bride Axiothea – when the

royal family, surrounded by Ptolemy, locked themselves in the palace to commit suicide, ending in a general conflagration (*Salamine* X, nos 322-323) – is really NICOCREON of Salamis (whose bride is called Axiothea [cf. *Salamine* X, no. 304, 144f., fn. 4]). N. king of Salamis in Cyprus, from ca 374 to ca 361, was the son of king EVAGORAS I. Probably he was born at the beginning of the 4th cent., since in 374 he was still a young man when he assumed power at the time of his father’s death, at least according to Isocrates (*Nicochl.* 44-45). With no certainty, his death is dated to 361 (at any rate, when Isocrates wrote his discourse about exchange, N. had already been dead for some time: see *Antid.* 62). In general, it is believed that his brother PNYTAGORAS, who was fighting alongside his father at the time of his conquests and during the war of Cyprus in the years 390-380 (when N. was supposed to be still a child or a young boy), was his older brother, even though this is not formally stated in any document. He had numerous brothers and sisters who bore the titles of ‘prince’ or ‘princess’ (τοὺς δ’ ἄνακτας, τὰς δ’ ἀνάσσας: Isocr. *Evag.* 62; 72). Little is known about his early life or his education, except that he was a student of the Athenian orator Isocrates, probably at Athens, where he seems to be among the students who regularly attended his teacher’s lessons (Isocr. *Evagor.* 72). In 374, N. succeeded his father Evagoras I after both he and his (firstborn?) son Pnytagoras were murdered. Isocrates dedicated the three “Cypriot discourses” to N., for which he paid considerable sums (*Salamine* X, nos 280.282.284). The discourse *Evagoras* (IX), delivered to N. in 374 for 20 or 30 talents at the time of Evagoras’ death, belongs to the literary genre of ‘eulogy’ and draws the portrait of an ideal sovereign destined to serve as a model for the new king. In about 370, the discourse *To Nicocles* (II) deals with a king’s duties and contains some moral and political tips. Finally, around 368, the *Nicocles* (III) discourse deals with the duties of subjects. N.’s mintage abandons the motif of Heracles’ head, but still has legends in Cypr. syllabic Greek, as can be seen on gold coins which have Aphrodite’s head on the obverse and a dolphin or Athena’s head wearing a helmet on the reverse; sometimes, the syllabary is accompanied by letters in the Gk alphabet, as in the case of a third-of-stater obverse, which has the legend “*pa ni BN*” (Masson, O. [1983], 323, no. 326a), to be interpreted as Βα(σιλῆος) Νι(κοκλῆος) Β(ΑΣΙΛΗΩΣ) Ν(ΙΚΟΚΛΗΩΣ). Certainly, one has

to keep in mind that other names of princes in the 4th cent. also begin with *Ni-* (e.g. Nicocreon, although that name is abbreviated to NK) and other kings called N. are known (e.g. at *Paphos), but stylistic analysis and the survival of the syllabary indicate N. of Salamis.

As for N.'s policy and way of life, his public management is summarized by Isocrates (*Nicocl.* 31-32): this discourse makes it clear that, starting from the beginning of his reign, "the cities were flourishing". He also restocked the treasury depleted as a result of his father's wars, without oppressing his subjects, showing himself to be a just and equitable sovereign. The author also extols his 'self-control' and depicts him as a virtuous man, a good father and a faithful husband (Isoc. *Nicocl.* 36-40). But the literary genre which idealizes the character must be also taken into account. On the contrary, other statements in Greek (Theopomp. fr. 114; Ael. *VH* 7,2; Anaximen. *Mile-sius ap.* Athen. 12,531d-e; Max. Tyr. 2 = *Salamine* X, nos 272-275), emphasize his taste for luxury and sophistication in search of pleasure; in this field, he willingly competed with Straton, king of *Sidon (Gk Στράτων = Phoen. ABDASHTART I), whom these writers describe as "surrounded by Peloponnesian courtesans, Ionian musicians and other young slaves from all over Greece", affirming that "his nature led him to be the slave of his own pleasures", "leading a life full of luxury and debauchery": this kind of life led both to die a violent death, but neither the time nor the circumstances are known. Again, these examples were chosen for their pedagogical and moral value: it was important to demonstrate a connection between a life of pleasure and a violent death. Certainly, as for the Philhellenic king and his father Evagoras I, it is probable that N. was more interested in art and culture. However, this does not prevent us from thinking that such evidence may contain a kernel of truth about the lifestyle and refined tastes of the Salamis court.

It is possible that N. was pressed into taking part in the revolt by the Satrapes of *Phoenicia against Artaxerxes II, which was the cause of his murder by Pers. agents in 361. His successor was Evagoras II, who probably was his son, even though some scholars propose that he was a younger son of Evagoras I.

Mathieu, G. and Brémond, E. (eds and transl.) (1938) *Isocrate*, t. II: *A Nicoclès* (II); *A Nicoclès* (III); *Evagoras* (IX). Paris, 91-168; Hill, G. (1940) *A history of Cyprus*, I. Cambridge; ICS;

Chavane, M.-J. and Yon, M. (1978) *Salamine de Chypre* X, *Testimonia Salaminia* 1. Paris; Elayi, J. (2005) *'Abd'ashtart I^{er} / Straton de Sidon: un roi phénicien entre Orient et Occident*. Paris; Markou, E. (2011) *L'or des rois de Chypre. Numismatique et Histoire à l'époque classique*. Athens.

M. YON

NICOCREON OF SALAMIS

Gk. Νικόκρεων.

King of *Salamis (*Cyprus) from 332/331 to 310 BCE. The son of king PNYTAGORAS (350-ca 332), great grandson of EVAGORAS I, N. belonged to the royal dynasty (→DYNASTIES) of the Teucrides, of which he was the last member to rule over Salamis. His birthdate is unknown. He succeeded his father, probably shortly after the siege of *Tyre by ALEXANDER THE GREAT (332), during which the ship commanded by Pnytagoras was sunk by the Tyrians (Arr. *An.* 2,20,22: *Salamine* X, no. 299). Indeed, it was he who welcomed Alexander on his return from *Egypt in 331 (see below). The family was extensive. A certain Νιθάφων Πνυταγορέω Σαλαμίνιος – *Nithaphon* the son of Pnytagoras of Salaminis, (his brother?) – is mentioned as one of the two trierarchs of Cypr. marine contingents accompanying Alexander on his expedition to the Indies in 327 (Arr. *An.* 8,1,8: *Salamine* X, no. 301). The story of their tragic end in the palace fire, in 310, mentions 'brothers', 'brothers-in-law' and 'sisters-in-law' (see infra). Several texts (e.g. *Salamine* X, nos 304, 322, 323) give the name of his wife as *Axiothea*. In addition, it is known that he had 'sons' and 'daughters', including an *Arsinoe* (see infra). On his coinage (→*Numismatics) (didrachms and silver tetroboles, gold staters etc.), the legends are abbreviations in the Gk alphabet: BA (*basileus*), NK (*Nikokreon*). Like his father Pnytagoras, N. was concerned to appear as a true Greek: he visited the most venerable sanctuaries and supported the great sporting competitions of Greece, as shown by various epigraphic evidence. In Argos, a dedication commemorated the gratitude of the Argives for the bronze he sent as a reward to the festivals in honour of Hera (*IG* IV 583); in *Delos, the inventories of Artemision's Chalcothèque, in the temple of Apollo (*IG* XI 2,161 B,54; 90-91; 199 B,87) list important offerings by N.: a gold myrtle crown, wooden crowns, a bronze stela commemorating him as *proxenos* of Delos; in Delphi (Ael. *NA* 11,40), N. consecrated a wooden deer (made of four types of wood) (*Salamine* X,

nos 309-313). In Nemea, a list of *theorodokoi* discovered in 1978 (*SEG*, 36, 331; cf. Yon [2007]) begins by quoting Cypr. princes, in particular, in Salamis of Cyprus, “N. the son of Pnytagoras”. Allusions in Athenaeus, Diogenes Laertius and others recount the strange relations that N. maintained with artists and philosophers whom he hosted at luxurious banquets. He could treat them with great cruelty for remarks or jokes that he could not bear: thus, he made the musician Stratonikos of Athens (no. 303), who had insulted his wife and sons, drink poison; he put the philosopher Anaxarchus of Abdera to death by being crushed and torn in a mortar after his tongue was cut off (*Salamine* X, nos 302-307). Similar cruelty is reported in a romantic story in which a young man, a Phoen. without nobility, fell in love with Arsinoe, the daughter of N., against the king’s advice: betrayed by his beloved, he starved himself to death, and his parents cut off the tongue, nose and fingers of the nurse who had encouraged the idyll. The account of his reign is inseparable from the fundamental upheavals provoked by the conquest of Alexander and its consequences for the status of minor east. Mediterr. states. The new king N. joined the Macedonian conqueror very early on, and in 331 welcomed him on his return from Egypt: he competed for luxury against Pasicrates of Soli, and financed sacrifices and ceremonies to honour the gods, theatrical performances, etc. (Plut. *Alex.* 29: *Salamine* X, no. 316). After Alexander’s death in 323, like the other kings of Cyprus, N. manoeuvred his way through the struggles between the Diadochi (Alexander’s successors). At first, he stood with Ptolemy I Soter against Antigonus Monophtalmos, and when Ptolemy seized Cyprus, N. received his reward: under Egypt. suzerainty, he was appointed as *strategos* (governor) of the whole island, receiving the territories and revenues of the dethroned kings. After the peace concluded between the successors in 311 (which was only a momentary truce), however, relations between Ptolemy and N. deteriorated, with the resumption of hostilities. N. then initiated diplomatic talks with Antigonus. In 310, Ptolemy, in a fury, besieged the palace of N., and ordered him to commit suicide. N. did so; his wife Axiothea slaughtered her daughters, then killed herself, as did her sisters-in-law, brothers-in-law and brothers, who set fire to the palace before cutting their throats. The excavations at the necropolis of Salamis, at the end of the 1960’s, have revealed a cenotaph (in tumulus 77 at Enkomi) with

the remnants of an exceptional funerary ceremony – a pyre, rich offerings and clay portraits of the deceased – which was related to these dramatic events (Karageorghis [1973] on the confusion with N. of Paphos (NICOCLES). This was the end of the Teucride dynasty. N.’s successor was Menelaus, the brother of Ptolemy I Soter.

Bernard, P. (1894) *JdS*, 3-48; Karageorghis, V. (1973) *Excavations in the necropolis of Salamis*, III. Nicosia; Markou, E. (2011) *L’or des rois de Chypre. Numismatique et histoire à l’époque classique*. Athens; Chavane, M.-J. and Yon, M. (1978) *Salamine de Chypre X, Testimonia Salaminia* 1. Paris; Yon, M. (2007) *Du sport à Chypre*. In: Gatier, P.-L. and Yon, J.-B. (eds) *Mélanges en l’honneur de Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais. MUSJ*, 60, 55-76; Christodoulou, P. (2009) *CCEC*, 39, 235-258.

M. YON

Nitaphon see PNYTAGORAS OF SALAMIS

Numidia see NUMIDIANS; MASAESYLII; MASSYLII

NUMIDIANS

The term N. denotes the inhabitants of the region called Numidia (Lat. *Numidia*), the ancient name of a vast North African region situated N of the Sahara desert, bordering Mauretania (→MAURI) to the W, and territories under *Carthage to the E.

Around the second half of the 3rd cent. BCE the N. were divided into a west. kingdom, →MASAESYLII and an east. kingdom, →MASSYLII [FIG. 48]. This area roughly corresponds to current east. Algeria and west. Tunisia. Over time, however, this territory underwent various changes in its extent and boundaries.

The name N. probably represents the Lat. form of an indigenous term and, despite its assonance with νομάδες (nomin. νομάς, accus. νομάδα), has no connection with the concept of nomadic status, as conveyed by the Gk word. In fact, the economy of the Numid. people was agropastoral, and sedentarization was quite widespread and well developed.

It is to be noted that the Greeks also used the generic name ‘Libyans’ (Λέιβες) for these people, a term derived from Egypt. *rebū*. In fact, the earliest information on these people comes from *Egypt during the NK. Located W of the Delta, they began exerting pressure on the west. borders of the Egypt. territory starting from that period. Over time, these people formed a warlike caste and even served as MERCENARIES.

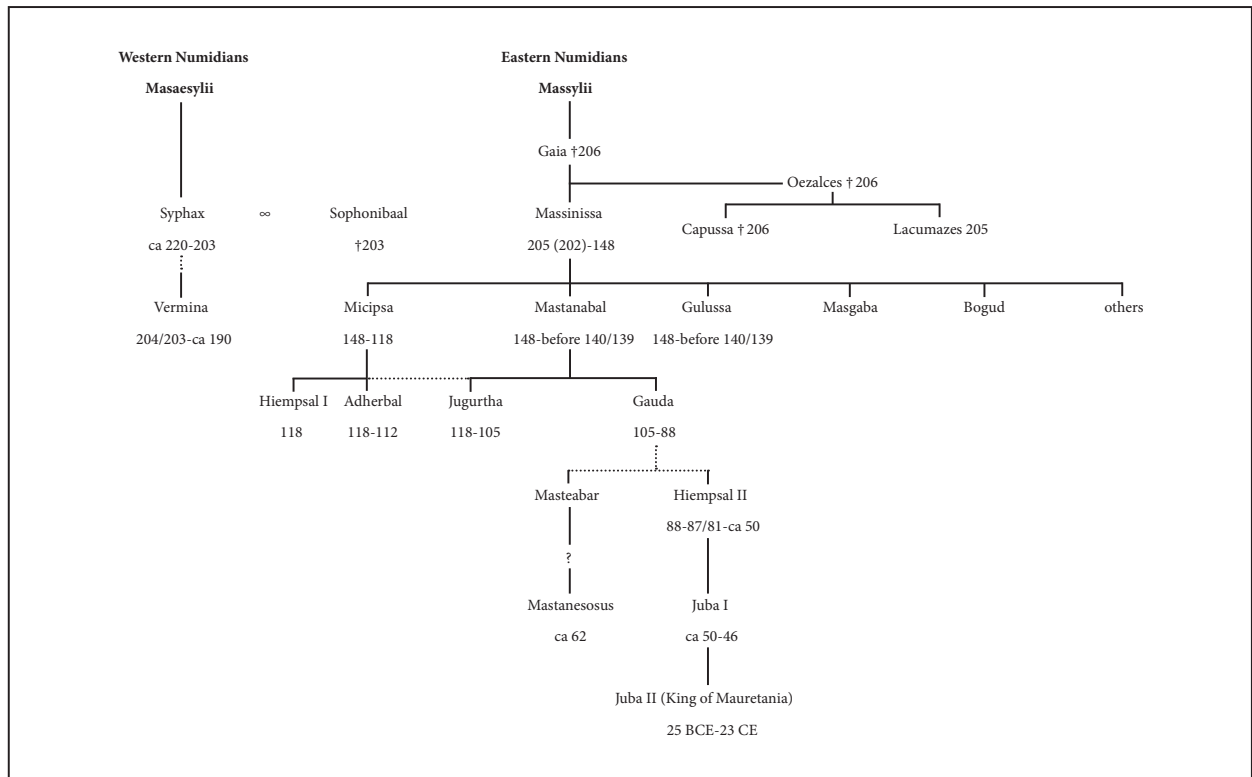


Fig. 48. Numidian kings

In a later period the N., famous for being skilled horse- men, also formed part of the Carthag. *militia* (*Militaria).

In terms of language, ‘Numidian’ and ‘Libyan’ are virtually synonyms for both the indigenous language and its script.

Camps, G. (1979) *AntAfr.* 14, 43-53; Rössler, O. (1979) *Die Numider. Herkunft – Schrift – Sprache*. In: Horn, H. G. and Rüger, Ch. B. (eds) *Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara*. Köln, 89-97; Ghaki, M. (1983) *Turat*, 1, 76-82; Fentress, E. (1993) La Numidia. In: Schiavone, A. (ed.) *Storia di Roma* 3.2: *L'età tardoantica. I luoghi e le culture*. Turin, 351-362; Lancel, S. (2008²) *L'Algérie antique*. Paris, *passim*; Camps, G. and Chaker, S. (eds) *Encyclopédie Berbère*. 1984ff. Aix-en-Provence and alibi, *passim*.

P. XELLA

NURAGICS

The Nur. civilization is the cultural expression of protohistoric *Sardinia, between the Middle BA and the Early IA [Fig. 49]. It is named after the paleo-Sardinian word ‘Nuraghe’, which has several phonetic variants, corresponding to the various dialects of modern Sardinian. These feature widely in the toponymy of the island, and always refer to thousands of cyclopean truncated conical stone monuments. Summarizing briefly, Nur. culture follows a single historical cycle that affects all Sardinia and its smaller islands and can be divided into two main periods. The first period is marked by the construction of the Nuraghi, collective tombs and the earliest settlements [Fig. 50]. The second period is distinguished by the end of the development of the Nuraghi and, above all, by the construction of large settlements, temples and sanctuaries (→*Cult-places). Each of these main periods can be subdivided further into two more phases, with four phases in all: formation, maturity, transformation and finally, degeneration and dissolution.

Origins and formative phase (Phase 1: Middle BA 2, ca 1700-1500 BCE)

During the Early BA and at the beginning of the Middle BA (ca 2300-1700 BCE), Sardinia experienced a period of cultural regression in respect of the previous phases; only at the end of this period, apparently, were there some indications of a return to dynamism. Nevertheless, the sudden appearance of archaic cyclopean Nuraghi and contemporary majestic collective megalithic burials ('Tombe dei giganti' [FIG. 51]) – so unlike the fluctuating development of millennial 'pre-Nur.' cultures – is still difficult to describe or explain. However, there is no doubt that Nur. culture had been formed by peoples established in Sardinia for millennia. Despite the various hypotheses, so far the archaeological remains and written documents have not confirmed any connection between Sardinia and the Shardana, one of the SEA-PEOPLES, both in the sense that this was an ethnic group of or. origin that moved to Sardinia, and that it was a group of Sardinian origin active in *Egypt and in *Syria and *Palestine. Of

course, we can speak about Nur. culture only from the moment when the Nuraghi appear. Archaic Nuraghi – characteristic of the formative phase – are squat and low, initially provided with corridors and niches, but not with rooms. Later, they do have rooms, either elliptical or rectangular in shape. The settlements, whether isolated or adjacent to archaic Nuraghi, are made up of small groups of single circular buildings, or pits excavated in the soil and provided with perishable superstructures of wood and branches. During the same phase, the first 'Tombe dei giganti' appear: dolmen-like megalithic burials, consisting of an elongated funeral space (the gallery) and a ceremonial frontal hemicycle (the exedra), intended for the deposition of dozens or even hundreds of bodies.

Mature phase (Phase 2: Middle BA 3 and Late BA, ca 1500-1200 BCE)

During the phase of maturity, the *tholos*, i.e. the false dome made up of stone rings which narrow increasingly from the base to the top, is the great invention of the Nur. architects. It gave the classic Nuraghe its characteristic shape of a truncated conical tower. This ingenious simplification allowed a series of buildings with a single tower to be constructed. It also enabled the construction of complex monuments having several towers, i.e. with several rooms on the ground floor and on one or two overlapping levels. At the same time, the various tribes organized their territories as polycentric 'cantons', typically with several settlements and burials. This resulted in a massive occupation of plains, hills, plateaus and mountains. Together with the increase in population came the development of an efficient and integrated economic system but also deforestation.

The function of the Nuraghi has always been a matter of debate. However, it does not seem appropriate to consider them as castles, fortresses, watch towers, temples or tombs, not to mention other extravagant hypotheses. In particular, it had been accepted that the function of the Nuraghi was military as long as it was assumed that they were still being built as late as the period of the wars with the PUNICS and even with the Romans. For some time, however, it has been established that the construction of the Nuraghi had ceased long before the beginning of the historical colonization of Sardinia. Archaeological evidence suggests that, especially at the beginning, the societies that built the Nuraghi were tribal, compact and inventive, but characterized by average differences in rank and,



Fig. 49. Sketch map of Sardinia with the most important Nuragic sites

above all, by poor specialization. As a consequence, it is probable that the Nuraghi achieved all the material and symbolic functions necessary for the life of those communities, within a predominantly rural economy and a society that was beginning to be differentiated. Thus, even though the Nuraghi were not simply mansions, they were used for domestic activities; even if they were not fortifications, they were also fortified buildings, i.e. ‘reinforced’ and equipped for the protection of people and property. Above all, they were the omnipresent tools for controlling a vast territory and managing its resources and were evident signs of both the power and the wealth of the communities that owned them. Only in later periods were they used as temples, and only during Rom. and Mediaeval times were they sometimes used as tombs.

Among the thousands of Nuraghi in Sardinia, the ones that are complex stand out not only for their brashness and monumentality, but also as an expression of a structural, functional and territorial hierarchy in relation to the control and management of resources and road networks. The larger Nuraghi also imply that nearby communities either emulated or rivalled each other depending on whether they were cooperating or in competition.

Among the various development factors, interaction with the civilizations of the *Aegean and the Levant also begins to play an important role. Not only because of its strategic position in the centre of W. Mediterranean but, above all, the peculiarities of its social and production structure, between the end of the Middle and the LBA, Sardinia welcomes Mycen., Minoan and Cypr. navigators, merchants and specialized artisans. They arrive in what would seem to be a systematic rather than a casual way, finding reliable trading partners over short, medium, and long distances. Nuraghe *Antigori of Sarróch provides the best known example of such contacts. Studies of ceramic forms and decorative motifs, as well as analyses of clay, provide evidence, on the one hand, for the importation of vessels from the Peloponnese, *Crete and *Cyprus (mainly during the LH IIIB phase: 1300-1200). On the other, these studies and analyses show the local production of imitation pottery, possibly under the stimulus of Aegean craftsmen. Other imported elements include the straight-sided alabastron from the Nuraghe Arrúbiu of Orroli (LH IIIA2: about 1400-1300), the ivory plaque from Mitza Púrdia of *Decimoputzu, depicting a Mycen. helmet fitted with wild boar tusks (LH IIIA2-IIIB)



Fig. 50. The nuraghe Su Nuraxi (Barumini, Cagliari)

and some ceramic fragments from the Phoen. and Pun. colonial centres of *Nora and *Tharros. All these suggest a chronological proximity between Mycen. and Phoen. navigation, with an important role played by the Cypr. element. It seems that sailors equipped with their products and containers have joined foreign navigators. In fact, Nur. vessels have been found in coastal emporia in *Sicily (Cannatello near *Agrigento) and *Crete (*Kommos near Phais-tos) during the Late BA. In Cannatello, pots of Sardinian provenance as well as locally produced imitation pots made with local clay have been found. In all probability, these local pots indicate the presence of a nucleus of Nur. people. Contact with Aegean civilizations enabled luxury and prestige items to be acquired as well as contributing to the development of a social hierarchy. However, it is unclear how much this resulted in stable differences of rank and power within Nur. societies. It seems that these increasing differences did not extend to funerary customs. In fact, in the evolved ‘Tombe dei giganti’ – often smaller than in the past and built with perfectly squared blocks – the ancestor cult continued to be expressed in collective and egalitarian forms based on consanguinity.

Transformative phase (Phase 3: Final BA, ca 1200-930 BCE)

The territorial proliferation system was unsustainable in economic and social terms. This is the most likely cause of the profound change that affected Nur. Sardinia from the last phase of the BA. No more Nuraghi are built; instead, many of them are damaged and abandoned or restructured, and reused with several more specialized functions than in the past,



Fig. 51. 'Tomba di giganti' at Tanca Perdu Cossu (Norbello - OR)

especially for storing foodstuffs and other goods. On the contrary, settlements continue to grow and multiply, without evidence of proto-urban aggregation; among the strong stone structures, complex dwellings, meeting-rooms and fences stand out. Therefore, the decline of the Nuraghi does not indicate a general socio-economic collapse, but it does accompany a profound transformation of society, where strong points coexist with factors of weakness. Changes also appear in funerary practice. No new 'Tombe dei giganti' are built, but existing ones are still in use. There are some tombs with a basement gallery but without a frontal exedra, often with embellished structures, a reduction in the number of people buried and the presence of personal funeral grave goods. The most obvious innovations are in ritual. Beside some Nuraghi that were converted into temples, the sanctuaries are significant, i.e. complexes with specific cultural functions arranged around one or more cultic buildings. Of these, the best known are the 'sacred wells' or 'pit temples', typically with a staircase and an underground cupola room that collects spring water. The well-heads are similar but have neither a staircase nor an underground room. Lastly, there are circular or rectangular (*megaron*-like) temples, with no obvious connection with water.

In the sanctuaries, metals derived from mining and from exchange, especially with the island of Cyprus (ox-hide copper ingots), but also with the Iberian Peninsula, were accumulated and there were offerings of precious bronze and amber artefacts. There, too, craft workshops had adapted Cypr. technology and style, and created an original artistic language.

It seems clear that the cult had become one of the main aspects of economic and social reorganization. In particular, it seems that the close-knit tribal communities were marked by a sharp differentiation between the dominant and subordinate classes, and that emerging élites sought to legitimize their power by taking control of cult practices.

Nur. Sardinia continues to participate actively in Medit. trade, not only by acquiring, but also by redistributing raw materials, artefacts and technologies towards *Corsica and the Italian peninsula.

On the island of Cyprus, at the site of Pyla-Kokkinókremos (beginning of LC IIIA: 1200-1150), parts of two small Nur. cooking-pots have been found, one made from Sardinian clay and the other from local clay. At the end of this period, there was a large group of Nur. potteries in the settlement on the Lipari acropolis, shortly before its destruction. It is very likely that the aforementioned transformation initially manifested itself as a real crisis and led to serious social disorder. It is also likely that this situation was overcome, thanks to the role of leadership assumed by emerging social groups.

Phase of degeneration and dissolution (Phase 4: Early IA, ca 930-730 BCE)

The transformation process intensifies in the early IA, at least until the second half of the 8th cent. BCE, when the varied ethnic and cultural blocks of Nur. origin reach an irreversible crisis.

This is the period of maximum occupation of the settlements, the largest accumulation of wealth in the sanctuaries, the highest flowering of artisanal productions and the maximum development of the aristocratic class that led the process of economic and social restructuring. However paradoxical it may seem, this latter moment of apogee does not precede, but contains within itself much of the regressive process that led to the end of the cycle of Nur. civilization. In particular, the sanctuaries reach the culmination of their development between the 9th and 8th cent., to decay or disappear rapidly in the 7th cent. In the sanctuaries, raw materials (copper and lead ingots) and local and imported precious goods continue to be accumulated: bronze objects of various kinds (votive swords, other weapons and instruments, metal vases, fibulae, human and animal *figurines, boats etc.) and jewellery in amber, glass and rock crystal. The production of votive bronzes (*Ex voto), which had already begun in the previous phase, made

use of the technological progress of Cypr. metallurgy, by adopting the lost-wax casting technique. However, the small artistic items remain unmistakable for their setting, general iconography and facial features, instruments, garments and weapons. They reflect the conscious image of a structured society, reproducing animals, objects, values and symbols. Heroic myths are re-enacted in hunting and war expeditions, agricultural colonization and navigation. Among bronze and stone artefacts, the stylized and idealized reproductions of simple and complex Nuraghi emerge. But the more exalted these emblems of solid identity become, the more the signs of instability and disintegration are felt. The differentiation of burials, which in the Final BA had begun to weaken communal solidarity, is accentuated by the formation of groups of individual tombs equipped with grave goods. There are examples in *Antas of Fluminimaggiore, and above all, in the *Mont'e Prama necropolis of *Cabras, where paradoxically individual kits are completely absent or almost. At the same time, without excluding the insertion of new burials into older graves, the funerary evidence for the final Nur. phase remains inexplicably scarce.

The Mont'e Prama necropolis is distinguished by the orderly alignment of individual tombs with cylindrical wells containing crouched bodies, but, above all, for the full-scale stone sculptures of warriors, archers and unusual 'boxers', each wearing one armoured glove and a protective shield over his head. To these, numerous models of complex Nuraghi can be added. The iconography, geometric style and details of the sculptures are within the canons of Nur. figurative bronze production. However, apart from a few other elements apparently found elsewhere, the Mont'e Prama's sculptural complex remains unique in Sardinia. This indicates that it is the expression of a special local situation. The Mont'e Prama sculptures seem to be extremely gigantic forms of small votive bronzes, which occurred in a cultural context marked by strong tensions, at a time of epochal transition. This is a very likely scenario in west.-central Sardinia during the 8th cent., a period marked by internal competition and rivalry, as well as variable relations with the Phoen. centres.

Evidence for the vitality of the Nur. cultural tradition between the 9th and 8th cent. comes from trade and cultural exchanges between Sardinia and the contemporary peoples of the Italian Peninsula and of the west., central and east. Mediterranean. There were

very close and undoubtedly direct relations with the Villanovian ETRUSCANS of the regions now known as Emilia, Tuscany, Lazio and Campania. Indirect connections, probably through the PHOENICIANS, were with urban communities that were beginning to proliferate on the coasts of south. Spain, North Africa and Sicily, but there were also connections with Crete, and especially with Cyprus and the Syro-Palest. world. In particular, the increasingly evident export or imitation of figurines, boats, pendants and other bronze artefacts and, above all, of distinctive ceramic jugs (*Populonia, Vetulonia, Vulci, *Tarquinia, Gravisca, *Cerveteri, *Pontecagnano, Monte Vetrano, Capo Colonna, Pantalica, Dessueri-Monte Maio, *Mozia, *Carthage, *Huelva, *Cádiz, *El Carambolo, *La Rebanadilla, Khaniale Tekke) confirms the persistence of high level international prestige reflecting an effective internal organization.

The Nur. society of the Final BA and the Early IA had ample resources and energy, but was fragile and with no alternative developments. Hence the concept of degeneration, understood as the conversion of traditional strengths (such as competition and territorial expansion) to insurmountable limits (such as increased inter-community and intra-community conflict and the inability to evolve into urbanization and competition with urban systems). The weakening and disintegration of the system were not outwardly evident (even archaeologically) until the complete maturation of the process and its only apparently sudden collapse.

After the 8th cent., the outcomes of this process varied in different parts of the island. In south. Sardinia, and especially in the regions of Sulcis (*Nuraghe Sirai and *Sirimagus of Carbonia, Nuraghe Meurras of *Tratalias), Campidano (Monte Zara and Monte Oladri of Monastir), Trexenta (Nuraghe Piscu of Suelli) and Marmilla (Tuppèdili of *Villanovafranca) – all related to the Phoen. settlements of Sulky (*Sulci), *Nora and Karaly (*Cagliari) – there is evidence of a 7th cent. BCE ceramic production in the Nur. tradition. This progressively acquires and incorporates formal and technological aspects typical of Phoen. production, until the assimilation is almost total, while preserving some symbolic and ritual N. elements.

This leads to a process of hybridization and fusion between the local ethnic and cultural component and people from the E. It did not happen in a balanced and symmetrical way, but by forms of rapid acculturation, with the weaker local population finally accepting the

dominant patterns of behaviour. For central-north. Sardinia our knowledge is poorer, but the signs of the merging process are also significant. In the Oristano region, the relations between the two components, both in the Phoen. coastal foundations (Tharros, *Othoca, and Neapolis), and in adjacent settlements (Su Padrigheddu of San Vero Milis, *Su Cungiau 'e Funtà of Nuraxinieddu, Sant'Elia of *Santa Giusta), still need to be interpreted. In some cases, ceramic materials have been identified that are hybrid in respect of their shape and technology. In the *Nurra, the coastal N. settlement of *Sant'Imbenia, near Alghero, seems to be a real emporium, where Nur., Phoen. and Gk geometric pottery from the late 9th to the 8th cent. has been found. Particularly distinctive is the ovoid amphora, hybrid in character and defined as the 'Sant'Imbenia type', found in numerous sites in Sardinia and the west. Mediterranean. Nevertheless, in central and north. Sardinia, settlements generally are starting to be abandoned and, with a few exceptions, do not seem to survive beyond the 8th cent., revealing a real economic and demographic breakdown of Nur. society. This poses serious problems of historical interpretation. On the one hand, many clues suggest the transfer of groups of Nur. origin, varying in number, from the coastal regions to the maritime towns founded by the Phoenicians, which only then become truly urban. On the other hand, an apparent but inexplicable depopulation affects entire sub-coastal and inland regions, which seem to have been completely uninhabited from the 7th to the 5th-4th cent. BCE.

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O

OEZALCES

A Numid. prince of the MASSYLII and the brother of king GAIA, O. inherited the crown in 206 BCE. At the time of his ascent to the throne, he was already quite old and indeed died shortly afterwards. He was succeeded by his eldest son CAPUSSA, who was soon overthrown by LACUMAZES, who was younger and perhaps the son of O.'s last wife, member of the Pun. aristocracy and indeed the daughter of a brother of HANNIBAL (9) (Liv. 29,6-13).

Lassère, J.-M. (2013) s.v. In: *Encyclopédie Berbère*, 35. Leuven, 5719.

U. LIVADIOTTI

OMRI

Hebr. *ʿmry*; Akk. *Ḫu-um-ri-i*.

O. was king of ISRAEL (882/878-871 BCE) (1 Kgs 16,21-28). Probably he belonged to a Phoen. family: first a mercenary in Israel, he subsequently became a chief and seized the throne. After defeating a rival king, called Tibni (1 Kgs 16,21-22), he abandoned Thirza, the former town of residence, and founded *Samaria as his new capital, on a piece of land he had bought privately (1 Kgs 16,24). Here he built a palace and a residential settlement. The period of O. embraces the political dependency of JUDAH on Israel, the expansion of Israel within the east. Jordan region, the spread of writing, a thriving economic life and the development of an administrative system. Similarly, the installation of monumental buildings alongside Samaria is also evident in *Hazor, Jezreel, *Gezer, and *Megiddo, in Israel, as well as Jahaz and Ataroth, in Moab (→MOABITES). In addition, O. founded the first dynasty in Israel. His successors in the Omride dynasty were his son AHAB (871-852), a grandson called Ahaziah (852-851) and Joram, another grandson (851-845). The foundation of this dynasty also corresponds to the Ass. name for the State of Israel, *bīt Ḫumri*, which also denotes the Aram. states of *Syria (→ARAMAEANS), and goes back to O. as a royal ancestor. Thus, the ASSYRIANS also regarded O. as a founder of both a state and a dynasty.

The relations with the PHOENICIANS of *Sidon and *Tyre were significant. These mainly concerned trade and military support, but also Phoen. influence on architecture and art (ivory from Samaria) as well as the marriage of O.'s son Ahab to the Sidonian princess JEZEBEL (1 Kgs 16,31). O. is not mentioned in Phoen. sources. The Omride dynasty was ended by Jehu in a coup d'état (2 Kgs 9-10).

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 142ff.; Timm, S. (1980) ZDPV, 96, 20-49; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1982) *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*. OLA 46 = StPhoen 12. Leuven, 63-100; Timm, S. (1982) *Die Dynastie Omri*. FRLANT 124. Göttingen; Ahlström, G. W. (1993) *The history of ancient Palestine from the Palaeolithic Period to Alexander's conquest*. JSOT SS 146. Sheffield, 568-606; Kuan, J. K. (1993) Was Omri a Phoenician? In: Graham, P. M., Brown, W. P. and Kuan, J. K. (eds) *History and interpretation. Essays in honour of John H. Hayes*. JSOT SS 173. Sheffield, 245-259; Finkelstein, I. (2000) ZDPV, 116, 114-138; Donner, H. (2001³) *Geschichte Israels*. ATD ER 412. Göttingen 289-305; Franklin, N. (2003) ZDPV, 199, 1-11; Franklin, N. (2004) *Levant*, 36, 189-202; Liverani, M. (2006³) *Oltre la Bibbia*. Rome/Bari, 121-142; Grabbe, L. L. (ed.) (2007) *Ahab agonistes. The rise and fall of the Omri dynasty*. LHB/OTS 421. New York; Finkelstein, I. and Lipschitz, O. (2010) ZDPV, 126, 29-42.

P. MERLO – H. NIEHR

ORNYTOS

Carthag. soldier in Sil. *Pun.* 14,478 siding with *Syracuse in the battle against Marcellus (CLAUDII [4]).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Burck, E. (1984) *Historische und epische Tradition bei Silius Italicus*. Zetemata 80. Munich, 38f.; Geus, K. (1994), 214.

OTHRYS

A soldier from Marmarica in Sil. *Pun.* 5,437.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37.

OZERBAAL

Phoen. *ʿzrbʿl*, “Help of Baal”; Gk Ὀζέρβαλος. Theophoric PN of several persons, including, probably, a Phoen. king. In fact, a certain O. is mentioned in an inscription on a seal together with the name of someone named *ʿzm*, who calls himself *ʿbd ʿzrbʿl*,

“servant of O.” In this instance, he would be of a high rank, possibly a minister. The seal is no earlier than the end of the 8th cent. BCE and comes from Beirut.

PNPPI, 167-170.375f.; Bordreuil, P. (1986) *Catalogue des sceaux ouest-sémitiques inscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale du Musée du Louvre et du Musée Biblique de Bible et Terre Sainte*. Paris, 22f., no. 6.

G. MINUNNO

Oz(z)ibaal see *AZ(z)IBAAL*

P

PALTIBAAL

Phoen. theophoric PN *plṭbʿl*, “Baal is my deliverance /escape” (vocalization uncertain), only occurring in *KAI* 11 as the name of BATNOAM’s husband and the father of the king of *Byblos AZ(Z)IBAAL (4).

In Batnoam’s funerary inscription, P. does not bear a royal title, but only the title of “Priest of Baalat” (→*Priesthood). As a consequence, most probably he never was king, even though he was a very prominent political and religious figure. Some scholars have argued that it was P. who founded a new Byblian dynasty, as a reaction against Achaemenid dominance and in conjunction with the Phoen. revolt against Persia (Batnoam’s inscription is more or less contemporary with the rebellion of Tennes of *Sidon [→TABNIT], in the middle of the 6th century BCE). However, this is a hypothetical assumption that cannot be based on any concrete evidence. On the contrary, as suggested by others, probably Az(z)ibaal himself was the founder of a new dynasty at Byblos in that period.

PNPPI, 176.390f.; Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée (8^e-6^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 15. Paris, 153.212ff.; Jigoulov, V. S. (2010) *The social history of Achaemenid Phoenicia*. London, 48f.

P. XELLA

Panamuwa see KULAMUWA

PAULUS OF TYRE

Gk Παῦλος.

Rhetorician (Suid. π 809 Adler), a contemporary of *Philo of Byblos (2nd cent. CE). P. wrote *Art of Rhetoric*, *Progymnasmata*, and several declamations. Having been sent as an ambassador to the Emperor Hadrianus, P. had *Tyre designated as a metropolis (possibly also because the emperor intended to reduce the importance of Antioch).

RE XVIII,4, s.v. “Paulus” (17) col. 2375 (W. Stegemann).

G. MINUNNO

Peleset see SEA PEOPLES

PERSAEUS OF KITION

Gk Περσαῖος.

Stoic philosopher of the 3rd cent. BCE (his father’s name was Demetrios, and P. was also called Dorotheos). His name could correspond to the Phoen. PN *prsy* (Yon [1998], 169, fn. 11). P. was a pupil and close friend of ZENO OF KITION (with whom he also lived in Athens); according to some sources, P. had also been his slave. P. was one of the disciples whom Zeno sent in his stead to Antigonos Gonatas, the king of Macedonia, who had invited Zeno to join him. He was also entrusted with the Acrocorinth fortress, where he may have died when it was seized by Aratus (243 BCE), although, according to other versions, he survived or even managed to escape. Among his works the following can be mentioned: *Ethical lectures*, *On kingship*, *The Spartan constitution*, *On marriage*, *On impiety* (perhaps the same as *On the gods*), *Thyestes*, *On love*, *Exhortations*, *Interludes*, *Anecdotes*, *Memorabilia*, *On Plato’s Laws*.

RE XIX,1, s.v. “Persaios” (1) col. 926 (K. Deichgräber); Yon, M. (1998) Zénon, citoyen de Kition. In: *Mélanges Olivier Masson*. *CCEC*, 27, 165-172; Erskine, A. (2011) Between philosophy and the court: The life of Persaios of Kition. In: Erskine, A. and Llewellyn-Jones, L. (eds) *Creating a Hellenistic world*. Swansea, 177-194; Gourinat, J.-B. (2012) Persaios de Kition. In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*. Paris. 5a, 243f.

G. MINUNNO

PERSIANS

Cyrus II (ca 557-530 BCE) defeated Nabonidus in 539 and seized the Neobab. Empire, which became the Pers. Achaemenid Empire, with Pasargadae as its first capital. In fact, the Phoen. cities changed from Neobab. to Pers. domination. Cyrus replaced Nabonidus with the Pers. Gobryas (*Gubaru*), and placed him at the head of a vast province, bringing together Babylonia and *Transeuphratene, a Syro-Phoen. region W of the Euphrates.

Evidence on Pers. domination in *Phoenicia is incomplete and unbalanced, amounting to a few Phoen. inscriptions, fewer Pers. inscriptions in Persia (Darius’ foundation tablet from Susa, 30-32), and

many classical texts (Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates, Arrianus, Diodorus, Polyaeus, Curtius Rufus). Archaeological evidence of Pers. presence there is scant and sometimes subject to debate. The Pers. Empire needed outlets to the Mediterranean and the naval power of west. maritime cities. Cambyses II (530-522) used the Phoen. fleets for his conquest of *Egypt. According to Hdt. 3,19, the PHOENICIANS refused to help him to conquer *Carthage, a project that is perhaps not historically authentic. DARIUS I (522-486) used the Phoen. fleets to consolidate the west. part of his empire. In the classical sources Phoen. cities are not differentiated and their fleets are presented as a single fleet, which did not constitute the entire naval force, but the basis of the maritime power of the P. (Thuc. 1,16). The fleet carried out operations against the insurgent Cypr. kings and placed *Cyprus under Pers. control from 497/496. It helped to crush the revolt of Ionia, with the victory of Ladè in 494. The Phoenicians understood that they were the first to benefit from the maritime supremacy reconquered for the P. thanks to their subsequent naval victories. Two Median wars opposed Gk cities in Europe and Pers. assailants, but the stakes were higher for the Greeks, who were fighting for their independence, than for the P., who only aspired to make a further conquest. During the first Median war, Darius subdued the Cyclades and conquered Eretria before landing in *Attica, where he was defeated at Marathon in 490. XERXES I (486-465) continued his father's policy, particularly the project of a military campaign against Greece. The aim of the second Median war was to subdue the Greeks of Europe. Xerxes mobilized, among others, the Phoen. land-based troops and their war fleets. He established privileged connections with the Sidonians, travelling on a Sidonian galley and making the king of *Sidon, the admiral of his fleet, the first in command (Hdt. 7,67-68.100.128). Then there began a series of defeats for the Phoen. fleets fighting for the P.: at Salamis in Greece (480), at Mycale (479), at Eurymedon (466), in Egypt (460/459) and at *Salamis in Cyprus (450). Athenian imperialism manifested itself in the Levant, according to a list of the war dead belonging to the Erechtheis tribe of Athens in 459 or 458, notably in Phoenicia. An inscription from the Heraion of *Samos mentions the capture of 15 Phoen. ships by the Samians. The only Phoen. victory was obtained at the end of the Egypt. campaign, ca 454. During the second

half of Artaxerxes I's rule (464-424) and during the reign of DARIUS II (2) (424-404), the Phoen. fleet was not involved. However, it had an important role in Pers. policy in the east. Mediterranean, sometimes brandished as a threat, sometimes promised as an unexpected aid during the events on Samos in 441-439 and 412-409. Then in Cyprus – and even in Salamis – Phoen. DYNASTIES favourable to Persia began to develop.

The 4th cent. was a period of unrest in the west. part of the Pers. Empire. The political situation had changed completely, due to the increasing role of the Satraps and new alliances between the Greeks and the P. In 394 the Sidonian fleet, commanded by BAALSHILLEM II (401-366), helped Artaxerxes II (404-359) to defeat the Spartans at Cnidos, but the campaign against Egypt (ca 383/381) was a failure. EVAGORAS I of Salamis rebelled against the P. and landed in Phoenicia. There, he symbolically took *Tyre ca 383/381, but was defeated by Artaxerxes II. The second Pers. campaign in Egypt in 373, planned in *Akko, was another failure. From ca 369 onwards a number of revolts by Satraps and local dynasts took place. ABDASHTART I of Sidon allied himself with Athens and with Salamis of Cyprus, and rose up in 359. His revolt was repressed ca 355 and Sidonian prisoners were sent to Babylon and Susa. Artaxerxes III (359-338) entrusted the government of Transeuphratene to MAZ(A)DAY (Mazaïos), who minted coins in Sidon (353-333). After the new failure of the third Pers. campaign against Egypt in 351, TENNES of Sidon rebelled, but his revolt was severely repressed in 347 by Artaxerxes III, who replaced him with a foreign king, perhaps EVAGORAS II of Salamis (346-343), and finally conquered Egypt again in 342. Tyre seems to have profited from Sidon's disgrace to seize hegemony.

Darius III (336-330) was occupied with his military preparations against ALEXANDER THE GREAT, who was mobilizing the Phoen. cities. The rapidity with which they submitted to Alexander, except for Tyre, suggests that their relations with the P. occupiers were not good. Pers. political administration was present in the Phoen. cities, though not as densely as elsewhere. First included in the same Satrapy as Babylonia, from the time of Darius I they were part of the Satrapy of Abar-Nahara (Transeuphratene). At Sidon there was, if not a typical Satrap seat, at least a Satrap residence. The presence of these residences implied that the P. owned royal lands nearby (the

paradeisos of Sidon) in order to maintain them. The Phoen. cities constituted states within the state, with their autonomous socio-political structures. The Phoen. kings, through the mediation of satraps and governors, negotiated with the Great King. These kings endeavoured to conciliate them by granting them honours and lands, and favoured persistent dynasties sympathetic to the P. Political administration was imposed to facilitate the collection of tribute and taxes, a vitally essential concern of the kings of the P. The fifth nome of Herodotus, the fiscal district to which the Phoen. cities belonged, had to pay 350 talents of silver. In addition, they also had to furnish wood, craftsmen, fleets and crews, and maintain the Pers. garrisons. The regularity of the perception of tribute was conditioned by a good military organization of space. The P. had used certain sites as strategic positions to control the coastal road (the fortresses of *Byblos and *Baniyas), or as bases of operations against Egypt and Gk cities (Sidon and Akko). However, their martial presence was not very concentrated, as military colonies were not established there. Pers. domination did not produce the expected cultural integration between overlords and subjects. In fact, there was no appetite for cultural assimilation, the local culture was preserved and as residents, the P. were neither sufficiently numerous nor effective.

Clermont-Ganneau, C. (1921) *RB*, 30, 106-108; Leuze, O. (1935) *Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweiströmland von 580-320*. Halle; Rainey, A. F. (1969) *AJBA*, 1/2, 51-78; Elayi, J. (1987) *Recherches sur les cités phéniciennes à l'époque perse*. Naples; Elayi, J. (1990) *DHA*, 16, 93-113; Elayi, J. and Sapin, J. (eds) (1990) *La Transeuphratène à l'époque perse: Pouvoirs locaux et organisation du territoire*. *Trans*, 2-3; Sancisi-Weerdenburg, H. and Kuhrt, A. (eds) (1990) *Achaemenid history IV. Centre and periphery*. Leiden; Elayi, J. (1991) La domination perse sur les cités phéniciennes. In: *APC* 2, 77-85; Elayi, J. and Sapin, J. (eds) (1993) *Continuités et ruptures à la lumière des périodes néo-assyrienne et hellénistique*. *Trans*, 6; Elayi, J. and Sapin, J. (eds) (1994) *La Transeuphratène et l'Égypte*. *Trans*, 9; *Trans*, 7-8, 1994; Elayi, J. and Sapin, J. (eds) (1996) *Contacts et échanges culturels*. *Trans*, 12; *Trans*, 13, 1997; Briant, P. (1997) *Topoi*, Suppl. I, 5-125; Elayi, J. (1997) *Historia Antiqua*, 10, 63-77; Elayi, J. and Sapin, J. (1998) *Beyond the River. New perspectives on Transeuphratene*. Sheffield; Elayi, J. (2000) Les sites phéniciens de Syrie au Fer III/Perse: Bilan et perspectives de recherche. In: Bunnens, G. (ed.) *Essays on Syria in the Iron Age*. Leuven/Paris/Sterling, 327-348; Elayi, J. and Sapin, J. (2000) *Quinze ans de recherche (1985-2000) sur la Transeuphratène à l'époque perse*. Paris; Elayi, J. and Sapin, J. (eds) (2000) *Économie, commerce et monnaie*. *Trans*, 19-20; Briant, P. (2001) *Persika*, 1, 1-331; Elayi, J. and Sapin, J. (eds) (2001) *Religions, croyances, rites et images*. *Trans*, 21-22; *Trans*, 23, 2002; Briant, P. (2002) *From Cyrus to Alexander. A history of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake; Elayi, J. and Sapin, J. (eds) (2004)

Pouvoirs, sociétés et religions. *Trans*, 28; *Trans*, 29-30, 2005; Tal, O. (2005) Some remarks on the coastal plain of Palestine under Achaemenid rule – an archaeological synopsis. In: Briant, P. and Bouchardat, R. (eds) *L'archéologie de l'empire achéménide: nouvelles recherches*. Paris, 71-96; Elayi, J. (2006) *Trans*, 32, 11-43; Elayi, J. (2006) *JAOS*, 126, 411-418; Elayi, J. and Sapin, J. (eds) (2008) *Frontières et courants d'échanges culturels*. *Trans*, 35; *Trans*, 36-37, 2009; Elayi, J. and Sapin, J. (eds) (2010) *Crises et autres difficultés*. *Trans*, 39; *Trans*, 40, 2011; *Trans*, 41-42, 2012.

J. ELAYI

Appendix: Chronology of the Persian Kings

Cyrus II	557-530
Cambyses	530-522
Darius I	522-486
Xerxes I	486-465
Artaxerxes I	464-424
Xerxes II	424
Darius II	424-404
Artaxerxes II Memnon	404-359
Artaxerxes III Ocho	359-338
Arses	338-336
Darius III	336-330

PHALANTUS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 4,529ff.

Geus, K. (1994), 214.

Phameas see HIMILCO (12)

PHELLES

Gk Φέλλης, probably corresponding to the Phoen. PN (hypocoristic?) *pls*, *Pillēs* (from a verb meaning “to watch”, “to make level”).

According to Josephus (*Ap.* 1,123), he was king of *Tyre during the first half of the 9th cent. BCE, and assassinated his brother ASTHARYMOS. His reign lasted only eight months, since he, in turn, was murdered by ITTOBAAL, a priest (→*Priesthood) of *Astarte. Ittobaal then became king, founding a long-lasting dynasty (DYNASTIES).

PNPPI, 176.392; Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre*. Jerusalem, 116.128.349; Lipiński, E. (2006) *On the skirts of Canaan in the Iron Age*. OLA 154. Leuven, 174-176.

F. MAZZA

PHILIP V

King of Macedonia (229-179 BCE). In 215 he contracted an alliance with HANNIBAL (9) against the Romans. The text of the treaty (→TREATIES) was handed over by Polybius (7,9). As a result, the first Macedonian War broke out (214-205), ending with the defeat of the sovereign.

Walbank, F. W. (1940) *Philip V of Macedon*. Cambridge; Nicolet, C. (ed.) (1978) *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen*. II. Paris, 729-788; Huss, W. (1985) 341ff. and *passim*; DCP, s.v. (M. Dubuisson).

G. MINUNNO

PHILISTINES

Information about the Philistine people – whose name is bound up with *Philistia*, the ancient and modern name of *Palestine [FIG. 52] – comes to us from three main sources: the *Old Testament, Egypt. inscriptions and archaeological finds in south. Palestine (broadly speaking the area between two water-courses, Yarkon in the N and Wadi Gaza in the S). In terms of texts, it is chiefly the information recorded in the OT that allows us to reconstruct a historical portrait of the P. In the biblical text they are presented as the enemy *par excellence* of the Hebr. people and therefore as ISRAEL's opponents, the favourite butt of curses from certain prophets (e.g. Zephaniah and Jeremiah). They are also obviously 'foreigners', as the LXX never fails to point out by using the Gk word *allophyloi*, alternating with the ethnonym *Philistiim* to denote the P., in the sections of the OT after the Book of Judges. In Amos 9,7, the place of origin of the P. is said to be the land of 'Kaphtor', very probably to be identified as *Crete, in spite of the existence of different ancient translations of the Hebr. text. Deuteronomy (2,23) states that the region of *Gaza had been occupied by "the Kaphtorim who left Kaphtor". Instead, the Book of Genesis (10,13-14), in the so-called 'Table of the nations', seems to connect the P. with *Egypt, even if proposed readings of the text are contradictory. In any case, the P. are considered in the sources as a clearly 'foreign' element in the composite and variegated Levant of IA I. Therefore, in terms of culture, they are easily distinguishable from the peoples living in *Syria and Palestine at the end of the BA.

Since the second half of the 19th cent., scholars have connected the P. of the Bible with the *Peleset* in Egypt. sources, one of the so-called SEA PEOPLES mentioned in four texts going back to the NK. In the earliest of these, the inscription of Ramses III (first half of the 12th cent.) in the funerary temple of Medinet Habu, the list of "foreign lands (...) in their islands" includes, besides *Peleset*, also *Tjeker*, *Shekelesh*, *Danuna*, *Weshesh*, peoples united in a coalition that attacked Egypt in the eighth year of the reign of Ramses III. As far as we know, based on his celebratory inscription the pharaoh drove it off. In the second text, the 'Rhetorical Stela' of Deir el-Medineh, also dated to the period of Ramses III, alongside the *Peleset* are the *Teresh*, a people that seems to come from *Anatolia. Papyrus Harris I (British Museum 10053), dated to the period immediately after the death of Ramses II, records the names of peoples, including the *Peleset*, who were

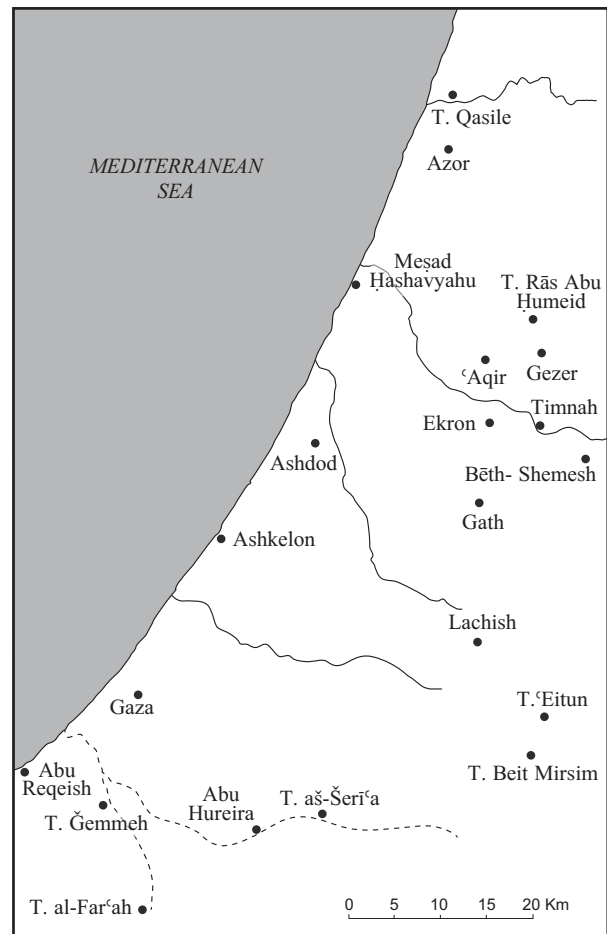


Fig. 52. Philistia

annihilated (“reduced to ashes”) by Egypt, while in the *Onomasticon* of Amenope, from the end of the 12th to the beginning of the 11th cent. there is a list that comprises several cities – such as *Ashkelon, *Ashdod, *Gaza, known from the Bible as three cities of the Philistine pentapolis – as well as the names of peoples, including the *Sherdana/Sherden*, *Tjekker* and, of course, the *Peleset*. The textual sources (both Egypt. and biblical) indicate various possible reconstructions of the historical process that led to this foreign people settling in south. Palestine. In fact, the arrival of the P./*Peleset* in Palestine occurred against the background of sometimes nebulous and blurred events involving movements of the ‘Sea Peoples’ in the east. Mediterranean between the end of the 13th and 12th cent. BCE. The *Peleset*, defeated by Egypt, as were other Sea Peoples, settled along the south. coast of Canaan, possibly even encouraged by the Egyptians themselves, since quite probably they had not been “reduced to ashes” as the propaganda report in Papyrus Harris I would have it. Instead the Egyptians had settled them in their fortresses in south. Canaan (→CANANITES), still under their political and military control at the time.

However, the origin of the P. is still very much a matter of debate. The biblical references have already been mentioned, which lead us to propose that they came either from Egypt (Gen 10) or from Crete, with some variants, since the LXX version of the Hebr. text of Amos (9,7) uses the term *allophyloi* for the P., whereas *Kaphtor*, their presumed country of origin, is translated as “Cappadocia”, which suggests an Anatolian origin. All the same, the hypothesis of an Aegean (probably Mycen. rather than Cretan) origin of the P. has found support in the archaeological finds in south. Palestine, following ongoing research by archaeologists in the cities that correspond to the so-called biblical pentapolis. The spread in coastal Palestine, in IA I, of an Aegean type of material culture marked in particular by the spread of pottery inspired, in both form and decoration, by Mycen. at the beginning of the 12th sec. (in the style of Mycen. IIIC:1), has allowed archaeologists to provide evidence for a clear correspondence between the area where these objects in the Aegean style (but produced locally) were spread and the geographic area which in the Bible is indicated as the seat of the Philistine ‘Pentapolis’ – the famous five Philistine cities along the coastal plain: Ashdod, Ashkelon, *Ekron (identified with the site of Tel Mique), Gath (possibly

Tell es-Safi) and Gaza. Initially, the interpretation drawn from the comparison between the written sources and the archaeological evidence was influenced by a theoretical view that was diffusionist in interpretation. Therefore, the hypothesis has been put forward of a mass arrival of MYCENAEANS who fled after the collapse of some of the cities in their motherland and because of the economic and social breakdown of the palatine system of the LBA. This very real migration of MYCENAEANS /*Peleset*/P. would have led to exiles from Greece settling in the south. coastal area of the Levant. Some archaeologists, such as Moshe and Trude Dothan (Dothan [1982]; Dothan and Dothan [1992]), have suggested that this process of migration took place in two successive waves. There would have been two distinct phases of migration and settlement, corresponding, in Palest. material culture, to the two main styles of Philistine pottery, the so-called ‘monochrome’ ware (painted brown or blackish-brown) and ‘bichrome’ ware (painted red and black). However, the idea of two distinct and successive phases of migration has been rejected by most scholars, also because ‘bichrome’ ware was due to an actual fusion of Aegean elements – already quite evident in the production of ‘monochrome’ ware – with elements taken from local Canaanite tradition. Therefore, this ware is not an ‘allogenic’ product, which monochrome pottery seemed to be, but a clearly local development, born from a hybridization of Aegean and Levantine production traditions. Therefore, more recently, other scholars have distanced themselves from this diffusionist reading and have begun a different interpretation of the appearance of the Philistine people in history. A. Killebrew, for example, envisaged an ‘active’, intentional colonization, towards the Levant of rich and well organized groups probably either from *Cyprus – already culturally influenced by the Aegean, at the start of the 12th cent. – or from the S coast of Anatolia. These settlers, in search of new lands and especially of new markets, would therefore be the founders of the biblical Pentapolis, and would be the P. mentioned in the texts (Killebrew [2005]). The process of deconstructing the texts (especially the OT) has gone even further: in studies by S. Sherratt ([1998]; [2013]) there is an attempt to provide a reading in economic terms – i.e. ‘structurally’ rather than factually – of the historical event described in the sources as the ‘settlement of the P. in Palestine’. In essence, the P. are not to be understood ethnically, as

referring to a people, and even less as Mycen. outlaws and refugees, but should rather be considered as a social and economic group shaped by the act of trading. Therefore they would be merchants dedicated to entrepreneurial activities which could even be private, already operative at the start of the Final BA, in the east. basin of the Mediterranean. In virtue of the economic power they had attained and the autonomy they had acquired with respect to the palatine centres, these merchants must also have been able to organize themselves politically, seizing power in the ports and coastal cities of the south. Levant. Not unlike the inhabitants of Phoen. cities in IA I, therefore, these groups (whose main social attribute was largely if not exclusively defined as traders) evidently took advantage, between the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th cent. BCE, of the tremendous upheaval of the traditional political and economic order. According to S. Sherratt, therefore, the appearance of Philistine culture in the Levant must be set within the framework of a wider historical event that has to be understood in terms of the *longue durée*. Accordingly, the P. and more generally, the Sea Peoples, represent the end-point of a process of social and economic transformation that led to the removal of centralized political and economic systems in the LBA, in favour of a potentially new decentralized economy in IA I. Some scholars, such as G. Garbini (2012), have openly stigmatized this recent trend towards a sort of deconstruction of the P. (to be understood no longer as ‘people’, in the strict sense, but rather as an ‘event’ and as the result of a social and economic process). However, today the historical reconstruction of Philistine culture has been enriched, undoubtedly, by new considerations. We need to take stock, both of the texts and of the interpretation of several facts of material culture. There are certainly numerous material elements from the Aegean: first and foremost the pottery style, which has been discussed, but also several material aspects of the cult, such as the female figurines of the ‘Ashdod’ type, which exhibit hybrid features linked both to the Mycen. world and to the Canaanite and Egypt. world, and the hearths, such as those found at *Tel Qasile and at Tel Mique (Ekron), which are comparable to similar installations in the Mycen. region (Dothan and Dothan [1992]). However, this Aegean connection, which seems to confirm the idea that they came specifically from the Mycen. world, could also depend on links with Cyprus or else could

be explained by the long and continuous presence of objects and individuals from the Aegean all along the Levantine coast during the LBA. Ultimately, a type of pottery that previously (in the 13th cent.) had been imported from the Mycen. world could, after a certain moment, have been produced locally, without the need to resort to the mass arrival of foreign peoples. The start of local production could have been intended to fill a vacuum, i.e. to reproduce locally goods – originally exotic but by then familiar – that would no longer be available as imports after the crisis in international trade.

Whether they were colonizers, fugitives or migrants, who had arrived from Mycen. Greece or Cyprus or even from south. Anatolia, or whether instead they were groups of traders organized into new political entities – the city-states of the south. coast, the P. from the 12th cent. certainly helped to make profound changes to the whole culture of the Levant. In spite of conflicts with neighbouring kingdoms, documented by a series of attacks against ISRAEL, mentioned in the Bible (including King David’s well-known victory over the Philistine chief Goliath at Eilat, but also the battle in the Shephelah or at Aphek, or Israel’s defeat on Mount Gilboa, when Saul was killed), in fact the P. increasingly (and quite rapidly) assimilated the local Canaanite culture, acquiring the Canaanite language and in all probability some local cults. In fact, the Bible mentions the cults of Dagon at Ashdod (1 Sam 5,1-5) (→*Dagan) and of *Baal Zebub at Ekron (2 Kgs 1, 1-4), originally a Canaanite god. Right from the start, their funerary customs seem to have been taken from Levantine peoples, with some Egypt. influence at least in their use of anthropoid sarcophagi made of terracotta. The recent find of a vast necropolis just outside the walls of Ashkelon, during the 2013-2016 excavations by the Leon Levy Expedition, has now made some exceptional evidence available. Over two hundred individuals have been found, either interred in a ditch or cremated and deposited in jars or else deposited in tombs constructed of squared stones. Often, the grave goods include Phoen. type decorated juglets, which confirm close relations with Phoenicia.

Though still found only in IA II, Philistine culture, from the end of the 10th cent., seems gradually to have assimilated the local culture. Certainly the golden age of the Philistine civilization (and the period of autonomy and power of the coastal city-states) occurred especially between the 12th and

10th cent., i.e. in the period that has long been defined as a ‘dark age’, due to the lack or scarcity of written sources.

Outside Palestine, possible connections with the Philistines have been identified in the north. Levant, thanks to excavations begun in 1996 on the citadel of *Aleppo, in Syria. In 2003, in the temple of the *Storm-god there, decorated with bas reliefs and dated to various phases straddling the end of the 2nd mill. and the start of the 1st mill., a Luwian hieroglyphic inscription was found with a dedication to the storm god by “Taita king of Palastin” (→LUWIANS). Other inscriptions by this king have been found in excavations in subsequent years (2004-2005). Palaeography dates them to the 12th cent., a period in which Aegean-type elements are present within the material culture (pottery in the Mycen. IIIC:1 style, produced locally) in the ‘Amuq region. Therefore, the connection between the term “Palastin” as the name of a country ruled over by king Taita, and the presence of Aegean elements in the material culture of the N Levant, has led to the suggestion that a group belonging to the Sea Peoples also settled in this area, much as we saw in the south. Levant.

Also several times scholars have proposed the arrival of Philistine peoples along the trade routes of IA I to be in the direction of the west. Mediterranean. Beyond possible speculations on the place names of some parts of *Sardinia affected by Phoen. colonization (Garbini [2012]), in which toponyms of Philistine origin seem to be present, it must be stressed, more generally, that the term *Phoinikes*, which the Greeks used to denote the Phoenicians proper, must have included various other Levantine peoples involved along the trade routes towards the W in IA I. And with some probability, among these peoples there must have been at least some Philistine merchants, even if unfortunately, the textual and material evidence does not help us much to identify and define their presence and their role as against Phoenicians or ARAMAEANS.

Dothan, T. (1982) *The Philistines and their material culture*. New Haven; Dothan, T. and Dothan, M. (1992) *People of the Sea: The search for the Philistines*. New York; Ehrlich, C. S. (1996) *The Philistines in transition. A history from ca. 1000-730 B.C.E.* Leiden/New York/Köln; Bauer, A. (1998) *OxfJA*, 17, 149-168; Gitin, S., Mazar, A. and Stern, E. (eds) (1998) *Mediterranean peoples in transition*. Jerusalem; Sherratt, S. (1998) Sea Peoples and the economic structure of the Late Second Millennium in the Eastern Mediterranean. In: Gitin, S., Mazar, A. and Stern, E. (eds) cit., 292-313; Barako, T. (2000) *AJA*, 104, 513-530; Laughlin, J. H.

(2000) *Archaeology and the Bible*. London; Killebrew, A. (2005) *Biblical peoples and ethnicity. An archaeological study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel, 1300-1100 B.C.E.* Atlanta; Oggiano, I. (2005) *Dal terreno al divino. Archeologia del culto nella Palestina del primo millennio*. Rome; Sherratt, S. (2006) The chronology of the Philistine monochrome pottery – an outsider’s view. In: Maeir, A. M. and de Miroschedji, P. (eds) *‘I Will Speak the Riddles of Ancient Times’*. *Archaeological and historical studies in honor of Amihai Mazar on the occasion of his sixtieth birthday*. Winona Lake, 361-374; Yasur Landau, A. (2010) *The Philistines and Aegean migration at the end of the Late Bronze Age*. Cambridge; Hawkins, J. D. (2011) *AnSt*, 61, 35-54; Garbini, G. (2012²) *I Filistei. Gli antagonisti di Israele*. Brescia; Jung, R. (2012) Can we say, what’s behind all those sherds? Ceramic innovations in the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the second millennium. In: Maran, J. and Stockhammer, P. W. (eds) *Materiality and social practice: transformative capacities of intercultural encounters*. Oxford, 104-120; Killebrew, A. and Lehmann, G. (eds) (2013) *The Philistines and other ‘Sea Peoples’ in text and archaeology*. Atlanta; Sherratt, S. and Mazar, A. (2013) Mycenaean IIIC and related pottery from Beth Shean. In: Killebrew, A. E. and Lehmann, G. (eds) cit., 349-392; Rutter, J. B. (2013) Aegean elements in the earliest Philistine ceramic assemblage: a view from the west. In: Killebrew, A. E. and Lehmann, G. (eds) cit., 543-561; Sherratt, S. (2013) The ceramic phenomenon of the Sea Peoples. An overview. In: Killebrew, A. E. and Lehmann, G. (eds) cit., 619-644; Weeden, M. (2013) *BICS*, 56, 1-20; Cline, E. H. (2014) *1177 BC. The year civilization collapsed*. Princeton; Lehmann, G. (2017) The Late Bronze-Iron Age transition and the problem of the Sea Peoples phenomenon in Cilicia. In: Fischer, P. M. and Bürge, T. (eds) *‘Sea Peoples’ up-to-date*. Vienna, 229-255.

T. PEDRAZZI

Philo of Byblos: author active in the early 2nd cent. CE. Since the fragments of his work *Phoenician History* are mostly relevant for cosmology and mythology, there will be an entry on him in the *EDPC* volume on deities and mythical characters.

PHILOCLES

Gk Φίλοκλῆς.

The son of Apollodorus, king of *Sidon, documented almost exclusively in inscriptions. Several of these ascribe to him the title of king of the Sidonians (whereas Polyaeus [3,16] calls him a *strategos*). Probably, P. was the last king of Sidon, after that city came under the control of Ptolemy I, in 294 or 288 until 279/278 BCE ca. Possibly, P. had already been in the service of Ptolemy, for whom he acted as a plenipotentiary in the north. region of the Lagide kingdom (→LAGIDS). We do not know whether he belonged to the dynasty of ABDALONYMUS. He contributed to the rebuilding of Thebes, perhaps appealing to the presumed Phoen. origin of *Cadmus.

Seibert, J. (1970) *Historia*, 19, 337-351; Hauben, H. (1987) Philocles, king of the Sidonians and general of the Ptolemies. In: *StPhoen* 5, 413-427; Hauben, H. (2004) *AncSoc*, 34, 27-44; Messerschmidt, W. (2008) *IM*, 58, 419-423.

G. MINUNNO

PHOENICIANS

Gr. Φοίνικες; Lat. *Phoenices*.

The name used for the inhabitants of the west. Mediterr. region called *Phoenicia, broadly equivalent to modern *Lebanon. By convention, in *Phoenician Studies, Phoenicia is generally understood to be the area between *Tell Suqas in the N and Mount *Carmel in the S, bounded internally by the mountain chains of Lebanon and *Anti-Lebanon. As for the people, the term P. is used specifically for the culture evident from the end of the LBA, when *Syria and *Palestine underwent substantial political and ethnic changes. However, it is very important to emphasize that the definition of that people as P. did not originate with them: initially, perhaps, it was coined among the MYCENAEANS, or more correctly the Cretans, in the LBA, and meant “red-skinned people”, based on assonance between the Egypt. term FEN(E)KHU, denoting the inhabitants of a coastal region of the NE, and the Mycen. word *po-ni-ki-jo*, “red”. This definition of P. then moves into Gk, where it had been used since the time of Homer.

Those we conventionally call P. did not create a collective term for themselves, corresponding to an awareness of being an ethnic unit that has never been documented. Instead, they used ethnonyms linked to the various cities to which they belonged (e.g. Sidonians, from the name *Sidon, one of their largest cities, or else Tyrians from *Tyre, Arwadites from *Arwad etc.). In external sources the terms *Canaan and CANAANITES appear, but they refer only partially to the region and to the peoples that lived there. Recent studies have shown that, originally, the term P. was used for various ANE populations, involved in the move towards the W, such as ARAMAEANS, PHILISTINES and of course P. This term became specialized only when their colonial involvement was consolidated. In any case, historically speaking, the term P. is also used when speaking about the culture of the peoples settled in the central-west. Mediterranean, until the hegemony of *Carthage arose. In this later phase, when referring to the P. from the W, the term PUNIC(S), is used, which in any case is the result of a Lat. adaptation of the same word.

Garbini, G. (1983) Chi erano i Fenici? In: *APC* 1, 27-33; Röllig, W. (1983) *Berytus*, 31, 79-93; Baurain, C. (1986) Portées chronologique et géographique du terme “Phénicien”. In: *StPhoen* 4, 7-28; Vandersleyen, C. (1987) L’étymologie de Phoînix, le “Phénicien”. In: *StPhoen* 5, 19-22; *DCPP*, s.v. “Phénicie” (E. Lipiński – W. Röllig); Moscati, S. (1993) *MAL* Ser. IX. IV. I. Rome; Moscati, S. (1994) *Chi furono i Fenici*. Turin, esp. 15ff.; Röllig, W. (1995) Phoenician and the Phoenicians in the context of the Ancient Near East. In: Moscati, S. (ed.) *I Fenici ieri oggi domani: ricerche, scoperte, progetti*. Rome, 203-214; Xella, P. (1995) Ugarit et les Phéniciens. Identité culturelle et rapports historiques. In: Dietrich, M. and Loretz, O. (eds) *Ugarit. Ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung*. ALASP 7. Münster, 239-266; Bernardini, P. (2000) *RSF*, 28, 13-33; Bondi, S. F. et al. (eds) (2009) *Fenici e Cartaginesi. Una civiltà mediterranea*. Rome, *passim*; Xella, P. (2014) *MEFRA*, 126-2 (<http://journals.openedition.org/mefra/2278>); Ercolani, A. (2015) Phoinikes: storia di un etnonimo. In: Garbati, G. and Pedrazzi, T. (eds.) *Transformations and Crisis in the Mediterranean. ‘Identity’ and Interculturality in the Levant and Phoenician West during the 8th-5th Centuries BCE. Proceedings of the International Conference held in Rome, CNR, May 8-9 2013*. Suppl. to *RSF* 42 [2014]. Rome, 171-182.

S. F. BONDI

PLAUTUS

It is necessary to mention the Rom. playwright Titus Maccius Plautus (ca 250-184 BCE) here because of his comedy *Poenulus* (“The Little Carthaginian”), staged in 189, or shortly after. Inspired by the Gk comedy *Carchedonios* (possibly by Menander, even though his name is not specified in the text) this play brings on stage and/or mentions a series of characters who, generically, can be called Carthaginians.

Beyond the stereotypes typical of the genre, there is a significant attempt for realistic characterization in his choice of names (even if sometimes they are borrowed from Gk, e.g. Adelphasium or Anterastulis). This is evident in the use of personal names derived directly from or calqued on real Pun. names, as well as his presentation of characters who actually speak Punic (e.g. *Anno byn mythymballe udradait annech* [995], translated in the following verses [996ff.] as: “he says he is a Carthaginian, son of the Carthaginian Mythumbal”). A whole section of the play – which has been the object of linguistic and philological studies by Classical scholars and Semitists for quite some time – contains actual Pun. expressions and terms adapted to Lat. spelling.

The references to real historical people are few and to some extent hypothetical (Hanno for example, who clearly has a Carthag. name, well-known in Rom. circles, cannot be identified with any historical character). Rather, most of the characters are fictitious

and described as originally from *Carthage. However, in some cases, a name is or is intended to sound as if it were Punic, in order to confer some plausibility on the setting in respect of the plot. In terms of history, this comedy is important also because, even taking all its distortions into account, it is a good litmus test for identifying the ideas, conceptions and beliefs circulating in Rome in respect of the Carthag. world (*Poenulus* as well as other comedies by P. such as *Curculio* and *Persa*, are considered to be fundamental in defining the Rom. concept of the ‘foreigner’ between the 3rd and 2nd cent., a period in which Rome’s confrontation with Carthage was at its most tense: see PUNIC WARS).

Here is a list of the characters in *Poenulus* who are clearly ‘Punic’ in the setting of the comedy, even if not everyone displays Pun. linguistic features in their name:

- Adelphasium (*passim*)
- Agorastocles (*passim*)
- Ampsigura (vv. 1065ff.)
- ANTERASTULIS (*passim*)
- GIDDENES (vv. 898, 1119ff.)
- HANNO (*passim*)
- IAHON/IACHON (vv. 1065, 1072)
- Milphio (*passim*)
- MYTTHUNBAL (vv. 995, 997).

Szyncer, M. (1967) *Les passages puniques en transcription latine dans le “Poenulus” de Plaute*. Paris; Gratwick, A. S. (1971) *Hermes*, 99, 24–45; Krahmalkov, Ch. R. (1988) *Or*, 57, 55–66; De Melo, W. D. C. (2012) *Plautus: The Little Carthaginian; Pseudolus; The Rope*. Harvard; Raffaelli, R. and Tontini, A. (eds) (2012) *Poenulus*. *Lecturae Plautinae Sarsinates* XV. Urbino.

A. ERCOLANI

PNYTAGORAS OF SALAMIS

Gk Πνυταγόρας, name of several members of the royal family of *Salamis in Cyprus during the 4th cent. BCE.

1. The first P. of Salamis mentioned in the texts is the son of EVAGORAS I (1), probably his firstborn. At the beginning of the 4th cent., P. accompanied Evagoras on his military campaigns. Evagoras even put him in command of all the troops in *Cyprus, while his father was in *Egypt (Diod. 15,4: *Salamine* X, no. 266). Nothing else is known about him, except that he was assassinated at the same time as his father

by the eunuch Thrasydaïos in 374 (Theophr. fr. 103: *Salamine* X, no. 242.12), because of amorous intrigues, with his father as his rival.

2. P., king of Salamis in Cyprus between ca 350 and 332 BCE, probably the son of P. I (1) and, consequently, the grandson of Evagoras I (1). Two of his sons are known: NICOCREON, who succeeded him, and Nitaphon who, in 327, accompanied ALEXANDER THE GREAT on his expedition to the Indies. After the death of NICOCLES (ca 361), he contended against his cousin EVAGORAS II (2), the son and successor of Nicocles, for power. It was probably in about 350 that P. finally did gain power, expelling Evagoras II, who had ruled for a decade, but the exact date and the actual circumstances are unknown. Supported by the Great King (Artaxerxes III Ochus), who had appointed him as *Satrap, Evagoras II tried to regain power and disembarked on the island with an army of 8,000 soldiers and 40 ships commanded by Phocion of Athens: P. was besieged in Salamis, on land and from the sea, by the dethroned king. Due to various calumnies, however, Artaxerxes III abandoned him in order to “side with P. actively”, so that Evagoras had to give in (Diod. 16,42,46: *Salamine* X, nos 289–290). Evagoras was appointed king of *Sidon by the Pers. king, and P. remained the master of the field: he then reigned over Salamis until at least 332. He struck tetrobols and silver didrachms according to the Rhodian standard (discarding the local standard), as well as golden staters and twelfth staters (→*Numismatics). These depict the turreted head of Aphrodite on the obverse and on the reverse a male head wearing a diadem. The legends on the coins bear the abbreviations ‘BA’ (for *basileus*) and ‘PN’ (for *Pnytagoras*), sometimes with a vestige of the sign *pa* (βα) in the Cypr. syllabary, which has a symbolic meaning. When Alexander arrived, P. supported him and contributed to the siege of *Tyre in 332. However, the ship he commanded (a penteconter) was sunk by the Tyrians during the first days of the siege (Arr. 2,20,22 = *Salamine* X, no. 299). Apparently, he survived because, according to the historian Douris, “after the siege of Tyre” (μετὰ τὴν Τύρου πολιορκίαν), he was showered with gifts by Alexander, who gave him the territory he had asked for, namely, *Tamassos (Athen. 4,167c = *Kition Bam-boula* V, no. 74). He probably died after the siege of Tyre in 332, since it was Nicocreon who received Alexander when he arrived from Egypt in 331. As mentioned, his son Nicocreon succeeded him.

Hill, G. (1949) *A history of Cyprus*, I. Cambridge, *passim*; Chavane, M.-J. and Yon, M. (eds) (1978) *Testimonia Salamina* 1 (*Salamine de Chypre* X). Paris; Yon, M. (ed.) (2004) *Kition dans les textes. Kition-Bamboula* V. Paris; Markou, E. (2011) *L'or des rois de Chypre. Numismatique et histoire à l'époque classique*. Athens.

M. YON

POMPEIUS MAGNUS, CNAEUS

P. M. (106-48 BCE) was a politician and a Rom. commander, who is credited with conquering *Syria and *Phoenicia and setting up the first organization of that region as a province. In 67 he was commissioned to eradicate piracy in the E and then conclude the expedition against Tigranes king of Armenia, who had seized control of Syria from the SELEUCIDS. In 64 P. marched on *Damascus and then *Jerusalem, toppling the local princes and stipulating new treaties of alliance or submission with the various communities. The cities on the Phoen. coast were also included in the newly born province of Syria. However, some of these, such as *Byblos and *Tyre, initially retained an autonomous statute (Str. 16,755 and 757; Dio Cass. 37,7a,1; Fest. *Brev.* 14,2).

Butcher, K. (2003) *Roman Syria and the Near East*. London, 21 ff.; Shaw, B. D. (2014) Lords of the Levant: The borderlands of Syria and Phoenicia in the first century. In: Vishnia, F. R., Zelnick-Abramowitz, R. and Eck, W. (eds) *Rome, Judaea and its neighbors: Special issue in honor of Hannah M. Cotton*. Scripta Classica Israelica 33. Jerusalem, 225-242.

U. LIVADIOTTI

PORCIUS CATO, MARCUS

234 ca-149 BCE. From a family that was by no means noble, he climbed right up the political ladder, finally becoming a *consul* in 195 and a *censor* in 184. In 204 he was a *quaestor* in Africa, succeeding Scipio (→SCIPIONS [5]). Afterwards, he achieved military successes in *Sardinia, Spain and Greece. Tradition portrays him as a tireless and austere defender of the *mos maiorum*, opposed to the influence of Gk culture and an adversary of the Scipions. But it also stresses his entrepreneurial skills and his refined culture. He carried out the office of censorship with a harshness that later became proverbial. Impressed by the renaissance of the Pun. economy, which he experienced during a diplomatic mission to *Carthage in 153, he initiated an unrelenting campaign against

that rival city. Every intervention of his in the Senate ended with an exhortation to destroy Carthage. This political attitude, opposed in vain by Scipio Nasica (→SCIPIONS [7]), finally prevailed. In fact, just before he died, P. C. was in time to see the outbreak of the III Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). Fragments of his speeches and his history survive, as does the whole of his *De agri cultura*.

Main sources: biographies by Cornelius Nepos and Plutarch; Livy. Cicero made him the protagonist of his imaginary dialogue *De senectute*.

Astin, A. E. (1978) *Cato the censor*. Oxford/New York; Meijer, F. J. (1984) *Mnemosyne*, 37, 117-124; Dubuisson, M. (1989) "Delenda est Carthago": remise en question d'un stéréotype. In: StPhoen 10, 279-287; O'Gorman, E. (2004) *Helios*, 31, 99-126; Crouzet, S. (2006) *Pallas*, 70, 147-172; Günther, L.-M. (2009) Catos Feigen aus Karthag. Zur Interpretation einer Anekdote (Plutarch, Cato maior, 27, I). In: AfRom 17, 151-156.

U. LIVADIOTTI

PORPHIRIUS OF TYRE

Gk Πορφύριος.

Neoplatonic philosopher, a disciple of Plotinus, whose works he edited. P. was born in *Tyre in 234 CE; he also bore the Phoen. name Malkos/Malchos (like his father), corresponding to Gk *basileus*, as he was also called. His name has also been explained with reference to royal purple, or rather to the famous Tyrian purple. Some Christian authors called him a *Bataneotes*, which is probably an insult rather than a reference to his provenance (Rinaldi [1980]). Christian hostility to P. was prompted by his work *Against Christians*. According to one source (Socr. *Hist. Eccles.* 3,23), P. was even an apostate. Having studied in Greece, P. then moved to ROME in 263, becoming a disciple of Plotinus. He moved to *Sicily in 268, living in the region of *Lilybaeum, with Probus (whose widow he may have married later). He returned to Rome only after the death of Plotinus (270). In addition to editing Plotinus' works, P. wrote many books of his own. Among the latter, are *De abstinentia* as well as *Isagoge*, which was largely adopted as a textbook of logic (as was its Lat. translation by Boethius).

Bidez, J. (1913) *Vie de Porphyre, le philosophe néo-platonicien, avec les fragments des traités Peri agalmatōn et De regressu animae*. Gand/Leipzig [Hildesheim 1980]; RE XXII,1, s.v. "Porphyrios" (21) cols 275-313 (R. Beutler); Romano, F. (1979)

Porfirio di Tiro. Filosofia e cultura nel III secolo d.C. Catania; Rinaldi, G. (1980) *Koinōnia*, 4, 25-37; Karamanolis, G. and Shepard, A. (eds) (2007) *Studies on Porphyry*. London; Goulet, R. et al. (2012) *Porphyre de Tyr*. In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 5b. Paris, 1289-1468.

G. MINUNNO

Praxidemos Sesmaios see BAALSHILLEM (3)

PRAXIPPOS

Gk Πραξιππος; Phoen. ... *ps* (?).

P. is the last king of *Lapethos, according to Diodorus (19,74,4). It was Ptolemy I (→LAGIDS) who ended his reign in 312 BCE. On the basis of a fragmentary inscription, also from Lapethos, in which a PN ending in ... *ps* is mentioned, it has been proposed to identify another king by this name. He would then have been the predecessor of BARIKSHAMASH, perhaps, with a reign lasting at least 14 years (360-346). The question remains controversial and cannot be resolved.

Greenfield, J. C. (1987) *Larnax tēs Lapethou III revisited*. In: *StPhoen* 5, 393-401; *DCPP*, s.v. (E. Lipiński).

P. XELLA

PROBUS OF BERYTUS

Marcus Valerius Probus was an outstanding grammarian and critic. He was born in *Berytus in the 1st cent. CE; at that time, the city had been appointed a *colonia romana*, and veterans had been settled there. Therefore, P. possibly belonged to a military family. He also unsuccessfully tried to become a centurion, before committing himself to his studies. Due to his backward elementary teacher *in provincia* (presumably in Berytus), he also read early Lat. authors neglected by schools in ROME, a city to which he moved later. Among his works were editions of Virgil, Horatius, Lucretius, Plautus, Terentius and Persius.

Steup, J. (1871) *De Probis grammaticis*. Jena; Aistermann, J. (1910) *De M. Valerio Probo Berytio capita quattuor*. Bonn; *RE* VIII/A1, s.v. "Valerius Probus" (315) cols 195-212 (R. Hanslik); Velaza, J. (2005) *M. Valeri Probi Beryti Fragmenta*. Barcelona.

G. MINUNNO

Ptolemies see LAGIDS

PTOLEMY

Gk Πτολεμαῖος; Lat. *Ptolomaeus*.

The last king of Mauretania (23-40 CE) (→MAURI). The only son of JUBA II (2) and Cleopatra Selene II (daughter of Cleopatra VII and Marcus Antonius), he was educated in ROME. P. fought loyally alongside Rom. troops and succeeded in quelling a revolt led by Tacfarinas. The emperor Caligula invited P. to Rome, had him arrested and executed and then annexed his kingdom.

RE XXIII,2, s.v. "Ptolemaios" (62) cols 1768-1787 (M. Hoffmann); Fishwick, D. (1971) *Historia*, 20, 467-487; Faur, J. C. (1973) *Klio*, 55, 249-271; Fishwick, D. and Shaw, B. D. (1976) *Historia*, 25, 491-494.

G. MINUNNO

PUMAYYATON

Phoen. *pmy(y)tn*, "Pumay has given"; Gk Πυγμαλίων, Πυμτῶν. Theophoric PN of historical and mythical characters.

PNPPI, 176.391f.

1. Mythical king of *Cyprus (→*Pygmalion).

2. According to Joseph. *Ap.* 1,125, P. was the son of MATTAN/Belos, king of *Tyre, and brother of *Elissa/Dido.

3. King of *Kition and *Idalion, the son of MILKYATON (ca 359-312 BCE). P. is mentioned in some inscriptions from Kition and Idalion (*IK* III A 2.29.30; E 1), in addition to several coins (which indicate a reign of at least 47 years). According to the historian Duris, he bought the kingdom of the debauched king Pasikypros for 50 talents; probably this kingdom included *Tamassos, which ALEXANDER THE GREAT gave to PNYTAGORAS of Salamis. In 312 P. was put to death by Ptolemy for siding with his rival Antigonos, and, as a consequence, the independence of the Kition kingdom ended.

Among the main sources: Diod. 19,59,1; 62,6; 79,4; Athen 4, 167c-d; Plut. *Alex.* 32.

Hill, G. F. (1904) *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Cyprus*. London, xl- xli, Pl. IV, 20-24; *DCPP*, s.v. (M. Yon).

G. MINUNNO

PUNIC(S)

In the field of *Phoenician Studies, the term P. is currently (and to some extent arbitrarily) used as a synonym of ‘Carthaginian’, to denote both what is Carthag. (or is connected, directly or indirectly, with *Carthage) and generically west. Phoen. This usage is likely to generate confusion, especially from a historical point of view, and such terminology should always be applied according to coherent and transparent criteria.

Etymologically, P. is the translation of the Lat. adjective *punicus*, which comes from the noun *Poenus* (pl. *Poeni*), an ethnonym in turn derived from Gk *Phoinix* (Φοῖνιξ) (→PHOENICIANS; *Phoenicia).

In the ancient world, *Poenus* and *punicus* were generally used almost indiscriminately to indicate both the Phoenicians of the E and the Carthaginians.

Sznycer, M. (1978) L’emploi des termes ‘phénicien’, ‘punique’, ‘néopunique’ (problèmes de méthodologie). In: Fronzaroli, P. (ed.) *Atti del secondo congresso internazionale di linguistica camito-semitica. Firenze, 16-19 aprile 1974*. Florence, 261-268; Bunnens, G. (1983) La distinction entre Phéniciens et Puniques chez les auteurs classiques. In: *APC* 1, 233-238; Moscati, S. (1988) *RSF*, 16, 3-13; Prag, J. R. W. (2006) *PBSR*, 74, 1-37; Prag, J. R. W. (2014) Phoinix and Poenus: usage in antiquity. In: Quinn, J. and Vella, N. (eds) *The Punic Mediterranean: identities and identification from Phoenician settlement to Roman rule*. Cambridge, 11-23.

P. XELLA

PUNIC WARS

Thanks to the support of its network in the west. Mediterranean, in 264 BCE *Carthage controlled extensive territories. In Africa, these included a coastal strip between the Gulf of Sidra (Libya), the Straits of *Gibraltar and the Atlantic coast of present day Morocco. In addition to the Iberian bases and some minor islands, overseas the islands of *Sardinia and *Sicily were under Carthag. influence. The navy was the main instrument of war for the PUNICS (→*Ships and Navigation). Carthage had created the quinquereme or penteconter, the most modern military ship of the time; and its fleet excelled for both the quality of its hull and the skill of its crews. However, the demographic potential was only partially realized, because the links with the individual populations were different from those of ROME. The local aristocracies were not expected to be integrated into

the structure of the hegemonic power, a mechanism that, instead, constituted the strength of Rome. Also, the supply of troops was not always included in the TREATIES. While paying attention to the benefits of economy and tax, Carthage partially neglected the military aspects (*Militaria) and favoured economy over policy, ready to abandon wars that were too costly in terms of money or human lives. Armies were mostly composed of MERCENARIES while Phoen. or Pun. cities supplied officers and crews. Cavalrymen and light troops were recruited from the African hinterland tribes, i.e. the NUMIDIANS and the MAURI. It seems that only the Libyans, the residents of Pun. *chora*, were subject to military conscription and Carthag. citizens were recruited only in the event of an attack on the African territory.

I Punic War

The alliance with Rome against PYRRHUS dated back to 279 BCE, but his withdrawal and the advance of Carthage towards the straits already faced by Rome, led to war.

The *casus belli* came from the Mamertines of Messina (modern Messina), Oscan mercenaries, who had occupied the city for years (since 288). When attacked by HIERON, now *strategos* of *Syracuse, because of their frequent raids (275/274), they asked both Carthage and Rome for assistance. The first to arrive from their base in Lipari were the Carthaginians, who held Messina when the Romans landed. The Republic hesitated: the majority of *patres* was against, due both to the opposition of the agrarian groups and personal bonds between *gentes* such as the FABII and members of the Carthag. aristocracy. There were also moral reservations: the Mamertines – blood relatives of the Campanian troops who had occupied Reggio shortly before and had been punished by Rome – were guilty of similar offences towards Messina. In addition, there was a treaty that, according to the historian Philinus of Agrigentum, excluded the Carthaginians from Italy and the Romans from Sicily (→TREATIES). Rejected by Polybius, the reality of this covenant seems to be implicit in Livy who, accusing the Carthaginians of sending a fleet to Tarentum in 272, is apparently blaming them for having violated the agreement first.

In Rome, the reforms by Appius Claudius Caecus had granted the vote to the urban *plebs*, controlled by the heads of the merchant faction, which was in favour of the enterprise. According to Polybius, the consuls of

that year – especially Appius Claudius Caudex (→CLAUDII [2]), a member of that *gens* and leader of the merchant *pars* – urged the people to vote for the intervention. Did a ‘democratic’ reform favour this act? In any case, it was Claudius himself who went to Sicily and occupied Messina with the help of the Mamertines. The Carthaginians, supported by Syracuse, besieged him. However, the following year, when both consular armies had landed, Syracuse changed sides and obtained an alliance with Rome by paying a fine and giving up half of its dominions. As soon as the Pun. army that had come to defend Messina was defeated, Agrigentum also fell (262), but Carthage retained control of the west. areas of the island. The conflict had now shifted to the sea.

At the head of a fleet, *consul* C. DUILIUS faced the Carthaginians in the waters of Mylae (*Milazzo) and, thanks to the use of the *corvus* – a mobile bridge that facilitated boarding – won a victory that cost the Punics more than forty vessels. From the summer of 256, the Romans seemed to prevail.

Off Cape Ecnomus (Finziade/Licata), a new naval force of about 230 ships, under the command of the consuls L. Manlius Vulso and M. ATILIUS REGULUS, faced 250 Pun. vessels led by HAMILCAR (7) and HANNO (13). In the battle, 24 Rom. galleys and 30 Carthag. ships sank, but another 65 were taken by the Romans.

The victory allowed the Romans to reach Africa. Remaining overseas, Regulus and the army (15,000 infantry and 500 cavalry) defeated the Carthaginians several times, setting up camp near *Tunis. However, the venture failed due to the presumption of the *pro-consul*, who placed unacceptable conditions on the enemy, which was willing to negotiate. After assembling a larger army than the Romans in terms of cavalry and *Elephants, Carthage entrusted its organization to XANTHIPPIUS, a Spartan mercenary. Regulus could neither ally with the BERBERS in revolt, nor wait for good weather and the arrival of reinforcements, and agreed to engage on a plain (of Bagradas-*Medjerda). The encircling manoeuvre adopted by the Carthaginians destroyed the Rom. army: only 2,000 legionaries managed to escape, while another 500, including the *consul*, were taken prisoner. All the others fell on the battlefield.

Sent to Africa under new consuls, the Rom. fleet was again victorious at Cape Ermeo and having taken any survivors on board, sailed to Sicily. However, at *Camarina it was caught in a storm and almost

destroyed. Once without their naval supremacy, the Romans gave up invading Africa. They conquered several cities in Sicily, including *Panormus, but had no luck at sea.

In 253, another fleet, returning from the enemy coast and caught by a storm off Cape Palinuro, lost about 150 vessels. The war had stalled.

In 250, the Carthaginians set their sights on Panormus, but without success.

The following year, the Romans attacked the last enemy strongholds in west. Sicily, chiefly *Lilybaeum, but several fast ships evaded the blockade, thus reviving the resistance. The fleet of the *consul* P. Claudius Pulcher (CLAUDII [3]) was defeated near Drepanum (*Trapani) and, shortly afterwards, another naval team under his colleague L. JUNIUS PULLUS was also destroyed by a storm on the south. coast of Sicily.

With her resources at a minimum, Rome decided to negotiate, agreeing an exchange of prisoners.

In 247, the first great Pun. general appeared, called HAMILCAR (9) Barca or ‘Lightning’. From *Eryx and the Heircte plateau (Monte Pellegrino) he fought for Sicily against the Romans, in spite of the minor forces at his disposal. After six years, Rome decided to cut the ties that bound Sicily to the motherland and, thanks to private backing – to be repaid in the event of victory – assembled a fleet of about 200 ships. On the orders of the *consul* LUTATIUS CATULUS, the army blocked the settlements in the hands of the Carthaginians, maintaining the siege. Then Carthage sent an equivalent fleet, under the command of HANNO (19). However, while escorting merchant shipping that was supplying the besieged, this fleet was surprised in the waters of the Egadi Islands and completely defeated: 50 ships were sunk and another 70 were captured. By inducing the Romans to relinquish a normally indispensable clause, Hamilcar refused to hand over the deserters, and negotiated for his undefeated troops to retain their weapons. Even so, Carthage had to accept peace, abandoning Sicily and the neighbouring islands. Furthermore, it had to relinquish both military conscription in Italy and landing warships on any of its coasts. Carthage also released its captives without ransom and agreed to pay 3,200 talents of silver over a period of ten years. In the conflict, the Romans had been harmed by naval inexperience but the Carthaginians had been harmed even more by their utilitarian concept of war. According to Polybius, the Romans, while almost

always victorious, had lost 700 vessels against the enemy's 500. But, because of their mercantile mentality, the Carthaginians were unable to avoid defeat, as Hamilcar complained to his countrymen, when, despairing of victory, they had conceded Sicily too soon.

II Punic War

The defeat left Carthage utterly debilitated. As long as the government remained in the hands of the oligarchic faction, relations with Rome were good; but the situation changed as a result of the MERCENARIES' revolt. Back in Africa, the troops waited in vain for the Pun. government to pay their salary. Finally, in disappointment, they set up camp near Tunis. The Campanian SPENDIUS and the Lib. MATHO – who had gained the support of his fellow countrymen for the rebellion – took command of the entire force.

The war began with the siege of *Utica and Hippo Diarrhytus (*Bizerta) by the rebels, and initially the Pun. commander-in-chief was HANNO (18) 'the Great', leader of the conservative faction. The lack of concrete results, however, led the people to recall Hamilcar, who had remained on the sidelines.

By the end of 238 BCE, after more than three years of fighting, the rebels were almost annihilated: the survivors were dragged into the city and tortured to death. Utica and Hippo Diarrhytus, who also took part in the revolt, were forced to surrender.

The leaders of the Pun. state together with its structure had changed greatly: the faction of Barca had taken over Hanno and the oligarchic party. Hamilcar, the leader of the BARCIDS, had started what was called the 'Barcid people's revolution', relying on the lower classes and welding together two hitherto irreconcilable elements: the *plebs* and the army. Rome's distrust – its reluctance to negotiate with a broadly 'democratic' regime – was aggravated by Hamilcar's hostility and his aim of revenge. A new confrontation was imminent.

After the initial victories of the insurgents, the mercenaries of Sardinia had also rebelled. Attacked by the Sardinians, the mutineers sought help from Rome, which refused at first. Finally, however, the Senate responded favourably to a new appeal and sent troops. Faced with the Carthag. reaction, Rome threatened the resumption of war and Carthage had to leave Sardinia and pay an additional compensation of 1,200 talents. That island was the most valuable overseas domain of the Carthaginians, and the

cornerstone of its Mediterr. routes, a land that the Phoenicians had often visited since ancient times and had colonized since the 8th cent., as far as its north coast. Carthage guaranteed its control not only by its military presence, but also later thanks to a process of openness towards the local inhabitants. However, the outcome was not the same everywhere, and when it was time to choose not all the various groups favoured Carthage over Rome. The sources show that, of these, the Sardinians decided to side with Carthage. Archaeological evidence seems to exclude any effect of the uprising on the inhabitants of coastal towns of Phoen. origin. The rebels massacred the commander BOSTAR (3) and the officers as well as the Carthaginians on the island, but only the citizens of the metropolis and their families, sparing the Phoenicians. Left unscathed, perhaps they sided first with the mercenaries and then with Rome. It is no coincidence that, according to Zonaras, the shore of the island was occupied peacefully in 238.

Between the 5th and 3rd cent., Sardinia was open to the flow of people coming from North Africa and moving inland; it was a phase that involved indigenous élites and marginalized the Phoen. nuclei. Disappointed by the over-strict economic control of Carthage, the coastal cities were attracted by the new perspectives opened up by Rome in the Tyrrhenian Sea. Italic merchants had frequented the coasts of North Africa since 241 and at the outbreak of the revolt, they began to supply the rebels. According to Polybius, about 500 of them, surprised by Pun. fleets, were interned in Carthage. The Senate protested and obtained their release. However, once the dispute ended, it ordered the *socii* to stop all traffic with the insurgents and supply the Punics. On the same occasion and according to the treaty, the Senate rejected both the first invitation from the mercenaries of Sardinia, and the *deditio* from Utica. Relations changed when Hamilcar became head of Carthage. Then Rome claimed free trade in Africa as well, and with anyone else. As a consequence, contacts with the rebels resumed, but so did a series of incidents. This is confirmed by some passages in Appianus relating to the final phase of the uprising, when the mercenaries, already worn out by famine, were completely exhausted. This time the captured merchants met a different fate and were killed.

This situation induced Rome to welcome the new appeal from Sardinia. The invitation was shared by the Phoen. colonies eager for commercial freedom,

and the Romans regarded it as a demand by a legitimate government, to which recent Pun. violations had made it equally legitimate to respond.

In 238, Rom. officials landed in Sardinia and *Corsica, and in 227 organized the major islands as provinces. Meanwhile, Rome was going in the direction of Cisalpine Gaul. There, the Rom. policy toward the Celts had known disturbing developments. C. FLAMINIUS NEPOS, chief of the agrarian extremists, as a *tribunus plebis* (232) proposed a law *de agro Gallico Piceno viritim dividundo* for allotting the Gallic and Picene *agros* where the vanquished Senones were settled. The Boi viewed the law with concern. As shown by archaeology, forced deportation began in those very years, but the expulsion of the Senones was only the first phase of a programme aspiring to conquer the entire Po Valley.

Convinced that the Romans no longer fought for "hegemony and power ... but to destroy and exterminate them" (Polybius), the Boi, whose territory was bordering on the settlers, in 236 began a series of actions. These involved not only the Insubres (and the Lingones?), but also numerous groups of Gaesatae, a transalpine people with some Germanic elements. All was in vain: repeatedly defeated, the Celts saw the Romans penetrate into the plain of the river Po. Now, rivalry with Carthage seemed to recede. The head of the Carthaginians in Spain was HASDRUBAL (5), a moderate. In Rome, the action of the agrarian leaders, aiming to remove the Senate from the *mercatura*, weakened Mediterr. interests and reduced the perspectives of a confrontation. But the lead changed again in Spain, and Cisalpine Gauls asked the help of HANNIBAL (9), who had replaced his brother-in-law. By agreement with the Boi, manoeuvred by the Carthaginians, the intervention in Italy was a new element in the context of a war that Hannibal deemed essential. After the loss of Sardinia, Hamilcar first tried to control Spain and its mines. He intended to restore the economy of Carthage and to maintain powerful mercenary armies, in view of the new war with Rome. The inhabitants of the Iberian peninsula would also provide a rich base of recruitment as they were excellent fighters. In addition to his nine-year old son Hannibal, Hamilcar had brought along his son-in-law, Hasdrubal (5) his right-hand man, who was well-liked by the Carthag. people.

Undisputed leaders of the democratic and nationalist faction (also evident from Liv. 21,2,4, and from Fabius Pictor *apud* Plb. 3,8), Hamilcar and his son-

in-law Hasdrubal were the most authoritative voices in favour of Hellenism in the ongoing debate in Carthage. The Barcids were inspired by that model: once the oligarchic structure had been weakened, they aimed at restoring Pun. power by conquering vast domains overseas and perhaps – as the final outcome, after a war of revenge against Rome – by creating their own power base in Carthage itself.

Starting from the Phoen. city of Gades (*Cádiz), Hamilcar led the war for nine years. Unfortunately, when he reached the area N of Akra Leuke, he was killed while covering the retreat of his troops, who had been driven back from the siege of Helike (Lat. *Ilici*, *Elche) by massive enemy forces.

To replace Hamilcar, the troops, empowered to elect their commander after the war against the mercenaries, chose Hasdrubal. A great organizer, he founded his capital midway along the east. coast and named it Qarthadasht (*Cartagena), after the motherland. He set himself up as a re-founder of the Pun. state, which he dreamed of basing on a culture formed by a fusion of Pun. and Iberian elements, and developed new political concepts. The capital was the site of the assembly of indigenous notables, whose support Hasdrubal wished to obtain. Hailed by them with the title of king, Hasdrubal – whose monarchical ambitions were well known to his political opponents – wore a crown and married an Iberian princess, both acts in imitation of ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

In 231, Rome sent an embassy to Spain: in that moment, perhaps, the *symmachia* with *Saguntum was born. During a second mission, in 226, the Republic agreed the Treaty of Ebro with Hasdrubal, which obliged the Carthaginians not to cross that river while bearing arms. The Romans suspected that PUNICS intended to take advantage of a Gallic attack in Italy and recover Sardinia and Corsica. This is proved by the fact that they first sent C. Regulus' army (226) to the island, which was an illogical move, unless they feared a Pun. landing at the same time as the Gallic attack in Italy. Once the agreement was reached, the legions were recalled to Italy, and their return, in the spring of 225, marked the *terminus ante quem* for the signing of the treaty. In 221, young Hannibal – also acclaimed by the army and later recognized at home – succeeded Hasdrubal.

Much more determined than his brother-in-law, after about one year, Hannibal laid siege to Saguntum. When that city was destroyed, despite warnings from Rome, again, war was inevitable. Having rejected the

Rom. ultimatum requiring those responsible to be handed over, war commenced.

In the controversy concerning who was responsible for the war, some facts are certain: Saguntum was protected by the *symmachia* with Rome, prior to the Ebro treaty, of which the Carthaginians were well aware. Facing the embassy bearing the ultimatum, the Pun. senator, speaking in the name of the city, never invoked the agreement signed by Hasdrubal, but instead retracted it. He stated that it was worthless because it had been reached without the consent of Carthage, adding that it was necessary to refer to Catulus' treaty, dating back to the conclusion of the war in Sicily. When that treaty was ratified, as usual, the security of their allies was guaranteed: but there was no mention in it of Iberia, and therefore, the Saguntines could not be included among the *socii* of Rome. Instead, this hint shows that the Carthaginians were aware that Saguntum had been included according to the Ebro treaty, which explains their attempt to consider it binding only for the Barcids.

Already in the past, the oligarchical faction had been linked to champions of Rom. nobility by ties of hospitality and friendship, often dealing with them directly, beyond the official relations between the states. As a consequence, large sections of the *gerontion* were opposed to political change, supported by the friends they had in Rome.

However, it is very unlikely that this faction could really reject the Ebro treaty outright. The political rivals only repudiated it when faced with the threat of war. They repeated this strategy later, towards the end of the conflict, when they rejected *initium culpae in Hannibalem potentiaequae eius fautores* and tried to dissociate themselves and the city – the control of which they dishonestly had claimed to defend – from the actions of those who had been, however, its full and legitimate representatives.

In supporting this thesis, the oligarchs followed a point of view which the Rom. aristocratic party also shared. In Rome also the Senate was divided: alongside families hostile to Carthage there were noblemen who had dealings with the Pun. ruling class.

This group aimed to give power back to the Pun. conservative faction. At its head was the *gens* of FABII, whose ties of hospitality to the Carthag. oligarchy are well known. Not coincidentally, the head of the last embassy was a Fabius, namely Marcus Buteo (FABII [2]), chief of the clan, who needed to moderate the harshness of the youngest delegates. It is likely also

that the suspicion of connivance with Hannibal, of which Fabius Maximus (FABII [3]) was accused, originated in part from the remembrance of the friendly attitude of the *gens* towards the Punics at the opening of hostilities.

Finally, it is not surprising that the historian Fabius Pictor considered Hannibal as solely responsible for the war. Nor that (also according to him) during the last embassy, Rom. delegates listened to the arguments of the Pun. senator, offering the Carthaginians the possibility of avoiding a confrontation by handing over those responsible.

During the debate in the Curia, between the autumn of 219 and the spring of 218, the Senate had to examine the relationship between the Barcids and the motherland, in order to find a political solution.

For Carthage, the possibility of handing over Hannibal was remote, as Rome was well aware, but perhaps the *respublica* settled for a formal repudiation of his actions (as Fabius Buteo had been instructed). However, the Pun. conservative faction did not have such powers. The Barcids controlled the Senate – except for the oligarchs, who sided against Hannibal, so, against the government and the majority of the people – the Rom. request fell on deaf ears. War was inevitable [FIG. 53].

Hannibal was the chief exponent of the Gk military school, applying its rules, with some innovations, on Italian battlefields. His army was less powerful and less compact than Gk armies, but it was more versatile and suited to any type of terrain; the tactic envisaged circumventing the enemy, thanks to a centre capable of offering an elastic resistance and to fight while retreating, completed by excellent cavalry, both heavy and light: Libyans, Iberians, Galli and especially NUMIDIANS. Forced to deal with a more powerful state, Hannibal had to avoid a war of attrition and, for such a purpose, he relied on Rome's propensity for pitched battles.

Convinced that the size of contemporary armies would not allow the enemy to crush him by sheer force of numbers, Hannibal counted on his tactical superiority to defeat the armies sent against him from time to time. Believing that the Rom. federation was founded on the strength and prestige of the legions, he was confident of seeing it crumble at the first defeats. Attacked and beaten on its own territory, Rome would have seen its allies and even its citizens deserting and, consequently, it would have given up. As Livy records, Hannibal therefore planned to

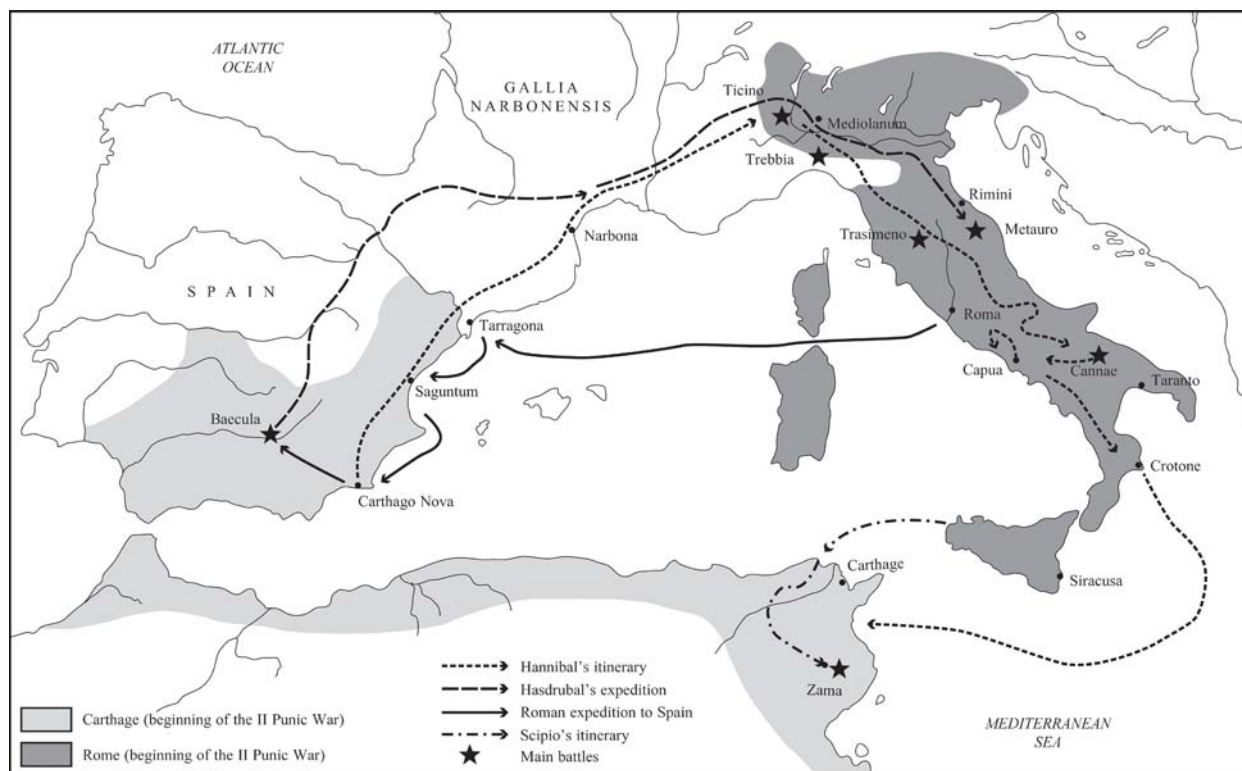


Fig. 53. Expeditions and battles (II Punic War)

conduct a Blitzkrieg, like those of the East, to be resolved in no more than one or two battles. However, the Barcid had not understood either the political situation or the mentality of Rome and made fatal mistakes. The Pun. army was recruited from west. barbarians: to maintain efficiency, it could not gain-say their innate character, i.e. their ability to fight and their ferocity, which tore Italy apart, exasperating the Tyrrhenian peoples in particular.

Hannibal, educated according to Gk customs, conceived the systematic use of ruse and stratagem as a military support, which could increase the chances of victory, but which was unacceptable to Rom. primitive ethics. Master of the Hellenic art of *metis* – the use of intelligence in warfare – Hannibal appeared as an intractable enemy in the eyes of the people and the Rom. leadership. Moreover, he trusted too much in the resources of his first allies, the Cisalpine Celts and Capua. Even though numbering 20,000, however, the Gauls were divided and unable to persevere in the efforts, continuing the war or sending aid. This action was made difficult also by the Rom. territorial barrier that bisected the peninsula, interrupting the contacts

with the central Italy; a barrier where his brother Hasdrubal (6) lost his life. Capua, despite its ambitions, failed to become a reliable aggregation centre for a 'second Italy', the south. and Appennine region, not integrated and hostile to Rome. *Consul* P. Cornelius Scipio (→SCIPIONS [4]) had to attack in Spain, whilst his colleague, Titus Sempronius, had to land in Africa. Rome's strategy, however, was undermined by the Barcid's action. Leaving at the beginning of the summer, Hannibal crossed the Pyrenees and, having eluded the troops of Scipio at the ford over the Rhône, crossed the Alps. While Sempronius was returning from Sicily, Scipio moved against the enemy. Defeated and wounded near Ticino, with the Insubri in revolt, he was forced to move to Piacenza. Shortly after, his fellow commander started the battle (December 218). Drawn by the NUMIDIANS beyond the frozen Trebbia river, the Rom. troops were overwhelmed on their flanks, hunted down by cavalry and elephants, then attacked from the rear by a unit that had been concealed since nightfall. Part of the army managed to open a gap, but the losses, either dead or taken captive, numbered about 15,000. Cisalpina was lost.

The political context changed and in 217, Servilius Geminus was elected, as was Caius Flaminius for the second time. The consuls waited on opposite sides of the peninsula, Servilius in Ariminum, Flaminius in Arretium (Arezzo). Both decided to muster their forces as soon as the enemy's lines of march were clear. In late spring, however, Hannibal suddenly appeared in the upper basin of the Arno, came down the Chiana Valley, and, in the Tuoro gorge, where Lake Trasimeno touches the mountains beyond Cortona, lured the legions into a trap. Numerically inferior, encircled and with the lake behind them, the Rom. army was defeated. Another 15,000 soldiers were lost, died or taken prisoner. The *consul* also perished at the hands of a chief of the Insubri; shortly after, Servilius' cavalry was also annihilated. The practice of dictatorship had been in vain: Rome refused the strategy of Fabius Maximus who, considering that it was impossible to face Hannibal on the battlefield, proposed wearing him out by guerrilla warfare. Using an irregular procedure, the people first imposed his opponent, M. Minucius Rufus, on him as *magister equitum*, and then made him his equal, wiping out the unity of command. Coming to the S, Hannibal continued to devastate the peninsula, and reached the *Ager Falernus*, from where he managed to escape by means of a trick, despite an attempt by Fabius to block him. At the end of the year, he retired to Gereonium. Protests by citizens and associates forced him back to battle, openly urged on by one of the consuls in particular, the *homo novus* C. TERENTIUS VARRO. Having recruited four legions, he and his fellow officer L. AEMILIUS PAULUS reached the veterans who were monitoring Hannibal in Apulia: it was the greatest force ever assembled by Rome, some 80,000 men. On August 2nd, 216, at Cannae, on the Ofanto plain, the Rom. legions fought but, encircled by a perfect manoeuvre, were annihilated. About 50,000 soldiers fell on the battlefield and 19,000 were taken prisoners; among the dead were the consul Aemilius Paulus, the former consul Servilius Geminus and Minucius Rufus.

In less than two years Hannibal had crossed the Peninsula, destroyed three consular armies and removed over 100,000 of the enemy from combat. He thought that he did not need to attack the Urbs: as foreseen, the Italic federation began to crumble. In addition to Capua, which decided to desert Rome, the Lucani and most of the Apuli rapidly changed to his side, as did all the Samnites except the Pentri and

all the Bruttii except the Uzentini; then, the greatest part of the Greeks of Italy, Syracuse and almost all of Sicily followed. All the South deserted Rome completely. The situation was aggravated at first by the defeat of *consul* Albinus by the Boi, in Silva Litana (215), and then by the alliance between Hannibal and PHILIP V, king of Macedonia. Rome, however, refused to negotiate. From a formal point of view, the malice and cruelty attributed to the enemy prevented negotiation; but also certainly the fear shared by Rome and Tyrrhenian Italy, the aristocracies of which had long been integrated into the Senate. Consequently, the revolt ceased to spread. With the exception of Capua, in central Italy, the Barcid lacked any support; and the strength of its organization allowed Rome to increase conscription and keep 20 to 25 legions armed and ready for a long time. Those who joined Hannibal, on the contrary, were divided nations, with no common strategy, and he was obliged to parcel out the command of the remarkable forces which he controlled, exposing them to defeat. In fact, his allies were incapable of fighting the legions as equals, while the Rom. generals, although much less skilled than Hannibal, were able to confront any other enemy. In addition, his allies were often unreliable, and in any difficulty were no more loyal to him than they had been to Rome. Thus Hannibal did not get the large pitched battles that perhaps might still have allowed him to win and became vulnerable to Fabius' strategy, which was a war of attrition. Leaving one army to guard the major enemy, the Romans used his other armies, all distant from him, to remove Punic bases and allies. By now his rare victories were insufficient. In spite of the harsh measures taken to wreak havoc on the enemy and to prevent desertion and betrayal, the course of the war slowly changed.

In 211, the raid against Rome did not save Capua, which was forced to surrender. In the same year Syracuse fell, and the following year Sicily returned to the Romans. In 209, Tarentum fell, while in Spain, where his father and uncle had died, P. Cornelius Scipio (SCIPIONS [5]), the future 'African', destroyed the Empire of Carthage in less than three years.

In the summer of 206, when the head of Hasdrubal (6), who had been defeated and killed at Metauro, was thrown in front of his own trenches, the Barcid lost all hope. Confined in Bruttium and then encircled in Croton, where he commemorated his deeds at the temple of Hera Lacinia, finally he had to return home. It was the autumn of 203. Having obtained the

consulate and moved the war to Africa, Scipio was waiting for him. Victorious on several occasions, he had placed MASSINISSA (1), king of the MASSYLII, on the throne of Numidia and had not only acquired the Berber cavalry (→BERBERS), but even more importantly had deprived his rival of it. On the battlefield at *Zama, Hannibal achieved a master stroke, inflicting a tactical lesson on his young rival, but he could not avoid defeat. And now (201) he was the first to wish for peace, the conditions of which were very tough. Carthage had to agree to withdraw from Spain and leave free the African cities beyond the *Fossae Phoeniciae*; to give back to Massinissa, at least in theory, the possessions that belonged to him or his ancestors, even within the borders recognized by the treaty, and finally, to forego any military operation out of Libya (where, moreover, he could only wage war with the assent of Rome). Also Carthage had to surrender its war elephants and its fleet, apart from ten ships, return all prisoners and deserters, commit to paying 10,000 silver talents over fifty years and finally, hand over 100 hostages, chosen from among the noble youth of the city.

III Punic War

The end of Carthage was determined by the complex political limitations imposed by Rome and its difficult relationship with Massinissa.

Taking advantage of the ambiguous clause on returning the native territories to his family, Massinissa had appropriated even larger portions of land from the Pun. city and, finally, had occupied the region of the Emporia, which included the cities of the Tripolitania. In 151/150, after the umpteenth bullying, the Carthaginians decided to have a test of arms, but the violation of the treaty offered Rome the pretext of waging war on them.

Much has been said about the reasons that led the Republic to such a drastic and contentious decision (in the Senate, Scipio Nasica's [see also SCIPIONS (7)] opinion [against] clashed with Cato the Censor's [PORCIUS CATO] [in favour]). According to some modern scholars, Carthage itself did not seem to pose much of a threat, but only as potentially embedded in a more powerful Numid. state. According to other scholars, it was the economic revival of Carthage that created fear, as this recovery was undesirable both to the *mercatores*, who wanted to eliminate a dangerous antagonist, and to the farmers, who were anxious about the competition of 'Cato's figs' and wished to

take possession of the African lands. Possibly, the fate of the Pun. city was marked by all these reasons combined; to these must be added Rome's persistent rancour, greed and mistrust and the arrogance of a state that wanted no other rivals anywhere in the Mediterranean. Nevertheless, at least one further consideration must be added. Carthage had probably begun re-arming itself in earnest. While the quantity of war material (200,000 suits of armour and 2,000 catapults) said to have been delivered may have been somewhat exaggerated by the sources, the construction of a great military port – which can be dated, fairly certainly, to the years between the second and third wars with Rome – provides definitive evidence. In fact, that installation, designed to accommodate a fleet of 200 battleships, signified a potential threat to Rome. The demand to abandon the city and found another one, ten miles from the sea, reminiscent of the dictate given by Hannibal to the Saguntini, therefore, may have had specific motives, the naval re-arming of Carthage, rather than being a kind of cruel retaliation. Despite being deluded and unarmed, the African city reacted to the ultimatum with sublime courage. When M. Manilius and L. Marcius Censorinus – the consuls in 249 – approached the walls, they found Carthage, which in the meantime had made every effort to manufacture new weapons, in defence mode. The city also heroically resisted their successors, consul L. Calpurnius Piso Cesoninus and his legate, L. Ostilius Mancinus. Finally, to replace these three, Rome sent P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (SCIPIONS [6]) – appointed *consul* in advance, as an exception to the *lex annalis* – the son of the conqueror of Pidna, adopted by the Scipions. He not only gripped the city in a vice, gradually blocking the double port of Carthage and building continuous fortifications on land, but also destroyed the army of Nopheris (*Cap Bon) and defeated a formation of MAURI coming to their rescue.

In the spring of 146, the Rom. legions launched a decisive attack, scaling the walls and taking the city street by street as far as *Byrsa, and the temple of *Eshmun, the last refuge of the defenders. Abandoned by their chief HASDRUBAL (14), some surrendered while others – including Italian deserters and the commander's wife and sons – chose to perish in the flames that consumed the ill-fated city.

The ancient Roman ritual of *evocatio* was practised and the soil of Carthage was devoted to the infernal gods. The survivors were made slaves and the works

of art that the Punics had removed from Sicily and south. Italy were returned to their rightful owners (Cic. *Verr. passim*). The city library was donated to the Numid. sovereigns (to save it?). The only document to be translated into Latin was the agronomic text of MAGO (16) (Plin. *Nat.* 18,22).

The cities that had remained loyal to Carthage perished alongside it, e.g. *Neapolis and Aspis-Clupea (*Kelibia), Nephheris and Tunis. Instead, the towns that had sided with Rome, such as *Utica, Hadrumetum (*Sousse), Thapsus (*Ras Dimasse), *Leptis Minor, *Acholla and Usula, remained *liberae et immunes*. Only the Carthag. possessions of 151 BCE were incorporated into the new *Provincia Africa*.

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G. BRIZZI

Pyas see LULI

PYRRHUS

Gk Πύρρος.

King of Epirus (319/8-272 BCE). Having arrived in Italy to provide military support for the Greeks of *Tarentum against the Romans, in 278 he was called to *Sicily by the Gk cities (especially by the Syracusans) to fight the Carthaginians, who on this occasion had renewed their alliance with the Romans against a common enemy. Having liberated *Syracuse from the Carthag. siege, P. rapidly assembled an army, thanks to help from the Gk cities along the Ionian coast, who supplied him with men and war machines. According to the written sources, his forces numbered 30,000 foot soldiers, several thousand horsemen and 200 ships. With this army, at the beginning

of 277, he launched the offensive, intending to liberate the whole of Sicily from the Carthaginians. Very quickly he obtained the cooperation or surrender of the larger settlements of the island, even becoming acknowledged by the Greeks as the 'King of Sicily'. Having conquered *Eryx and *Panormus and having refused the peace initiatives offered by the Carthaginians, P. laid siege to *Lilybaeum, the last fortress left in Pun. hands. The siege, which involved a massive use of war machines, lasted for two months. However, at the time, the Carthaginians had protected access by land to Lilybaeum with a defensive wall, a ditch and a set of turrets and so the town resisted. This setback, together with an increasingly despotic relationship with the Gk cities of the island, caused a certain degree of intolerance in his dealings with his

allies. Recalled by the Tarantines on the peninsula, in the spring of 275, P. decided to return to Italy. However, when crossing the Straits of Messina, he endured a final naval battle with the Carthaginians, who inflicted heavy losses.

The most important ancient sources include the following: Diod. 22,8 and 10; Plut. *Pyrrh.* (esp. 22-24); Just. 18,2,11-12 and 23,3.

Lévêque, P. (1957) *Pyrrhos*. Paris; Santagata Ruggeri, E. (1997) *Un re tra Cartagine e i Mamertini: Pirro e la Sicilia*. Seia II/1. Macerata; Billault, A. (2001) Pyrrhus, la Sicile et la première guerre punique. In: Le Bohec, Y. (ed.) *La première guerre punique*. Paris, 21-27.

U. LIVADIOTTI

R

RABI-ILU

Akk. *Ra-bi-ilu*, “My healer is Ilu”.

Name of a citizen of *Byblos residing in *Egypt, perhaps as a hostage, mentioned in the Amarna letter EA 170 (*Tell el-Amarna).

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 257f.; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 130-132, no. 137; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei “Piccoli Re”*. Brescia, 282f.

P. XELLA

RABU-SIDQU

Akk. *Ra-bu-ši-id-qué*, “(The god) Šaduq is great”.

Name of a citizen of *Byblos, perhaps a hostage in *Egypt, mentioned in the Amarna letter EA 170 (*Tell el-Amarna).

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 257f.; Hess, R. S. (1993) 131f., no. 138; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei “Piccoli Re”*. Brescia, 282f.

P. XELLA

Ramses II see PHILISTINES; SEA PEOPLES

RIB-ADDA

Ruler of *Byblos, the protagonist of a rich dossier in the Amarna corpus (*Tell el-Amarna). R. is the author of several letters [FIG. 54] addressed to the Pharaonic chancellery, containing heartfelt but always unheeded requests for help against the threats of Abdi-Ashirta, the tribal chief of Amurru (EA 68-71.73-79.81-96.102-114.116-119.121-126.129-130.132.136-138, and *passim*).

Youngblood, R. F. (1961) *The Amarna correspondence of Rib-Haddi, Prince of Byblos (EA 68-96)*. Diss. Dropsie College; Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 67ff. and *passim*; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 132-134, no. 140; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei “Piccoli Re”*. Brescia, 166ff.; Liverani, M. (2004) Rib-Adda, righteous sufferer. In: Liverani, M. *Myth and politics in Ancient Near Eastern historiography*. Ithaca (NY), 97-124; Elayi, J. (2014) *JA*, 302, 377-390.

P. XELLA

ROME

R. occupies a powerful position at the lowest crossing point of the Tiber river. It occupies a group of hills which permitted defence, it is well-watered, and although not strongly blessed with either mineralogical or agricultural wealth, its large potential hinterland (→LATINS) was sufficient to offer significant support during the long history of the city as a capital of empire.

The archaeological evidence for the earliest phases of Rom. settlement dates back into the LBA, at the end of the 2nd mill. BCE, with scattered evidence for settlement on the hills. The Forum, a depression between the Capitoline, Palatine, and Velian hills, was used as a burial ground from the late 10th cent. Efforts were made from the 8th to 6th cent. to develop the Forum as a space for the communities of R., and this involved the construction principally of two areas. One is the Comitium underneath the Capitoline Hill, which would become R.’s political meeting space. The other is the area currently around the Temple of Vesta and the House of the Vestal Virgins, which served a number of political and religious purposes.



Fig. 54. Letter of Rib-Adda ruler of Byblos to the Pharaoh (EA 362)

One current hypothesis would see the Early IA from ca 900 onwards as a period in which the separate hilltop settlements are coalescing into a single large community, with shared spaces. This process would then be more or less complete by the 6th cent., when the forum has already achieved a significant level of architectural monumentality. Stonebuilt houses and temples were introduced in the early 6th cent. here and elsewhere in R., notably the area near the river called the Forum Boarium, just upstream from the Tiber Island. Here we find a temple, which became the double temple of Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the early 5th cent. Another temple is that of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, whose enormous foundation survives. On whatever reconstruction we choose for the temple, its size indicates that by the end of the 6th cent., R. was able to manage construction projects that were equivalent to those of Gk city states of the same period. The 6th cent. also sees infrastructural projects such as the Cloaca Maxima, R.'s storm drain, a circuit wall, and a variety of other interventions both on the hills and in the intervening space. The consequence of this archaeological material, which is growing all the time, is that we have to place R. if not on equal terms with its chief peers in Italy, the cities of Etruria and south Italy and *Sicily, then at least in the same league, at least in terms of its architectural potential. Perhaps the most striking of all these features is the extent of R., which by the mid-6th cent. may have reached around 300 hectares. This then supports some surprisingly large population estimates, of which even the more conservative place R.'s total population as somewhere between 20,000 and 50,000 in the 6th cent. At least some of this development may have been prompted by peer polity interaction with R.'s north. neighbours the ETRUSCANS; and it is arguable that one of the driving forces for the development of Etr. society and its aristocratic wealth is the trading opportunities that were brought to Italy by the westward sweep of the PHOENICIANS in the 8th cent. and on.

In terms of social and political structure, R. preserved a strong tradition of extended aristocratic families, the *gentes*, some of which survived into much later periods. This claim both for long term continuity and for a specific organization of Rom. society has largely been accepted, but it has to be reconciled with the absence of any reference to the *gentes* before the 5th cent.

The Rom. foundation story concentrates instead on kings, starting with Romulus in the mid-8th cent. Three critical issues need to be addressed.

First, the Romans began writing a recognizable narrative history only in the late 3rd-early 2nd cent. The first historian, Fabius Pictor, wrote in Greek in around 200, and only fragments of his work survive. Consequently there is a significant gap between the events of early Rom. history and the first historical account, and all efforts to close this gap are highly speculative.

Second, as it stands, the account of the Rom. kings is highly implausible. Leaving aside the clearly 'folk-tale' elements in which the twins Romulus and Remus are hidden in a basket and set afloat to arrive at R., where they are suckled by a wolf, and then brought up by a shepherd before their real identity can be revealed, the idea that R. could have been ruled by just seven very long-lived individuals from 753 to 509 is doubtful. Moreover, at least for the earlier part of this story, the sources show considerable variation. There are around sixty versions of the story of Romulus, not all of which refer to his brother Remus, and so unearthing an original story is very difficult.

Third, at some stage, there is another story about the foundation of R. which connects R. to the hero *Aeneas, who fled Troy after its sack, and after wandering the Mediterranean, and in some versions visiting Queen Dido (*Elissa) at *Carthage, arrived on the coast of Italy at Lavinium. This story associates R. with a non-Italic world, and was eventually to be made chronologically consistent with the account of the kings by virtue of an entirely fictional sequence of kings of Alba Longa.

A greater degree of certainty has been thought to attach to the later kings of R., beginning with the Etr., Tarquinius Priscus. He came to R. from *Tarquinia, but some versions have him as a descendant of a Corinthian aristocrat called Demaratus, who introduced to Italy the Gk techniques in clay for architecture, sculpture and painting. The dynasty is described in ways which are clearly reminiscent of the world of the near contemporary Gk tyrants, with intrigue, scandal, murder and eventual deposition. R.'s sixth king, Servius Tullius, is not a member of the family, but associated with it, and the Emperor Claudius knew another name for him, Macstrna. This name and the name of a Tarquinius are also found in the François tomb from Vulci, from

the 4th cent., an important indication of the existence of independent non-Rom. accounts of Rom. history before the beginning of Rom. historiography. Furthermore, this story fits with other evidence of mobility across central Italy and the Mediterranean more widely, largely from epigraphy, and this then sits alongside substantial evidence from pottery finds of commerce and exchange across the same area. The most telling of these are the so-called **Tesserae hospitales*. One in the shape of a lion, found at the Forum Boarium in R., bearing the name Araz Silquetanas Spurianas, is a telling example – a material and a form imported from the E, with the name of an Etruscan, who conceivably was close to **Sulcis* in **Sardinia*. Another example has an Etr. name but was found in Carthage. Thus R. was indubitably a significant community in size and productive capacity by the 6th cent.; its history is very difficult to uncover for this early period, but there is evidence that historical accounts did exist closer to the time than the earliest Rom. accounts. It was part of networks of trade and commerce, and of personal mobility, which can be traced through non-literary sources.

This general version of R.'s history up to the end of the 6th cent., and the broader context, make it possible to give some credence to the important evidence of Polybius (3,22) regarding a treaty between R. and the Carthaginians (→TREATIES), which he describes as difficult to translate, but which he dates to the very beginning of the Rom. Republic:

“There shall be friendship between the Romans and their allies, and the Carthaginians and their allies, on these conditions: Neither the Romans nor their allies are to sail beyond the Fair Promontory, unless driven by storm or the fear of enemies. If any one of them is driven ashore he shall not buy or take anything for himself except what is needed for the repair of his ship and the worship of the gods, and he shall depart within five days. Men who land for the purposes of trade shall strike no deal except in the presence of a herald or town-clerk. Whatever is sold in their presence, let the price be secured to the seller by the state – that is to say, if such sale be in Libya or Sardinia. If any Roman comes to the Carthaginian province in Sicily he shall enjoy all rights enjoyed by others. The Carthaginians shall do no injury to the people of Ardea, Antium, Laurentium, Circeii, Tarracina, nor any other people of the Latins that are subject to Rome. They shall not interfere with those Latin towns which are not subject to Rome; and if they

take one, shall deliver it unharmed to the Romans. They shall build no fort in Latium; and if they enter the district in arms, they shall not stay a night there.” This passage has been endlessly debated, but the scholarly consensus currently accepts the early date and the terms. This has several consequences. Amongst them, first, the treaty would be another piece of independent evidence, not part of the complex creation of the annalistic record. Second, the treaty envisages a very substantial territory under Rom. control (or which R. claimed as under its control) early in the 5th cent. Third, the treaty envisages relatively complex trade negotiations and a degree of communal control, at least on the Pun. side. One of the reasons why the treaty has seemed more rather than less likely is the contemporary relationship between the Etr. city of **Caere* and the Phoen. world, attested by the →**Pyrgi* tablets. Caere and the Phoenicians had collaborated to defeat the threat of Gk Phocaean colonists, who had settled at Marseilles at the battle of ALALIA in the mid-6th cent. (Hdt. 1,166). At Caere's port site of Pyrgi a generation or so later, inscriptions in both Etr. and Pun. commemorate the Caeretan leader THEFARIE VELIANAS and a dedication of a statue or the sanctuary itself. The inscriptions were written on gold leaf, and nailed to the sanctuary; they would subsequently be rolled up and hidden. The inscriptions demonstrate the existence of links between the Etr. and Carthag. world, which are further borne out by Aristotle's reference to trading agreements between them (*Pol.* 3,5,10-11). This contextual evidence can be used to corroborate the plausibility of the 509 BCE Rome-Carthage treaty, even if it is only circumstantial. Once the possibility of a clear link between the Phoen. world and R. has been demonstrated, one can look back to find other links with the Near East. One is the famous moment when Tarquinius Priscus' widow Tanaquil appears at the window of the royal palace to announce that Servius Tullius has become king, which is sometimes associated with the iconography of the ‘goddess at the window’ in Near Eastern contexts, where a goddess was said to appear to announce a new reign. The other is a complex set of associations around Fortuna and Pun. **Astarte*, and Hercules and Pun. **Melqart*, at the Forum Boarium. These associations are based on well-attested practices of **Syncretism*, mediated through Gk stories as well. The consequence is that we need to imagine the Rom. world as aware of the Pun. world and borrowing from it, and from the

evidence so far presented, those borrowings suggest direct as well as secondary connections.

R. in the 5th and early 4th cent. is difficult to understand. The sources tell us that the Romans replaced kings with annual magistrates, created a legal code (the Twelve Tables, dated to the mid-5th cent.), and saw major tensions between the aristocratic patricians and the plebeians. On the military front, there are references to regular conflicts with mobile peoples in central Italy coming down into the Latial plain and with R.'s neighbour Veii, which led to a great Rom. victory, almost immediately followed by a defeat by the Gauls who had marauded all the way to R. In the 4th cent., R. stabilized its political system, eventually creating office sharing amongst an expanded patricio-plebeian élite, with magistrates and former magistrates in an increasingly formalized way forming the Senate. This is the beginning of a remarkably stable political system in which a franchise that was quite wide, but managed so that the votes of the rich counted for more than those of the poor, delivered annual magistracies, and these magistrates managed jurisdiction, legislation, and war. Despite two difficult encounters with her neighbours the Latins, R. extends her territory. In general outlines much of this account may be true, but there are significant areas of uncertainty, especially for the 5th cent. This is partly because the Rom. record may have been reconstructed from lists of magistrates and triumphs, and the more nuanced details may have been lost. In this context, it is intriguing to find two Gk sources which imply a continuation of links with the Pun. world. In 378/377, according to Diodorus (15,27,4), R. tried to found a colony in Sardinia and then tried again in *Corsica a few decades later (Theophr. *HP* 5,8,2). Both islands were heavily influenced by Carthage. It is not surprising therefore that the sources preserve a second treaty in the mid-4th cent. between R. and Carthage.

The sequence of treaties is not fully recoverable with certainty, because Polybius (3,22-7) is in disagreement with other sources, including one whom he cites, Philinus, as to the number and the dates of the treaties. However, the mid-fourth cent. treaty fits with another treaty we hear of between R. and the Samnites, and with those surprising if unsuccessful colonies. R. was extending her territory and establishing her position. The Carthage treaty was plain in excluding the Romans from Sardinia and Africa, but it implies that Carthage can raid Latium, and this is a surprise unless one reason is that the Romans were

leaving the Latins somewhat exposed. Certainly the treaty looks to be weighted in favour of Carthage. Polybius' third treaty in 278 is merely a mutual agreement for help. The Philinus treaty, which can be identified with a treaty mentioned in Livy from 306, defines Italy as Rom. territory and Sicily as Carthag., a change from Polybius' second treaty which permitted trade there. So a relatively aggressive Carthag. treaty would have been converted in fifty years or so to a much greater claim by R., and then followed by a pact of mutual support. The authenticity of the Philinus treaty remains uncertain, and for reasons we shall see was caught up with the complex arguments over complicity in the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). However, the treaty sequence can lead to some definitive conclusions regarding the relationship between R. and Carthage at a time when R. was expanding within Italy, and that relates very specifically to Rom. naval capacity. Whilst the Rom. sources may overstate the novelty to R.'s move to naval warfare in the I Punic War, there seems little doubt from the treaties that R. could not match Carthag. naval power. At the same time, the Carthaginians clearly respected Rom. territorial claims and Livy (7,38) preserves a story about a Carthag. embassy congratulating the Romans on their victory over the Samnites in 343, and bringing a 25 pound gold crown as a gift to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. This was part of international diplomacy at the time, and implies that Carthage was prepared to treat R. as part of a wider club of Hellenist. cities. This was entirely justified since R. was on its way to a significant empire. The struggle with the Samnites and then the ETRUSCANS continued into the 3rd cent., but R. was remarkably successful (the surrender of the Romans to the Samnites at the Caudine Forks in 321 was a rare reversal, swiftly avenged), and by the early 3rd cent. R. was preeminent in Italy, a situation enshrined in a series of unequal treaties and reinforced by colonies.

The acknowledgement of the growing position of R. within Italy, and the awareness which the Philinus treaty might be taken to imply on the part of the Carthaginians of the potential of Rom. expansion, was borne out by R.'s successful resistance to the invasion of PYRRHUS in the early 3rd cent. Motivated by an appeal from Tarentum for support against R.'s arrival in south. Italy, and by his own desire for military glory, Pyrrhus' unsuccessful venture brought tensions between R. and Carthage to a head. Having interfered in Sicily as well as south. Italy, Pyrrhus

left in 275/274 with R.'s attention clearly directed to the S, with the Carthag. position in Sicily at least questioned, and Tarentum defenceless. Tarentum appealed to Carthage, and it appears that Carthage sent a fleet, but it was to no avail and Tarentum fell to the Romans in 272.

This was all to become highly significant because if Carthage had interfered in Italy, as Livy has Hanno (18) admit in 219 (21,10,8), then guilt for the outbreak of the I Punic War, often attributed to the Romans because of their own intervention in Sicily, was shared. For this reason, when we are looking at the treaties we must be aware that they were being called upon for tendentious reasons. Yet this is in itself indicative of the fact that, by the 3rd cent., the Rom. relationship with Carthage was operating precisely as part of a complex repositioning of states and their interests.

The I Punic War from 264–241 was fought over Sicily and represented precisely this kind of reordering. The outbreak bears the hallmarks of an attempt to find a *casus belli* for a dispute that was waiting to happen. The Mamertines, a group of mercenaries, were based at Messina, but had ravaged further afield and had been defeated by Hieron II (2) of *Syracuse. They appealed to both Carthage and R. for support. Carthage offered them a defensive garrison in Messina, but the Mamertines then appealed to the Romans, and after a long debate the Romans intervened, and defeated Syracuse, applying an indemnity and securing support for the Rom. army in Sicily. This encouraged other defections to R., since the Carthaginians were by no means universally popular. Indeed the city of *Segesta claimed an ancestral kinship with R. because *Aeneas had stopped there, and this was at least one moment at which the Aeneas legend became linked to the story of R.'s origins. Carthage increased military preparations in order to secure its position in west. Sicily and war was inevitable, though whether either side could have predicted the ultimate outcome is less clear.

At the battle of *Agrigentum in 261, the Romans took the town but saw the Carthag. army escape by sea, and this prompted them to build a significant fleet and challenge the Carthag. navy. A victory in 260 at Mylae (*Milazzo) under C. Duilius was attributed to the Rom. use of the *corvus*, a bridge with a strong spike which could be deployed to fall onto another ship's deck and fasten them together, allowing the Rom. army to engage. Success in this

new sphere permitted the Romans to take the war to Sardinia and Corsica, and even *Malta. The Rom. Senate decided to invade Africa. In 256 the Romans took 330 ships into a naval battle at Ecnomus, and won an important victory, which permitted them to sail past *Cape Bon, which Carthage had always marked as an absolute limit, and to land in Africa. The Rom. troops were led by M. Atilius Regulus, and were successful until the Carthaginians and the large number of mercenaries they had were brought under control by a Spartan called Xanthippus, who helped them regroup. The Romans suffered a disastrous defeat at an unknown spot, and although a relieving fleet was able to rescue some of the army, it was itself largely destroyed by a storm. The Carthaginians hit back, recapturing Agrigentum, and the Romans lost another fleet to a storm. From 252 to 243 the war was a grinding stalemate; the Romans concentrated on using land forces in Sicily, and on sieges. Carthage was unable to land a final decisive blow, and as the war dragged on, their mercenaries became restless. The Romans too were financially exhausted but raised the money for one last naval effort by private subscription and in 241 by a remarkable reversal, their better trained troops defeated the Carthaginians off the Egadi Islands, and the war was over. Carthage was forced to evacuate Sicily, and pay an enormous indemnity. The financial requirements demanded that Carthage create a new imperial space, this time in Spain. They were led by Hamilcar (9) Barca, father of Hasdrubal (6) and Hannibal (9), in this theatre and the Barcid family (→BARCIDS) successfully expanded Carthag. interests into a country rich in minerals and agriculture.

Regarding the interval between the I and II Punic Wars as more of a preparation for the next war than a hopeful end to hostilities may impute too much foreknowledge to the players. The Romans did seize Sardinia and Corsica, but without complete success, and they were meanwhile engaged in action in the Adriatic, and facing another Gallic insurgency. Yet it was Spain that was to be the touchstone of the new conflict.

Around 226 to 225, the Romans appear to have sued for an agreement from Hasdrubal (5), who had assumed command from his father-in-law, not to pass beyond the Ebro and therefore not to join with the Gauls. The fear of the Gauls was real and pressing and a potentially huge threat to R.'s Italian position, so the request may reflect Rom. weakness rather than

their strength. However, the flashpoint was *Saguntum, where Hannibal, as part of an aggressive campaign, was besieging the town. Saguntum appealed to the Romans; R. failed to respond; the fall of Saguntum was then used as a *casus belli*. R. declared war on Carthage in 218, and Carthage in the person of Hannibal crossed the Ebro, throwing the two states into war again.

A large literature grew up even in antiquity about the apportionment of guilt for the outbreak of the II Punic War. R.'s first historian, Fabius Pictor, claimed that Hasdrubal (5) had left to the young Hannibal the solemn injunction to hold the Romans enemies forever, and this novelistic motivation was one of various ways in which the Romans worked hard to cover the fact, which the Carthaginians pointed out, that Saguntum did not count as a Rom. ally when the treaty was struck after the I Punic War. However, the thinness of the Carthaginians' own position is revealed by the claim that the Ebro Treaty was a private agreement with Hasdrubal (5) and had no state authority. In short, the war began as a result of complex motivations, personal and of the state, which may have raised in different people at different times limited and/or extravagant ambitions. Once begun, Hannibal's swift and effective alliance with the Gauls and march across the Alps formed the most striking and terrifying element of his strategy, and he was already in Italy in the year war was declared. Victories at Trasimeno (217) and Cannae (216) represented the height of Hannibal's success and the lowest point of R., but the tide was to turn, thanks to Rom. strategy. Led by Quintus Fabius Maximus Verrucosus (→FABII [3]), the Delayer (*Cunctator*), Rom. armies henceforth refused to engage in pitched battle, and Hannibal, whose supply lines were stretched, and who received no reinforcements, was forced to forage from, and billet his troops on, increasingly unhappy Italian allies. Meanwhile, substantial parts of the alliance which R. had built up and secured in the earlier 3rd cent. refused to change sides.

R.'s resilience is extraordinary and especially since the front extended even further; R. engaged with Macedonia, in Gaul and in Spain as well as fending Hannibal off in Italy, and fighting in Sicily. The depth of resource which R. was able to call on, both monetary and in terms of manpower, remains remarkable, although R. was also lucky. When Hasdrubal (6) did finally bring troops across the Alps in 207, he was intercepted and defeated before he could reach his

brother. Hannibal was forced deeper into south. Italy. At the same time, R. was proving highly successful in Spain, which thus further reduced Carthag. supplies. The Romans were led by members of the Scipio family, notably Scipio Africanus 'the Elder' (→SCIPIONS [5]), who by 206 had expelled the Carthaginians. With the support of king MASSINISSA (1) from Numidia, he crossed to Africa, which forced the return of Hannibal in 203. The great adventure was nearly at an end. Despite opposition at home, Scipio continued through to the battle of *Zama (current Jama), and with a heavy cavalry superiority and a strategy to nullify Hannibal's use of *Elephants, he won a conclusive victory. The Carthag. Senate – with Hannibal's urging – sued for peace, but it was a crippling blow, removing at a stroke Carthage's empire and its ability to intervene overseas. Annual reparations and hostages reduced the once great Carthag. empire, and left R. completely dominant in the west. Mediterranean. The war came at a huge cost, but victory was a great prize. R. rapidly and ruthlessly dealt with Italians who had backed the wrong side. Astonishingly R. had also managed to continue warfare in the Gk world against PHILIP V of Macedonia. (One of the great unknowns of the war is whether Philip and Hannibal did indeed plot, as the Romans claimed, to combine against R. and what would have happened had they done so). With the Punic War concluded, R. turned more decisively eastwards, and brought Macedonia into the Rom. empire. Greece would follow. At the same time, the war had profound effects on R. and Italy. Hannibal's presence in Italy was certainly temporarily devastating for parts of the country – the extent to which there was a longer lasting effect has been debated for many decades. However, the post-Hannibalic map of Italy was to remain unchanged for a century, and the patchwork of alliances and Rom. occupations shaped the way Italy accommodated itself to Rom. rule. The indisputable hardships of a generation of war framed a myth of Rom. toughness and invincibility, whilst at the same time encouraging economic developments, especially the recognition of the essential nature of coinage, to pay the troops. R.'s obsession with tax cannot be attributed solely to the II Punic War, but fighting one of the great commercial empires of the Mediterranean was salutary. Finally, R. was beginning to see influxes of cash and slaves on an unimagined scale. This would radically reshape the Rom. economy, and pose substantial challenges to the political system.

R.'s wariness of Carthage was not to abate. The NUMIDIANS, who had turned to Scipio Africanus 'the Elder' after a long period of Carthag. alliance, were determined to continue their aggrandisement, and relied, correctly as it turned out, on Rom. support. Diplomatic efforts by the Carthaginians to persuade R. to reign Massinissa in failed, and eventually the Carthaginians reacted, although their fighting force was not what it had been, and they were defeated. Their reaction may have stemmed from the conclusion of their fifty-year indemnity, which may have led them to believe they had completed the terms of their treaty. Scipio Africanus 'the Younger' (SCIPIONS [6]) (adopted grandson of the victor at Zama) led a delegation to Carthage, and the Senate decided that Carthage had broken the terms of its treaty and declared war.

Various reasons have been given, and as always the solution will be some mixture of them. There were some who could not forget the potential threat of Carthage – CATO the Elder ended every speech in the Senate with the words 'Carthage must be destroyed', and famously illustrated his point by showing figs which had been picked in Carthage and were still fresh, so close were the Carthaginians to the Italian coast. There was also a mood of general belligerence – war was brewing with Greece as well, and in the end both Corinth and Carthage were destroyed in the same year, 146. There may have been some concern as to Carthag. resurgence, and excavations have found the development of the civilian and military ports of Carthage. It has also been suggested that the Romans were as worried about the Numidians and their growing power, and saw a chance to emphasize their control over the region.

The Carthaginians were in no position to stand against Rom. aggression, and were rapidly besieged, although it took the arrival of Scipio as military commander to close the war. The Carthaginians held out with immense bravery, gradually being shut into a narrower and narrower space, as Scipio fired the city. Finally, all that remained was a small group in Carthage's last temple of Aesculapius (cf. *Eshmun). The Carthag. leader or boetharch, who was called HASDRUBAL (14), surrendered himself, abandoning his family and the last survivors. His wife after praising Scipio for fighting fairly and condemning her cowardly husband, threw her children into the burning temple and followed them herself. The self-sacrifice of a woman at Carthage seems to have been an old

story, going back to the various accounts of Dido, and it would be reworked in the tragic account in Virgil's *Aeneid* Book 4.

Polybius, who regarded the combined destruction of Carthage and Corinth as marking R.'s arrival as the conqueror of the world (*oikoumene*, lit., "the inhabited earth"), is one of those who tells us that Scipio's reaction was to weep as Carthage was destroyed, razed to the ground and its territory sown with salt (Plb. 38,21-2). Scipio was struck by the mutability of fortune, and indeed this was the end of the independent Pun. West, although no doubt some Carthaginians fled to Numidia, which would itself be largely reduced in the Jugurthine War (112 to 106) (→JUGURTHA [1]). With Greece already subjugated, it was only a matter of time before R. moved into the former Hellenist. monarchies, and *Phoenicia, part of the Seleucid world (→SELEUCIDS), and then under the Armenians, would be brought into the Rom. empire by POMPEIUS MAGNUS after his construction of the Rom. province of *Syria.

The Pun. world thus had an enormous impact on R. It was through engagement with the economic ferment of the 8th cent., to which the Phoenicians made a fundamental contribution, that the society and economy of R. began to change and accelerate. R. used the Phoen. *alphabet, as did the other peoples of central Italy. Pun. ideas travelled, and the Rom.-Carthag. treaty represents R.'s first appearance on the international stage. Trading links and the beginnings of competition would lead Carthage and R. into a conflict which lasted sporadically for a century, and which led the Romans to develop their own naval capacity and to transform their economy, just as the spoils and impact of war would significantly change the Italian economy. Carthage rose again as an Augustan colony, and the echoes of its Pun. past can still be heard in the 5th and 6th centuries CE, when Augustine and Procopius could still hear people speaking the Pun. language in the N Africa of late imperial R.

For a sound overview of Rome to the I Punic War, although tending to put more confidence in the sources for early Rome than some, see Momigliano, A. and Schiavone, A. (eds) (1988) *Storia di Roma* 1. *Roma in Italia*. Turin; Cornell, T. J. (1995) *The beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 BC)*. London; Forsythe, G. (2005) *A critical history of Early Rome: From Prehistory to the First Punic War*. Berkeley; see also CAH² VII.2; Coarelli, F. (2011) *Le origini di Roma*. Milan. For the archaeology, see Anzidei, A. P., Bietti Sestieri, A. M. and De Santis, A. (1985) *Roma e il Lazio dall'età*

- della pietra alla formazione della città: i dati archeologici. Rome; Fulminante, F. (2013) *The urbanization of Rome and Latium Vetus: From the Bronze Age to the Archaic Era*. Cambridge; and the fundamental treatment by Cifani, G. (2008) *Architettura romana arcaica. Edilizia e società tra Monarchia e Repubblica*. Rome. For the Forum Boarium, see Coarelli, F. (1988) *Il foro Boario*. Rome. On Phoenicians as a spur to growth in central Italy, see Aubet, M. E. (2001) *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, colonies and trade*. Cambridge. On the gens, see Smith, C. J. (2006) *The Roman Clan: The Gens from ancient ideology to modern anthropology*. Cambridge. On the Rom.-Carthaginian treaties, see Scardigli, B. (1971) *I trattati romano-cartaginesi*. Pisa; Serrati, J. (2006) *CIQ*, 56, 113-134. On the Pyrgi tablets, see Baglione, M. P. and Michetti, L. M. (eds) (2015) *Le lamine d'oro a cinquant'anni dalla scoperta. Dati archeologici su Pyrgi e rapporti con altre realtà del Mediterraneo*. *ScAnt*, 21. Rome; Bellelli, V. and Xella, P. (eds) (2016) *Le lamine di Pyrgi: Nuovi studi sulle iscrizioni in etrusco e in fenicio nel cinquantenario della scoperta*. *SEL*, 32-33. Verona. For the history of the 5th and 4th cent., see the essays in Raaflaub, K. and Toher, M. (eds) (2005) *Social struggles in archaic Rome: New perspectives on the conflict of the orders*. Malden; for Livy Books 6-10, which is the source for the period from 390 to 293 BCE, see Oakley, S. P. (1997-2005) *A commentary on Livy Books 6-10*. Oxford. For political developments, see Hölkeskamp, K.-J. (2011) *Die Entstehung der Nobilität: Studien zur sozialen und politischen Geschichte der Römischen Republik im 4. Jh. v. Chr.* 2. Erweiterte Auflage. Stuttgart. On the Punic Wars, see Lazenby, J. F. (1978) *The First Punic War: A military history*. London; *id.* (1978) *Hannibal's war: A military history of the Second Punic War*. Warminster; Huss, W. (1985); Lancel, S. (1995) *Carthage: A history*. Oxford; Cornell, T., Rankov, B. and Sabin, P. (eds) (1996) *The Second Punic War: A reappraisal*. London; Hoyos D. (ed.) (2011) *A companion to the Punic Wars*. Malden. On Rom. attitudes to war and imperialism more generally, see Harris, W. V. (1987) *War and imperialism in Republican Rome 327-70 B.C.* Oxford; Rosenstein, N. S. (2004) *Rome at War: Farms, families, and death in the Middle Republic*. Chapel Hill; Eckstein, A. M. (2006) *Mediterranean anarchy, interstate war, and the rise of Rome*. Berkeley. On Spain, see Richardson, J. S. (1996) *The Romans in Spain*. Oxford. On Carthage on the eve of the III Punic War, see Hurst, H. R. (1983) *The War Harbour of Carthage*. In: *APC* 1, 603-610; Hurst, H. R. and Roskams, S. P. (1984) *Excavations at Carthage. The British mission, I. 1. The Avenue du Président Habib Bourguiba, Salammbô. The site and finds other than pottery*. Leiden; Fulford, M. G., Peacock, D. P. S. and Hurst, H. R. (1994) *Excavations at Carthage: The British mission. 2. The Circular Harbour, North side. 2. The Pottery*. Oxford; Hurst, H. R. and Duhig, C. (1994) *Excavations at Carthage: The British mission. 2. The Circular Harbour, North side. 1. The site and finds other than pottery*. Oxford. On the Hellenist. context, see Prag, J. R. W. and Quinn, J. C. (eds) (2013) *The Hellenistic West: Rethinking the ancient Mediterranean*. Cambridge; Quinn, J. C. and Vella, N. C. (eds) (2014) *The Punic Mediterranean: Identities and identification from Phoenician settlement to Roman rule*. Cambridge.

C. J. SMITH

ROTHUS

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in *Sil. Pun.* 2,165.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 215.

S

SAB(B)URA

Name of uncertain etymology and meaning (Sem.? See *NAN*, s.v.).

1. A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 15,441.

2. Name of a lieutenant of king JUBA (1) (Caes. *Civ.* 2,38, 1.3; [Caes.] *BAfr.* 94).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 215; *NAN*, 122.

A. ERCOLANI

SABRATHA

A sailor in the Pun. fleet in Sil. *Pun.* 14,437. His name is related to the homonymous Lib. TN.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 215.

SACES

A Numid. soldier (*maurus*) in Sil. *Pun.* 2,161.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 37.

Sakarbaaal see ZAKARBAAL

SAPHARUS

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 7,604. Probably his name is derived from the root *spr*.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 215; *NAN*, 123 (s.v. “safaredir”); 124 (s.v. “safari”); 127 (s.v. “saphiris”).

SAPHO

Pun. PN *šp*’, of uncertain etymology (hypocoristic name from *špy* “to look at”?).

PNPPI, 177.400f.

Member of the family of the MAGONIDS, he was the son of HASDRUBAL (1) and the brother of HANNIBAL (1) and HASDRUBAL (2). He held a prominent position in Carthage after the battle of Himera (480 BCE). Together with his brothers – and perhaps his cousins HANNO (4), GISGO (1) and HIMILCO (2) – he led military expeditions in North Africa against the MAURI and the NUMIDIANS. Thanks to these deeds, the Carthaginians managed to cancel the tribute paid to the Africans for occupying their territory. The main source is Just. 19,2,1-6.

Geus, K. (1994), 200.

G. GARBATI

SARGON II

Akk. *Šarru-kēnu*, *Šarru-(u)kīn*, “The legitimate king”, or “He (the God) made the king firm”. King in the Neoass. period (721-705 BCE) [FIG. 55], he usurped the throne on the death of Shalmaneser V



Fig. 55. Sargon II king of Assyria (relief from Khorsabad)

(→ASSYRIANS). In the second year of his reign, he had to confront a rebellion in north. *Syria led by the kingdom of Hamath and supported by *Egypt, which included the provinces of Arpad, *Damascus and *Samaria, and was joined by the province of Sumur (*Tell Kazel). The revolt was quickly put down and was followed by an expansion to the S of the Ass. provincial sphere of control, as far as the kingdom of JUDAH and the Philistine cities (→PHILISTINES). Afterwards, S. pushed on even further to the W, on an expedition as far as *Cyprus. There, he forced the rulers of seven cities on the island to give him tribute, as documented on a commemorative basalt stela that he had erected in the important Tyrian colony of *Kition. This intervention is evidence of the strategic and commercial interest that the Ass. king had in the regions of the east. Mediterranean. Here, the PHOENICIANS, especially those from *Tyre, had largely developed the running of trading activities and the provision of raw materials, and the Assyrians were intent on controlling and shaping this to their own advantage. No other events affecting Phoen. cities during S.'s reign are known, except for one reference in a foundation cylinder, from the royal palace at Khorsabad, to S. as defeating Que and Tyre. In fact, this information, which is generic and isolated, seems to belong to the celebratory rhetoric customary in Ass. commemorative inscriptions. At most it implies one of the recurrent episodes of tribute and homage. In reality, S. does not seem to have carried out a policy of actual antagonism towards the Phoen. cities, unlike the other Ass. kings. Instead, he preferred to make use of them as part of his policy of involvement in the Mediterranean.

Tadmor, H. (1958) *JCS*, 12, 22-40; Borger, R. (1984) *Aus der Inschrift Tiglatpileasers III. ND 4301+unw*. In: Rechts- und Wirtschaftsurkunden historisch-chronologische Texte. TUAT, 1. Gütersloh, 382-385; Liverani, M. (1988) *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia*. Rome/Bari, 797-802; Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 36-48.149-181; Fuchs, A. (1994) *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*. Göttingen; PNA 3/II, 1239-1247, s.v. "Šarru-kēnu" (A. Fuchs).

F. MAZZA

SATATNA

Akk. *Sà-ta-at-na*, possibly an Indo-European PN. Ruler of *Akko mentioned in the Amarna letters (EA 8 [?].233-235.238) (*Tell el-Amarna).

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 292f.295; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 135, no. 142; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna. 1. Le lettere dei "Piccoli Re"*. Brescia, 135-137.

P. XELLA

SCIPIONS

The S. were the most prestigious family among the seven families who formed the *gens Cornelia* [FIG. 56]. Perhaps belonging to the branch of *Maluginenses*, the family was definitely patrician. However, both the hint given in Livy (5,19,2; 24,1 and 31,8; 6,1,8) to the character who collaborated several times with Camillus, and the etymology proposed by Macrobius (*Sat.* 1,6,26) for the origin of the *cognomen* – the filial piety of an ancestor who, like a *scipio*, i.e. a stick, led and supported his blind father – seem to have been later constructs.

The first historical character known to us, however, is Lucius Scipio Barbatus, the son of Cnaeus and *consul* in 298 BCE, who led the war against the Samnites: his sarcophagus and *elogium* were found in the family tomb, discovered in 1614 along the Appian Way, just outside Porta Capena (Cic. *Tusc.* 1,13) and excavated completely in 1780.

The S. belonged to the so-called mercantile groups. They were bound closely by marriage and friendship to the Etr. world – the mother of Scipio (5) Africanus was the daughter of M. Pomponius Matho, *consul* in 231 and among their *clientes* were the *homines novi* Apustii Fullones. These were propelled towards the Mediterr. horizon and, as a consequence, were involved in the struggle against *Carthage (→PUNIC WARS).

Coarelli, F. (1972) *DdA*, 6, 36-106; Van Sickle, J. (1987) *AJPh*, 105, 41-55; Etcheto, H. (2012) *Les Scipions. Famille et pouvoir à Rome à l'époque républicaine*. Paris.

1. Cornelius Scipio, Cnaeus. Son of Scipio Barbatus, *consul* in 260 BCE, he had tried to take Lipari, but was instead captured by the PUNICS, and gained the unflattering *cognomen* of 'Asina'. However, once freed (Val. Max. 6,9,11), he later redeemed himself during his second consulate, in 254, when he managed to conquer *Panormus.

RE IV,1, s.v. "Cornelius" (341) cols 1485-1487 (F. Münzer); Etcheto, H. (2012) *Les Scipions. Famille et pouvoir à Rome à l'époque républicaine*. Paris, no. 7, 160.

2. *Cornelius Scipio, Lucius*. Brother of (1), became *consul* in 259 BCE and first attacked *Corsica, taking Aleria, then *Sardinia, where he was active against *Olbia. He was the father of the first two protagonists of the family during the II Punic War, the ‘two Scipions’: Cnaeus, ‘the Bald’ (3) and Publius (4), the uncle and the father of Africanus (5) respectively.

RE IV,1, s.v. “Cornelius” (323) cols 1428-1431 (F. Münzer); Etcheto, H. (2012) *Les Scipions. Famille et pouvoir à Rome à l’époque républicaine*. Paris, no. 8, 160.

3.-4. *Cornelii Scipiones, Cnaeus and Publius*. The so-called Two Scipions, sons of (2). Cnaeus (‘the Bald’), probably a few years older than Publius, already *consul* in 222 BCE and a protagonist of the war against the Insubri, in 218 he followed his brother the *consul* as a legate. Not having been able to intercept HANNIBAL (9) at the ford of the Rhone, he entrusted his brother with the command of his army to take it to Spain, which was the theatre planned for the operations reserved to him, while he

himself returned to Italy. The unlucky protagonist of the Ticino clash in November of the same year, where he was injured, Publius reached his brother in Spain in 217, where he fought against the Carthaginians with mixed fortunes until his death. He defeated HASDRUBAL (6), the brother of Hannibal, at the river Ebro, in 215. This was crucial in preventing HAMILCAR’s (9) second-born from reaching his brother in Italy. In the following years, Publius and Cnaeus moved S to the river, occupying *Saguntum. However, after being completely abandoned, they were finally overwhelmed. Thanks also to the contribution of the NUMIDIANS of MASSINISSA (1), the enemy – who now had three armies in the peninsula, commanded by the Barcid Hasdrubal, by MAGO (6), and by HASDRUBAL (8) the son of GISGO (5) – surprised them separately. Abandoned by their Iberian auxiliaries, first Publius and then Cnaeus fell on the battlefield. It was the year 211.

RE IV,1, s.v. “Cornelius” (345 and 330) cols 1491f. and 1434-1437 (W. Henze); Etcheto, H. (2012) *Les Scipions. Famille et pouvoir à Rome à l’époque républicaine*. Paris.

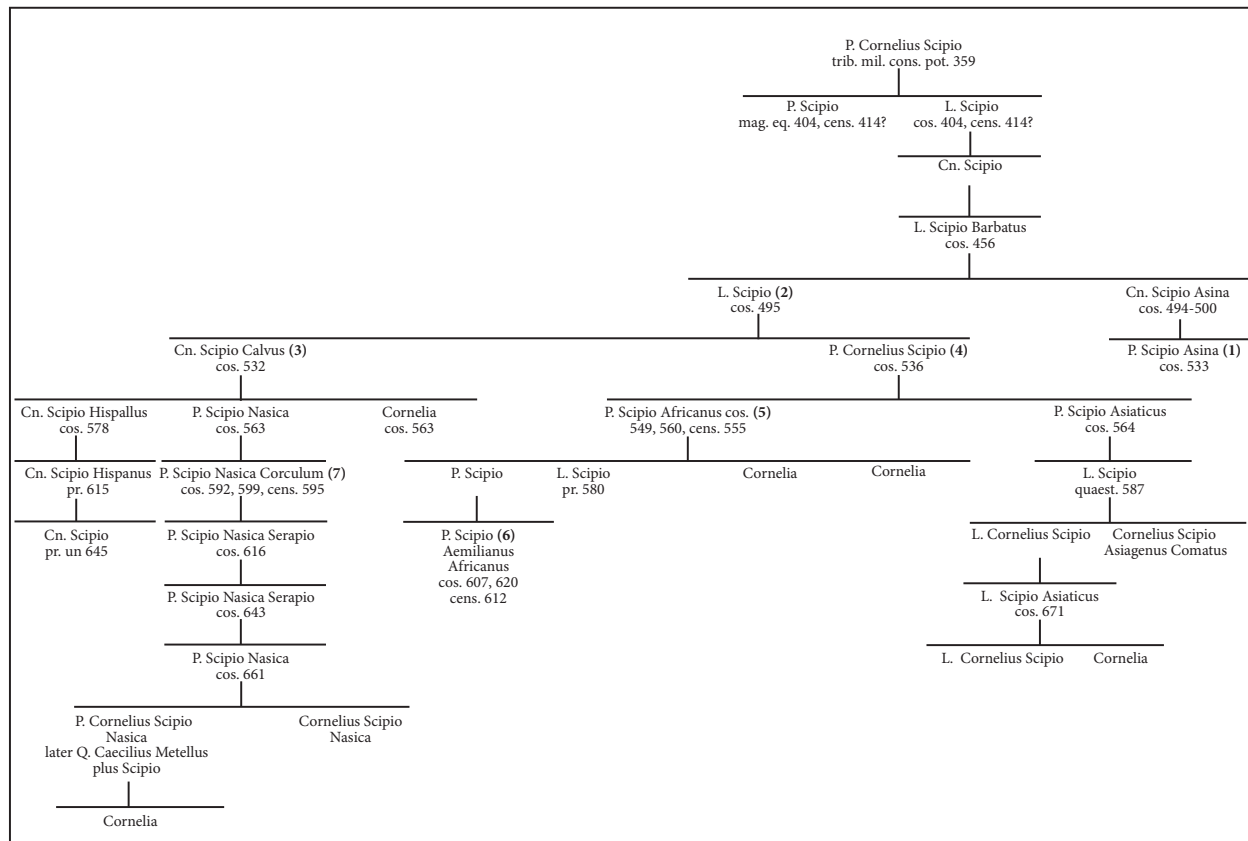


Fig. 56. The Scipions (dates are *ab urbe condita*, i.e. from 754 BCE)

5. *Cornelius Scipio Africanus, Publius*. Son of (4), born in 236/235 BCE, probably, he had a younger brother called Lucius. When he was only 17 years old, he had followed his father to Cisalpina. Here, during the battle at Ticino, by an act of extraordinary courage, he saved his injured father (according to Plb. 3,659, who quotes Caius LAELIUS [1], a close friend of Publius). There is a second version of the episode, preserved by Livy (21,46,10), who traces its origin to Coelius Antipater: there, the heroic deed is attributed to a Ligurian slave and not to the consul's son. It is certainly possible that the annalist repeated subsequent hostile rumours about Africanus; nevertheless, it should be noted that Ticino's act has an unusual parallel with an episode in Hannibal's life. On the one hand, in the Barcid's case (BARCIDS), he was saved, while still very young, together with the bulk of the army, by the heroism of his father, who sacrificed his life to provide their escape. On the other hand, Publius immediately distinguished himself, while still an *adulescentulus*, by intervening to save his wounded father, in order to show his unquestionable superiority to his hero. While it is true, that "Coelius is not usually preferred to Polybius" (Scullard), it is also true that young Publius refused the civic crown that was to have been conferred on him. However, one fact is evident beyond any doubt: the spirit of emulation which made the young Roman follow in the footsteps of his great hero, Hannibal. Publius was present at Cannae, where he headed a group of survivors and led them to safety (Liv. 22,53), he was *aedilis* in 213, and, on the death of his father and his uncle, while only a *privatus* (not yet having held the office of *praetura*) he was entrusted by the Iberian with the *imperium consulare*: it was the year 210. As usual, he immediately achieved extraordinary results: in 209 he conquered Qarthadasht (*Cartagena), the Barcid capital in Spain (and bragged to his soldiers that *Poseidon had favoured his enterprise). The following year, at *Baecula (Cerro de San Vicente), he defeated HASDRUBAL (6) Barca, who then decided to move to Italy. Finally, in 207, yet another victory: he defeated the two remaining Pun. generals, MAGO (6) the Barcid and HASDRUBAL (8) at *Ilipa (N of Sevilla).

It was the end of Carthag. rule in Spain: soon afterwards, Gades (*Cádiz) – the ancient Phoen. colony from where Hamilcar's exploits had started thirty years earlier – also closed its doors to his son, Mago (6).

During this military campaign, S. had the opportunity to know the two greatest Numid. leaders, SYPHAX of the MASAESYLII and Massinissa of the MASSYLII, and (pushing even to Africa) intertwined those ties that would allow him to gain the military alliance of the latter. Elected *consul* in 205, S. – openly opposing Fabius Maximus' strategy (→FABII [3]), which he had followed until then – immediately manifested the will to bring the war to Africa: in this, he was certainly animated by a desire to confront the person who had always been his undeclared hero. If there was to be a challenge, however – or so he thought – it had better be in Africa. In fact, he had not yet given S. the certainty of having fully understood the tactical mechanisms of the Barcid. A defeat on the battlefield, apparently still possible, also due to the troops he took with him – the reviled and expendable *legiones Cannenses*, the punishment wards made up of the defeated soldiers of Italy – would have been far less traumatic overseas than in Italy. Besides, if, by threatening Carthage, he had managed to move him from the territory of the Peninsula, Hannibal could never return to Italy. Having obtained the province of Sicily from the *patres*, with permission, if considered appropriate, to move to Africa, S. crossed the sea, landing in 204 near *Utica. Here again he obtained two important victories in the following year. First, by trickery, he deceived the great Pun.-Numid. army, commanded by Hasdrubal (8) and Syphax (who had allied himself with Carthage), and hemmed it in at the coast. Then, at *Campi Magni*, in the Bagraas Valley (*Medjerda), he faced and defeated a second enemy force on the orders of the same commanders. It was probably this episode that gave him the certainty he was looking for: not only was he able to capture Syphax, replacing him on the throne of all Numidia together with Massinissa (who had allied himself with the Romans, thus securing the precious support of the Berber cavalry); but finally he understood – and perfected – the pincer movement (a double envelopment manoeuvre) used at Cannae, adapting it to the dynamics of legions on the battlefield, which now could be performed by the infantry on its own.

On Hannibal's return, peace negotiations with Carthage failed and then (202) came the decisive battle of *Zama. In the face of his youngest emulator, Hannibal accomplished what was perhaps his masterpiece: attracted to a risky infantry battle and unable to repeat the manoeuvre of the *Campi Magni*, the

Roman risked defeat, and only the heroism of the *legiones Cannenses* saved the day. For ROME, it was the ultimate victory. S. gained the triumph as well as the *cognomen ex virtute* of Africanus.

The events that followed are of less interest from our point of view.

Scipio was really a great general and reformed the Rom. army. He had made the legions able to carry out systematically the enveloping manoeuvre on the field, and then to open the tough carapace of the phalanx thanks to the wise use of maniples. In addition, he had also instituted the cohort in Spain, to be used as a close formation in order to confront the daring individual value of the Iberian, and west. warriors in general. In the field of foreign policy, for many years he later helped to foster relations with Hellenism, adopting the concept of a deterrent in favour of the *res publica* and elaborating the doctrine of the *patrocinium orbis Graeci*, after the victorious end of the Hannibalic war. Yet S. became a model within the *res publica*. As a consequence, he succeeded in conditioning their republican electoral process: ten years after Zama, he brought to the consulate not only seven members of his own *gens*, but also *homines novi*, such as Manius Acilius Glabrio; and, inconceivably for other members of the aristocracy, he even managed to include former consuls such as C. Laelius (1) and Sextus Digitius among his *clientes*. In addition, S. was the figure to whom many Iberian populations turned as a patron or king. But there was more to come: he always tried to cultivate himself as being superhuman; and once again imitating Hannibal, he entrusted Quintus Ennius (who, significantly, happened to be the author of an *Euhemerus*) to initiate the process of his actual deification. Adopting a later interpretation as symbolizing and prefiguring Augustus, this already contains, in germ, the most dangerous form of Caesarism, as well observed by Annaeus Seneca (*Ep.* 86) and others. Yet, perhaps unlike Hannibal, this *vir memorabilis* was *belli quam pacis artibus memorabilior* (Liv. 38,53,9). Certainly, he was successful in the war against *Syria; but he ended by conceding the merit of the victory to a Cato (→PORCIUS CATO) too ready to claim it. Moreover, he lost his reputation in the scandal concerning the use of war compensation, which overwhelmed both him and Lucius, his brother. Publius was a *ensor* at a young age, a precocious *princeps senatus* (199) and *consul* for the second time in 194. In those really crucial years, S. did nothing remarkable, but he

ended up succumbing almost passively to the assault of a *nobilitas* which, rejecting his supernatural features and bent on getting rid of his cumbersome tutelage, did not hesitate to support secretly the work of Cato. Finally, they expelled S. from political life. Death took him in Liternum in the same year as Hannibal, 183, in an exile that was certainly less tragic than his great hero's, but equally less noble and less exalted (Liv. 38,53,8; 56,3; Str. 5,4,4; Plin. *Nat.* 16,234 etc.).

Bell, M. J. V. (1965) *Historia*, 14, 404-422; Scullard, H. H. (1970) *Scipio Africanus, soldier and politician*. Ithaca; Grimal, P. (1975²) *Le siècle des Scipions*. Paris; Astin, A. E. (1978) *Cato the Censor*. Oxford; Badian, E. (1984 repr.) *Foreign Clientelae 264-70 B.C.* Oxford; Brizzi, G. (1990) *Sileno*, 16, 185-206; Storm, E. (2001) *Masinissa. Numidien im Aufbruch*. Stuttgart; Brizzi, G. (2006) *RSA*, 36, 49-76; Brizzi, G. (2007) *Scipione e Annibale. La guerra per salvare Roma*. Rome/Bari; Brizzi, G. (2008²) *Il guerriero, l'oplita, il legionario. Gli eserciti nel mondo classico*. Bologna, 55-97; Etcheto, H. (2012) *Les Scipions. Famille et pouvoir à Rome à l'époque républicaine*. Paris, esp. no. 12, 161-165.

6. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus, Publius.

The second child (born 185/184 BCE) of Aemilius Paulus, he was adopted (before 168?) by Publius, the son of (5), who had difficulty in continuing his lineage. While still an adolescent, he took part, together with his natural father, in the battle of Pidna (168) and for a few hours was thought to be dead (Plut. *Aem.* 22). At the end of the Macedonian enterprise, by concession of Aemilius Paulus himself, he was able to pick up part of the library of Perseus (Plut. *Aem.* 28), and shortly thereafter, he had as a friend and mentor Polybius, who came to Rome among the Achaean hostages. In 151 he served as a military tribune in Spain, under the command of L. Licinius Lucullus, deserving a *corona muralis* (Vell. 1,12,4), and the following year, having sent a request to Africa for a supply of *Elephants to be used in the Iberian peninsula, he renewed with Massinissa the patronage dating back to the first African. Instead, his attempt to mediate between Numidia and Carthage was unsuccessful. In 149/148, while still in Africa, he served as a military tribune under M. Manilius and received a new and very important decoration (the *corona graminea*) for saving his besieged fellow citizens (Plin. *Nat.* 22,6-13). When he came back to Rome and applied for the office of *aedilis*, the populace, followed immediately by the Senate, promoted him to the consulate in 147, contrary to the *lex Villia*. He was put in charge of the war against Carthage, which he ended in the spring of the following year

with the destruction of that unfortunate city. On his return to Rome, Publius celebrated a splendid triumph with sumptuous games and, like his adoptive grandfather, received the *cognomen ex virtute* of ‘Africanus’. Even in this case the remaining part of his life here is less relevant. The long diplomatic mission in the E (Lucilius 465); the meeting with Panaetius (Cic. *Acad.* 2,5); the *censura* (142) together with L. Mummius; the second consulate (134) and the command of the war against the Celtiberians, with the destruction of Numantia, are stages in an unparalleled career. Aemilianus died shortly after his return to Rome. Contrary to the *lex agraria* of Tiberius Gracchus (→GRACCHI [3]), he made a first intervention in favour of the Italici (and, in particular, of the LATINS: it was September, and the *Feriae Latinae* had just been celebrated). The latter, excluded from the land distributions programmed by agrarian law, underwent the wait without gaining any benefit. He then went back home, to prepare a new and decisive intervention for the following day; but the next morning he was found dead. The sources refer to natural death, suicide or assassination (for which accusations fell variously on his sister Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and his wife Sempronia, in addition to Caius Gracchus (→GRACCHI [4]) himself and his close friend Fulvius Flaccus). This last hypothesis is supported either by the obscure hints he himself made at a conspiracy against his life, or – immediately after his death – by public opinion. S. was then 56 years old. Finally, S. Aemilianus must be credited with the birth of the so-called ‘Circle of the Scipions’, i.e. the cenacle of chosen spirits, with members such as Terentius, Polybius and Panaetius. He identified himself with Hellenism when it became influential in Rome, and having inspired it, was elevated to a political symbol by Cicero in the *Somnium Scipionis*.

Astin, A. E. (1967) *Scipio Aemilianus*. Oxford; Etcheto, H. (2012) *Les Scipions. Famille et pouvoir à Rome à l’époque républicaine*. Paris, esp. no. 26, 176-179.

G. BRIZZI

7. *Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum, Publius*. The son of Scipio Nasica, who was the son of Scipio (3) ‘the Bold’, he married a daughter of Scipio (5) Africanus. *Praetor* in 165 BCE, he was *consul* twice (in 162 and 155), *censor* in 159, *pontifex maximus* from 150, and in his final years *princeps senatus*. In 152

he was a member of the senatorial commission sent to Africa to settle the dispute between Massinissa (1) and *Carthage (Liv. *Perioch.* 48; Zonar. 9,26). The sources record his strong but ineffective opposition to the anti-Pun. politics that PORCIUS CATO advocated in the following years. However, according to these ancient writers, he was motivated by internal politics since he predicted that removing the Carthag. enemy would lead to an excessive decline in morals and therefore to the decadence of Rome (Diod. 34,33,3-5; Liv. *Perioch.* 49; Plut. *Cat. Ma.* 27,2-5; Flor. 1,31,5). He died in 141.

RE IV,1, s.v. “Cornelius” (353) cols 1497-1501 (F. Münzer); Broughton, T. R. S. (1951) *The magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 1. New York, 454.463.475; Etcheto, H. (2012) *Les Scipions. Famille et pouvoir à Rome à l’époque républicaine*. Paris, no. 17, 170f. and 204.

U. LIVADIOTTI

SCIRON

A soldier from Marmarica, who was killed in a naval battle near *Syracuse, mentioned in Sil. *Pun.* 14,482ff.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr.* 12, 37.

SEA PEOPLES

Of utmost importance for our knowledge of the S. P. are documents and iconographic material from *Egypt, dated between the 14th and 11th cent. BCE. During the NK, relations between Egypt and the Mediterranean intensified. The imperialist policies of some kings, already from the first half of the XVIII Dyn., especially of Thutmose III, opened up Egypt to direct contact with peoples in the N. Already in this period, significant allusions to the Aegean world can be found in Egypt. sources, for ex., in a long inscription placed in Jebel Barkal, deep in present day Sudan, by Thutmose III. From the same period come paintings in the tombs of several high officials (e.g. Rekhmira, TT 100), where we can see rows of people carrying gifts, some of whom are recognizable as from *Crete and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. The first signs of danger due to peoples coming from the sea appear during the reign of Amenhotep III. In the autobiography of Amenhotep son of Hapu fortifications at the mouth of the Nile are mentioned. Detailed names and descriptions of some peoples as being among the S. P. can also be found in the letters from

el-Amarna (*Tell el-Amarna). These texts, addressed to the king of Egypt, mention Sherdana who were *MERCENARIES* for RIB-ADDA, king of *Byblos, while the king of *Cyprus denounces robberies by Lukka and ABI-MILKI, king of *Tyre, sends notification of the death of the king of the Danuna and of his brother's succession. These documents clearly reveal the concern, which often becomes a request for help, about the raids and brutality carried out by sea-bandits from north. lands. The reign of Ramses II has left us evidence of various kinds on the S. P.: a stela from the second year of his reign describes how the sovereign had crushed the warriors of the 'Great Green' so that the peoples of the Delta could sleep in peace; another stela, from *Tanis, provides proof that Ramses II's renown in warfare had reached as far as the islands of the 'Great Green', referring next to Sherdana 'rebels at heart'. In all these cases, the attacks from the sea are indicated by a generic mention of the Mediterranean. The accounts of the battle of Qadesh against the HITTITES show the Sherdana as among the Pharaoh's élite soldiers. They were famous as warriors and so were recruited for the Egypt. army specifically as the personal guard of Ramses II. A literary text preserved in papyrus Anastasi I (Ramesside period) mentions a group of 520 men from Sherdana enrolled in the army as well as a list of geographical names from *Syria and *Palestine which refers to Sherdana, Tjekker and Peleset (→PHILISTINES). During the reign of Merneptah, the son and successor of Ramses II, a long inscription in Karnak (*Thebes), part of which is taken from the so-called Israel stela, gives an account of the aggression in the 5th year of his reign from foreigners in search of a place to settle: not merely a raid but a real invasion by a confederation led by Libyans which also included Sherdana, Lukka, Teresh, Shekelesh and Eqwesh. [FIG. 57]. The



Fig. 57. Ox-carts carrying Sea Peoples
(relief from Medinet Habu)

last mentioned, already present in Hitt. sources, have been identified as the Achaeans. The longest and clearest Egypt. source, meticulously illustrated, is the inscription of Ramses III in his funerary temple in Medinet Habu. It describes a clash in the 8th year of his reign, and among the aggressors are once again Peleset, Tjekker, Shekelesh and Danuna, as well as Weshesh. This monumental narrative has an echo in the Harris papyrus: in the last part of that document, which includes a schematic account of his reign, once again the Sherdana are mentioned as troops integrated by Egypt and it mentions the victory over the S. P., reporting the defeat of the Danuna from the islands, and of Tjekker and Peleset, while the S. P. Sherdana and Weshesh were taken prisoner and brought to Egypt [FIG. 58].

One of our most important sources, from the end of the XX Dyn. (Ramses XI), is the account of the journey of UNAMON, who had travelled to Byblos to find precious wood. During his adventures he stops at Dor (*Tel Dor), the city of the Tjekker, and at Byblos meets a king called Tjekerbaal (ZAKARBAAL), with whom he negotiates at length while the men from Tjekker are seen committing acts of piracy.

(GCV)



Fig. 58. Prisoners from Sea Peoples
(relief from Medinet Habu)

The relationship between archaeological and textual evidence is particularly difficult in the controversial question of the role to be ascribed to the S. P. in the history of the east. Mediterranean at the start of the IA. Research on the S. P. involves linguistics, biblical studies and to a large extent archaeology. Scholars have tried to identify within the stratigraphy of sites and cultural material from IA I in Syria-Palestine some archaeological indicators providing evidence for the movements and settlements of the S. P. Excavators have attributed the many violent destructions in several sites marking the transition between the end of the BA and the beginning of the IA to the action of the S. P., in the decades between the end of the 13th cent. and the 12th cent. BCE.

Various successive waves of migrations have been mentioned which at different times affected several regions of the Levant [FIG. 57]. In short, the displacement of the S. P. in the west. Mediterr. region has been taken as a paradigm of a very real migration on a large scale. Following the Story of UNAMON, proof of the presence of the (people from) Shikila/Tjekker has been sought in the coastal site of Dor (*Tel Dor). It has been easier to identify, in settlements on the south. coast, traces of the Peleset (Philistines), the only S. P. to be mentioned in the Bible (*Old Testament). There they are said to be the inhabitants of the so-called Pentapolis: *Ashkelon, *Ashdod, Gath, *Ekron and *Gaza. The geographical distribution of the S. P., according to the Onomasticon of Amenemope, would see the people from Sherdana settled in the Plain of *Akko, the (people from) Shikila/Tjekker in the zone between the Plain of Sharon and the coast at *Carmel and the Philistines in the south. coastal region. In the material culture, pottery has been considered by many scholars as one of the most trustworthy indicators of ethnic identity. Therefore, attempts have been made to find, in the settlements of the period, the presence of foreign elements, bringing in pottery alien to local tradition. The spread of painted monochrome pottery, inspired by shapes and decorative motifs from the *Aegean and *Cyprus, but produced locally in Syria and Palestine, has been explained as due to settlement of the S. P. Instead, the so-called Philistine bichrome ware has been attributed to a later chronological phase, and represents the development of monochrome ware through contamination of 'western' elements by Canaanite tradition (→CANANITES). Even the anthropoid sarcophagi, found in Beth-Shean,

Deir el-Balah etc. have been considered as signs of the presence of the S. P. This is due chiefly to comparison between the hairstyle as represented on the sarcophagi and the feathered head-dresses worn by some persons in the Medinet Habu reliefs. However, in recent years, these traditional readings of such features have been superseded, completely or in part. On the basis of anti-diffusionist historiographic trends, some scholars have been led to re-interpret the question of the S. P. in terms of economics and trade. The presumption that pottery is an indicator of the identity of its makers has been rejected. Instead, it has been proposed that rather than migration on a vast scale, only a few ceramists actually travelled to the Levant. They belonged to an Aegean and Cypr. tradition, which then took root locally and also evolved. In this perspective, the S. P. became the paradigm for the transition, in the E, from a type of trade managed by élites to a new way of exchanging goods. These goods were high in value and trade was administered by a fairly powerful merchant class (→*Trades and Exchanges) partly of Cypr. origin but with strong local roots. In this reading, therefore, the transformations of the material culture of the Levant are due not so much to the arrival of peoples from outside – whether colonists or migrants on a large scale – as to the rise of a group of merchants who by the end of the LBA had already begun to gain autonomy and economic power. The difficulty of an historical interpretation making the S. P. instrumental in the devastation of Canaanite cities and the driving force behind the social, economic and cultural nature of Syria-Palestine in IA I also lies in the continuity evident in material culture. At Tel Dor, for instance, in parallel with the textual evidence that mentions the (people from) Shikila as lords of the city in around the 11th cent., manufactured goods show a gradual development of Canaanite material culture from the LBA to the Phoen. period. It is quite evident that some of the destruction of Levantine sites which occurred around the symbolic date of 1200 BCE must have been due to violent actions by peoples – pirates, refugees, various groups – from elsewhere: *Greece, Cyprus and south. *Anatolia. However, there is no need to invoke immigration on a large scale to explain the deep – but neither sudden nor complete – cultural change that took place in the Levant at the beginning of the IA.

(TP)

Vercoutter, J. (1956) *L'Égypte et le monde égéen préhellénique. Étude critique des sources égyptiennes du début de la XVIIIe à la fin de la XIXe dynastie*. BdE 22. Cairo; Leclant, J. (1968) Les relations entre l'Égypte et la Phénicie des origines à Oun-Amon. In: Ward, A. W. (ed.) *The role of the Phoenicians in the interactions of Mediterranean civilization*. Beirut, 9-31; Sandars, N. K. (1978) *The Sea Peoples*. London; Hölbl, G. (1979) *Beziehungen der Ägyptischen Kultur zu Altitalien*. EPRO 62. Leiden, 11-28; Badre, L. (1983) Les Peuples de la Mer à Ibn Hani. In: *APC* 1, 203-209; Stadelmann, R. (1986) Seevölker. In: *LÄ(g)* V, 814-822; Bietak, M. (1991) *MDAIK*, 47, 35-50; Dothan, T. and Dothan, M. (1992) *People of the Sea: The search for the Philistines*. New York; Redford, D. B. (1992) *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in ancient times*. Princeton, 241-256; Grandet, P. (1993) *Ramsès III: histoire d'un règne*. Paris, 182-191; Mazza, F. (1994) Le fonti per la storia di Biblo dagli inizi dell'età del ferro all'età ellenistica. In: Acquaro, E. et al. (eds) *Biblo. Una città e la sua cultura*. CSF 34. Rome, 125-135; Helck, W. (1995) *Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (von R. Drenkhahn durchgesehene und bearbeitete Neuauflage). Darmstadt; Sherratt, S. (1998) 'Sea Peoples' and the economic structure of the late Second Millennium in the Eastern Mediterranean. In: Gitin, S., Mazar, A. and Stern, E. (eds) *Mediterranean Peoples in transition*. Jerusalem, 292-313; Liverani, M. (1998-1999) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1-2. Brescia; Oren, E. D. (ed.) (2000) *The Sea Peoples and their world: a reassessment*. Philadelphia; Cline, E. H. and O'Connor, D. B. (2003) The mystery of the 'Sea Peoples'. In: O'Connor, D. B. and Quirke, S. (eds) *Mysterious lands*. London, 107-138; Hirsch, E. N. (2003) Ramses III. und sein Verhältnis zur Levant. In: Gundlach, R. and Rößler-Köhler, U. (eds) *Das Königtum der Ramessidenzeit: Voraussetzungen, Verwirklichung, Vermächtnis. Akten des 3. Symposiums zur ägyptischen Königsideologie in Bonn 7.-9.6.2001*. Wiesbaden, 197-238; Osing, J. (2003) Notizen zu den Seevölkern. In: *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück. Festschrift für H. Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*. SAK Beiheft 9. Hamburg, 315-321; Cavillier, G. (2005) *Gli Shardana nell'Egitto Ramesside*. BAR Int. Series 1438. Oxford; Gilboa, A. (2005) *BASOR*, 337, 1-32; Gilboa, A. (2006-2007) *Scripta Mediterranea*, 27-28, 209-244; Whincop, M. R. (2009) *Pots, people, and politics: A reconsideration of the role of ceramics in reconstruction of the Iron Age Northern Levant*. Oxford; Killebrew, A. E. and Lehmann, G. (eds) (2013) *The Philistines and "other" Sea Peoples in text and archaeology*. Atlanta; Weeden, M. (2013) *BICS*, 56, 1-20; Bauer, A. (2014) The 'Sea Peoples' as an emergent phenomenon. In: Galanakis, Y., Wilkinson, T. and Bennett, J. (eds) *AΘYPMATA. Critical essays on the archaeology of the Eastern Mediterranean in honour of E. Susan Sherratt*. Oxford, 31-39; Lehmann, G. (2017) The Late Bronze-Iron Age transition and the problem of the Sea Peoples phenomenon in Cilicia. In: Fischer, P. M. and Bürge, T. (eds) *'Sea Peoples' up-to-date*. Vienna, 229-255.

G. CAPRIOTTI VITTOZZI – T. PEDRAZZI

SELEUCIDS

Hellenist. dynasty, founded by Seleucus I, one of the generals of ALEXANDER THE GREAT who contested his kingdom after his death. Seleucus besieged Babylon and in 305 BCE assumed the royal title. After his victory at the battle of Issus (301), gaining *Syria and east. *Anatolia, Seleucus founded Antioch on the

Orontes as his new capital. With victory at Curupedion, he also gained possession of west. Anatolia. The son and successor of Seleucus I was Antiochus I (281-261), who did not succeed in extending Seleucid dominion any further and under Antiochus II (261-246) and Seleucus II (246-226) vast areas became independent. Antiochus III (222-187) defeated the Lagide army at Raphia (LAGIDS) (217) and then, in the V Syrian War (202-195), removed Coele-Syria from Egypt. control. In the following war against ROME (192-188) Antiochus III also made use of the advice of the exile HANNIBAL (9) Barca, but was defeated and had to abandon the territory W of the Taurus. Antiochus IV Epiphanes (175-164) tried to gain further territory at the expense of *Egypt, but was blocked by the diplomatic intervention of Rome. The loss of prestige by the Seleucid kingdom led to dynastic quarrels which were accompanied by revolts and actions by bordering states. Antiochus VII Sidetes (138-129) succeeded in removing vast territories from the Parthians, but after his death they were lost, gradually reducing the dominion of the S. to part of Syria. In 83, Tigranes II, king of Armenia, conquered the last remaining territories belonging to the S. The Romans, who had defeated Tigranes, restored the Seleucid kingdom in 69, but both Antiochus XIII and Philip II contested the throne. As a result, in 63 POMPEIUS decided to turn Syria into a Rom. province.

Bevan, E. R. (1902) *The house of Seleucus*. London; Bouché-Leclercq, A. (1913-1914) *Histoire des Séleucides (232-64 avant J.-C.)*. Paris; Sherwin-White, S. and Kuhrt, A. (1993) *From Samarkand to Sardis: A new approach to the Seleucid Empire*. London; Grainger, J. D. (1997) *A Seleukid prosopography and gazetteer*. Leiden/Boston/Köln; Capdetrey, L. (2007) *Le pouvoir séleucide. Territoire, administration, finances d'un royaume hellénistique (312-129 avant J.-C.)*. Rennes.

G. MINUNNO

Sempronii Gracchi see GRACCHI

SENNACHERIB

Akk. *Sîn-ahhē-erība*, "(The god) Sin has replaced the brothers".

King in the Neoass. period (704-681 BCE), son of SARGON II (→ASSYRIANS) [FIG. 59]. His reign is marked by a somewhat limited commitment to the west. sector of the empire due to the considerable effort required to control the situation in Babylonia



Fig. 59. King Sennacherib receiving booty from submitted people (Nineveh)

(→BABYLONIANS). The account in the annals and various inscriptions document a single great expedition to Syria-Palestine in the very first years of his reign. Some Phoen. cities, principally *Tyre and *Sidon, joined an anti-Ass. coalition of cities in *Syria and *Palestine. It also included the kingdom of JUDAH and the Philistine cities of *Ashkelon and *Ekron (→PHILISTINES), with the external support of *Egypt. The coalition was heavily defeated in 701: LULI, king of Tyre and Sidon, fled to *Cyprus and died shortly after. The Assyrians placed a new king on the throne of Sidon, subject to them, called Tubalu (ITTOBAAL II), imposing heavy tribute on him. They also renewed the burdens of vassalage for all the other rulers of the coastal cities, including ABDILETI of *Arwad and URIMILK of *Byblos. Of interest is the fact that king Luli, named in the Ass. texts, corresponds to Elulaios mentioned in the Annals of Tyre reported by Josephus (cf. *Annals). He was principally king of Tyre, as can be inferred from some Ass. inscriptions referring to his flight from the city to take refuge in Iadnana (Cyprus). The title “King of Sidon”, also found in the Ass. texts, is due to the fact that at that time Tyre must also have included Sidon in its own sovereignty. Josephus also records another very interesting fact, namely that on that occasion the other Phoen. cities supplied S. with 60 ships for the siege of insular Tyre, which nevertheless resisted for no less than five years, finally repelling the fleet sent to conquer it. It is not possible to determine whether that initiative was only the result of an obligation by the Assyrians or whether it was also due to rivalries among the various Phoen. cities. In fact, the reduc-

tion of the sovereign territory of Tyre and the separation of Sidon as autonomous, with a new philo-Ass. ruler, considerably reduced the role of the most important Phoen. metropolis. Finally, these circumstances can be connected with some late references to Tyrian, Sidonian and Cypr. sailors as prisoners employed in successive campaigns of S. Their capture by the Assyrians is probably to be connected with the great campaign mentioned above.

Liverani, M. (1988) *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia*. Rome/Bari, 802-805; Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 65-75.182-189; Frahm, E. (1997) *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*. Vienna; PNA 3/I, 1113-1127, s.v. “Sin-ahhē-erība” (E. Frahm); RINAP 3/I and 3/II.

F. MAZZA

SHABI-ILU

Akk. *Ša-bi-lu*, “That of the command of DN” (?) or “God/Ilu has returned (to me)” (Hess).

Name of a man who stayed on in the palace of Sumur (*Tell Kazel) mentioned in the Amarna letter EA 62 (*Tell el-Amarna).

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 133f.; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 138f., no. 146; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei “Piccoli Re”*. Brescia, 269f.

P. XELLA

Shail see KULAMUWA

SHALMANESER III

Akk. *Salmanu-ašarēd*, “Salmanu is foremost”. King in the Neoass. period (858-824), the son of ASHUR-NASIRPAL II (→ASSYRIANS) [FIG. 60].

Right from the first years of his reign, S. set out on a campaign to the West, where he received tribute from the kings on the coast, as recorded by a commemorative text inscribed on the monolith of Kurkh. However, this first undertaking did not have significant results. In fact, the main objective of the expedition must have been to obtain trunks of cedarwood for the building activities of the Mesop. king. Very soon, however, matters changed and the expeditions took on the aspect of real military campaigns more deci-

sively intent on conquest. For the 6th year of his reign (853), the cuneiform documents record a great expedition against a coalition of Aram. states led by king Hadad-Idri of *Damascus and king Irhuleni of Hamath, with which several important Phoen. cities were associated. The inscription on the monolith of Kurkh mentions only some of these cities explicitly, *Irkata, *Siyannu, *Arwad and *Ushnatu for ex., giving their respective contributions of military forces, with clear differentiations. Probably not all the Phoen. cities were equally motivated to oppose the Ass. king. In fact, only some of them had decided to intervene directly in the struggle, with no great show of common purpose. Ass. sources describe the outcome of the battle of Qarqar as a great victory for S. However, it cannot have been so decisive, since the Ass. army never progressed any further. The information on the campaigns in the tenth, eleventh and fourteenth years of his reign, refer to three expeditions against the states beyond the Euphrates, especially against Damascus, which formed the fulcrum of resistance, first with Hadad-Idri and then with Hazael. Only in the eighteenth year of his reign (841) was there a new great offensive that led to the Assyrians coming into direct conflict with Phoen. cities. From the various accounts of the event we learn of the brutal devastation that followed, the enormous booty resulting from the raids and the onerous tribute paid by the kings of *Sidon and of *Tyre (BAALIMANZER). Lastly, the Ass. sources mention a further campaign in the W. It took place in the twenty-first year (838), when S. imposed new heavy tribute on Tyre, Sidon and *Byblos. There is also a reference to a king called Baali, probably a Phoen. name, but as yet the name of his kingdom is unknown as it was lost due to lacunae in the text, nor can its capital *La(or Ma)-ru(?)*-ba be identified. When S. died, Assyria went through a period of internal crisis for some decades, during which time the west. Mediterranean and *Phoenicia in particular enjoyed a phase of relative tranquillity.



Fig. 60. King Shalmaneser III sacrificing to his gods (Tell Balawat)

Laessøe, J. (1959) *Iraq*, 21, 147-157; Kinnier Wilson, J. W. (1962) *Iraq*, 24, 90-115; Hulin, P. (1963) *Iraq*, 25, 48-69; Elat, M. (1975) *IEJ*, 25, 25-35; Liverani, M. (1988) *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia*. Rome/Bari, 785-788; RIMA 2, 5-179; Yamada, S. (2000) *The construction of the Assyrian Empire: A historical study of the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824) relating to his campaigns to the West*. Leiden; PNA 3/I, 1072-1076, s.v. “Salmanu-ašarēd” (3) (K. Radner).

F. MAZZA

SHAMABAAL

Theophoric Phoen. PN *šm'b'l* (“Baal has heard [the voice / the prayer]”), occurring only once in this form (elsewhere, *b'l šm'* is found).

PNPPI, 181.

S., the son of Magon (*mgn*), is an important public figure mentioned in a partly bilingual (Phoen./Gk) inscription from *Piraeus (AO 4827; *KAI* 60 = *TSSI* III, 41), engraved on a white marble trapezoidal stela, topped with a crown. The text provides a precise date: “on the 4th day of the *marzeah* (→*Marzeah), in the 14th year of the Sidonian Era” (*bym 4 lmrzḥ bšt 14 l'm šdn*), i.e. theoretically 96 BCE. However, several good reasons induce us to assume that there was an earlier Sidonian Era, as yet unknown, and that instead the text should date back to the 4th cent. BCE (320-319?). The local assembly of the Sidonians (Gk text: τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Σιδωνίων) decided to pay tribute to S. (whose name in Greek is Διοπερίθης Σιδώνιος), with a precious golden crown (*ʾtrt ḥrṣ bdrknm 20 lmḥt*, “a golden crown worth 20 darics regularly circulating”). S. was the superintendent of the community in charge of the temple and its sacred buildings. His grateful fellow citizens granted him the prestigious award because he carried out the reconstruction correctly, impeccably performing all the tasks assigned to him. The assembly also decreed to erect the inscribed stela on the portico of the restored temple, so that the Sidonians would know that the community would reward the men who had served it commendably.

RÉS 1215; *IG* II/2, 2946; *KAI* II, 73f.; Teixidor, J. (1980) *Syria*, 57, 453-464; *TSSI* III, 148-151; Krahmalkov, Ch. R. (1987) *RSO*, 61, 76-78; Baslez, M.-F. and Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1991) *Un exemple d'intégration phénicienne au monde grec: les Sidoniens au Pirée à la fin du IV^e siècle*. In: *APC* 2, 229-240; Baslez, M.-F. and Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1991) *Le bilinguisme des Phéniciens*

en Grèce. In: Baurain, C., Bonnet, C. and Krings, V. (eds) *Phoinikeia Grammata. Lire et écrire en Méditerranée*. Namur, 371-386, esp. 382ff.; *Art phénicien*, 156f., Pl. 176.

P. XELLA

SHAPATBAAL

Phoen. theophoric PN *špṭb'l*, “Baal has judged”, if it is a verbal clause; Akk. *Sa-pa-ṭi-ba-al*. Other vocalizations can be deduced from Akkadian (such as *Si-pi-it-ti-bi-li* and *Ši-ip-ti-DN* in the Amarna letters (*Tell el-Amarna), in which case it may be a noun phrase meaning “Judgement of Baal” or “Baal is (my) judge”. The name of several kings of *Byblos, but rare in west. Phoen. *Onomastics.

PNPPI, 184.215.423f.

1. S. I, son of ELIBAAL and grandson of YAHIMILK I, king of Byblos in about 900 BCE. He was the author of a dedicatory inscription to *Baalat of Byblos, engraved on an architectural block (KAI 7 = TSSI III, 9) and discovered in the area of the sanctuary of *Hathor and *Heryshef [FIG. 61]. The inscription commemorates the erection of a wall there, with no further clarification.

KAI II, 9-10; Jidejan, N. (1968) *Byblos through the Ages*. Beirut, 20.70; Elayi, J. (2013) *Histoire de la Phénicie*. Paris, 189.

2. S. II, king of Byblos in about 740 BCE, whose dynastic position is unknown because of the 100-year gap in documentary evidence after S. I. Mesop. sources

mention him in connection with the events of 737 and 729/728: he was among the sovereigns who paid tribute to the Ass. king TIGLATH-PILESER III, even though it seems that Byblos was able to retain some of its autonomy at that time.

DCPP, s.v. (2) (J. Elayi); Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 15. Paris, 66f.70; RINAP 1: 14 11; 27 3; 32 2; 35 iii 7; 47 rev. 7'.

3. King of Byblos, who lived in the first half of the 5th cent. BCE, known only from his son's epitaph, engraved on a limestone plate, broken into three fragments, found in 1929 in the area of the current crusader castle (KAI 9). The name of his son, the author of the funerary inscription, cannot be read because of a lacuna, but it is believed to be URIMILK II.

KAI II, 10f.; Jidejan, N. (1968) *Byblos through the ages*. Beirut, 98; Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 15. Paris, 18f.

4. One of the sons of the king of *Arwad, YAKINLU, in the second half of the 7th cent. BCE. On his father's death, he attended the Ass. court bringing rich gifts, together with his brothers ABIBAAL (4), ADONIBAAL (2), BODBAAL, BAALYASOP, BAALHANON, Baalmalok (after Akk. *Ba'-al-ma-lu-ku*, cf. BAALMILK [1]), ABIMILK (1), AHIMILK (1), AZ(Z)IBAAL. They were welcomed and honoured by ASHURBANIPAL, who then appointed Az(z)ibaal, as Yakinlu's heir, to the throne of Arwad.

Saporetta, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 222; DCPP, s.v. (4) (E. Lipiński); Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 106ff.

F. MAZZA – P. XELLA



Fig. 61. Inscription of Shapatbaaal I king of Byblos (Byblos)

Shekelesh see SEA PEOPLES

Sherdana see SEA PEOPLES

Shikila see SEA PEOPLES

Shipitbaal see SHAPATBAAAL

Sibitti-bi'ili: King of *Byblos at the time of →TIGLATH-PILESER III.

SICCHA

Soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 9,338.385. Perhaps his name is related to the African city, Sicca (*Le Kef).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 215.

SICHARBAS

A more mythical than historical character, the uncle and husband of *Elissa (Dido), priest of Heracles/*Melqart, S. was rich and powerful and a prominent worthy in *Tyre. He is mentioned as Acherbas by Pompeus Trogus (*ap.* Just. 18,4-5) and as SYCHAEUS in Virgil's *Aeneid*. All three forms of the name presuppose an original Phoen. PN such as Sakarbaal or ZAKARBAAL. Pygmalion, the king of Tyre, ordered him to be killed in order to obtain his wealth. This led to Elissa escaping from Tyre and to ensuing events, the most relevant of which being her foundation of *Carthage in Africa, effectively the 'New Tyre'. Even though S., like other characters in the story, is part of a poetic fabrication that goes back at least to Timaeus (566 F 86 *FGrHist*), he is not entirely devoid of an historical basis – vague though it may be.

Bunnens, G. (1979) *L'expansion phénicienne en Méditerranée*. Rome, *passim*; EV, IV, s.v., 833f. (P. Xella).

P. XELLA

SIDQMILK

Phoen. theophoric PN *šdqmlk*, from *šdq*, "to be just/right", or "to be lawful".

King of *Lapethos around 450 BCE, he succeeded DEMONICOS I (1). Possibly because his predecessor had joined the Ionian revolt in 499, S. coined staters with Obv./head of Athena with a Corinthian elm and, in the Phoen. alphabet, the legend *l šdqmlk mlk lpš*, "Belonging to S., king of Lapethos" (coins inscribed with the names of the king and his kingdom are rarely found in *Cyprus) and Rev./the head of Athena with an elm and two horns, bull's ears and the legend *šdqmlk*, also in the Phoen. script.

PNPPI, 177.398f.; Masson, O. and Sznycer, M. (1972) *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*. Genève/Paris, 98f.; Destrooper-Georgiades, A. (1995) La numismatique. *Partim Orient*. In: Krings, V. (1995), 62f.; Lipiński, E. (2004) *StPhoen* 18, 81-86;

Steiner, M. L. and Killebrew, A. E. (eds) (2014) *The Oxford handbook of the archaeology in the Levant c. 8000-332 BCE*. Oxford, 813; Markou, E. (2016) The coinages of the kings of Cyprus from the Archaic to the Early Hellenistic period. In: *Kyprios Character*: <http://kyprioscharacter.eie.gr/en/scientific-texts/details/numismatics/coinages-of-kings-of-cyprus-from-archaic-to-early-hellenistic-period> 2016 [Accessed 01.15.2018].

L.-I. MANFREDI

Siromos see HIRAM

SITTIUS, PUBLIUS

Born in Nocera (*Nuceria*) in Campania, where he owned considerable estates, he traded with the kingdom of Mauretania (→MAURI), often travelling to *Hispania Ulterior* for his commercial activities. However, he ran into debt and had to sell part of his land. In 66 BCE S. was involved in the conspiracy of Marcus Licinius Crassus and a few years later also in the plot hatched by Catiline. Although Cicero, who professed to be his friend, maintained that S. was innocent, he was either exiled to or chose to take refuge in North Africa. He took with him troops that he had recruited from Italy and the Iberian peninsula and organized a mercenary army, which he placed at the service of various local kinglets who were fighting each other over power. When the civil war extended to North Africa, S. sided with Caesar, together with king BOCCHUS (2) of Mauretania (for whom, probably he acted as military adviser, organizing his army along Rom. lines). While JUBA I (1) of Numidia, an ally of POMPEIUS's followers, was trying to join their forces, Bocchus and S. invaded *Numidia and captured Cirta (*Constantine), forcing Juba to return to his kingdom. After defeating the Numid. commander SAB(B)URA (2), S. dealt another severe blow to Pompeius's party, while his fleet surrounded Metellus Scipio (→CAECILII METELLI [3]), driving him to suicide. As a reward, Caesar granted S. the territory around Cirta as his personal domain, where he set up four colonies for veterans. Mileu, *Chullu and Rusicade (*Skikda) took on the names of *Colonia Sarnensis*, *Colonia Minerviana* and *Colonia Veneria* respectively, while Cirta was called *Colonia Sittianorum*. In the spring of 44, shortly after the death of Caesar, S. was killed in an ambush laid by ARABION, son of MASSINISSA (2). However, the structure of the colonies set up by Sittius remained unchanged for a long time.

RE III/A, s.v. (3) cols 409-411 (F. Münzer); Bertrand, F. (1989) *L'état de Publius Sittius (I s. av. J.-C.-III s. ap. J.-C.)*. Diss. Université Paris IV Sorbonne; Sirago, V. A. (1992) Collegamento di Africa e Spagna nelle avventure di P. Sittius nocerino. In: *AfRo* 9, 939-952.

G. MINUNNO

SOLOMON

Hebr. PN *šlmh*, “His peace” or “His substitute”.

Unlike his father and predecessor David, whose dynasty is mentioned in the stela from *Tel Dan (*KAI* 310,9), as yet S. is not mentioned in extra-biblical sources. According to the *Old Testament, S. reigned over David's great kingdom for 40 years (1 Kgs 11,42). He was responsible for the construction of both the palace and the temple in *Jerusalem, which he accomplished thanks to the Phoen. artisans sent by king HIRAM of *Tyre (1 Kgs 5-8). Evidence for Phoen. influence on S.'s building activities in Jerusalem is provided by the so-called “House of the forest of Lebanon” in his palace, as well as the “Throne of the Cherubim” erected in the holy of holies in the temple (→*Holiness), which can certainly be explained by the thrones with sphinxes of Phoen. tradition. The OT glorifies S.'s exploits, turning them into legend (1 Kgs 1-11) through narratives that, in any case, cannot certainly be dated before the reign of king Josiah (640-609 BCE).

Like David, the historical S. was the king of Jerusalem and its surrounding area. On the other hand, the assertions of a large empire conquered and dominated by David and S., stretching from the Euphrates to the Nile, but also his personal union with ISRAEL, and the expansion of royal cities such as Jezreel, *Megiddo, and *Hazor, are legendary in character. This also applies to the assertions of his contacts with the PHOENICIANS, according to which, as an equal, Hiram of Tyre delivered cedar, gold and craftsmen (1 Kgs 5,20.22-24; 7,13ff.; 9,11.14), for which S. would pay with food, workers and territories (1 Kgs 5,25.28; 9,10-14). Instead, the description of S. being anointed by the messengers of Hiram of Tyre in 1 Kgs 5:15 (LXX = 3 Kgs 5,1) presupposes a vassal relationship between Hiram and S. as one of master and dependent.

Stamm, J. J. (1980) Der Name des Königs Salomo. In: *id.*, *Beiträge zur hebräischen und altorientalischen Namenkunde*. OBO 30. Freiburg/Göttingen, 45-57; Gubel, E. (1987) *Phoenician furniture: A typology based on Iron Age representations with*

reference to the iconographical context. StPhoen 7. Leuven, 37-75; Kuan, J. K. (1990) *JSOT*, 46, 31-46; Knauf, E. A. (1991) King Solomon's copper supply. In: StPhoen 11. Leuven, 167-186; Briquel-Chatonnet, F. (1992) *Les relations entre les cités de la côte phénicienne et les royaumes d'Israël et de Juda*. OLA 46 = StPhoen 12. Leuven, 25-58; Handy, L. K. (ed.) (1997) *The age of Solomon*. SHANE 11. Leiden; Schenker, A. (2000) *Septante et texte Massorétique dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de I Rois 2-14*. CRB 48. Paris, 140; Weippert, H. (2003) Das Libanonwaldhaus. In: den Hertog, C. G., Hübner, U. and Münger, S. (eds) *Saxa Loquentur. Studien zur Archäologie Palästinas/Israels. Festschrift für Volkmar Fritz zum 65. Geburtstag*. AOAT 302. Münster, 213-226; Noël, D. (2005) *Trans*, 29, 155-170; Liverani, M. (2006³) *Oltre la Bibbia*. Rome/Bari, 109-113; Lipiński, E. (2010) Hiram of Tyre and Solomon. In: Lemaire, A., Halpern, B. and Adams, M. J. (eds) *The Books of Kings. Sources, composition, historiography and reception*. VTS 129. Leiden, 251-272.

P. MERLO – H. NIEHR

SOPHONIBAAL

Thephoric fem. PN *špn̄b 'l*, probably meaning “*Špn* is Lord” (→*Saphon); Gk Σοφονίβας, Σοφονίβας; Lat. *Sophoni(s)ba*.

PNPPI, 401f.; Vattioni, F. (1979) *AIONArchStAnt*, 1, 188; *NAN*, 135.138.

1. The daughter of the Rab Abdmilqart (*'bdmlqrt*) and the wife of another Rab, Adonibaal (*'dnb 'l*), during the 3rd cent. BCE. S. is mentioned in her funerary inscription (*CIS* I, 5979) found in the Carthag. necropolis of Saint-Monique.

DCPP, s.v. (1) (E. Lipiński).

2. Priestess mentioned in her funerary inscription (*CIS* I, 5950 = *KAI* 93). She was the wife of HANNO (35), a Suffete (→*Suffetes) and high-priest (→*Priesthood) who belonged to a prominent Carthag. family.

DCPP, s.v. (2) (E. Lipiński).

3. The daughter of HASDRUBAL (8), she was promised in marriage to MASSINISSA (1), but in 205 her father married her to SYPHAX, king of the MASAESYLII, in order to strengthen the bond between *Carthage and Cirta (*Constantine). After Cirta had surrendered and Syphax was made a prisoner, she married Massinissa. However, in order to prevent her from influencing Massinissa, Scipio (→SCIPIONS [5]) demanded that

she be delivered to him. By agreement with Syphax, S. decided to commit suicide using poison. Her wretched life made S. into an icon of tragic love. Main sources: Plb. 14,1,4; 7,6; Liv. 29,23,3-7; 30,3,4; 11,3; 12,11-22; 14,9-10; 15,4-8; *Perioch.* 30; Diod. 27,7; App. *Pun.* 10,37-41; 27,111-28,120; Zonar. 9,11-13.

Geus, K. (1994), 200f.

A. ERCOLANI – P. XELLA

Sophonisbe see SOPHONIBAAL

Sosus see MASTANESOSUS

SPENDIUS

Gk Σπένδιος (Σπόνδιος in Diod. 25,3).

Originally a slave from Campania (Plb. 1,69,4-5), he enlisted in the Carthag. army as a mercenary, possibly with the rank of a junior officer, during the I Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). From 242 to 239 BCE he was one of the instigators of the revolt of the MERCENARIES. Repeatedly defeated in battle by HAMILCAR (9) (Plb. 1,76 and 78), he strongly supported the execution of GISGO (5) (Plb. 1,80) and led an unsuccessful siege of *Carthage (Plb. 1,82). Having fallen into the hands of Hamilcar, after desperate negotiations for surrender, he was crucified (→*Crucifixion) in front of the walls of *Tunis (Plb. 1,86,4).

Loreto, L. (1995) *La grande insurrezione libica contro Cartagine del 242-237 a.C. Una storia politica e militare*. CEFR 211. Rome, esp. 107f.; Pelegrín Campo, J. (1999) *Polis*, 11, 161-195; Hoyos, D. (2007) *Truceless war: Carthage's fight for survival, 241 to 237 B.C.* Leiden/Boston.

U. LIVADIOTTI

STRATON

Gk Στράτων, corresponding to the Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *'bd'štrt*, “Servant of Astarte”, the name of several Phoen. historical characters.

PNPPI, 162f.

1. King of *Sidon in the second quarter of the 4th cent. BCE (ca 365-352): →ABDASHTART.

2. A S. king of Sidon, whose reign would have been between S. I (1) and S. II (3), has been proposed, based on *Numismatics, but this hypothesis must be rejected.

Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2004) *Le monnayage de la cité phénicienne de Sidon à l'époque perse (Ve-IVe s. av. J.-C.)*. Paris, 410-412.

3. S. II, king of Sidon (ca 342-333 BCE), was deposed by ALEXANDER THE GREAT and replaced with ABDALONYMUS. In fact, S. was considered as a philo-Pers., having handed over the city to Alexander, not willingly, but under pressure from the people. Main sources: Curt. 4,1,16; Diod. 17,47 (wrongly locating the event in Tyre).

Bondì, S. F. (1974) *RSF*, 2, 149-160; Elayi, J. (1989) *Sidon, cité autonome de l'Empire Perse*. Paris, 246.

4. A S. seems to have ruled over *Tyre around the mid-4th cent. BCE (Justin. 18,3,6-19). According to one semi-legendary tradition, S. rose to power after a slave revolt and established a new dynasty (*regnum ad filium ac deinde ad nepotes transit*) (→DYNASTIES). A bilingual (Phoen./Gk) inscription from Delos (*CIS* I, 114 = *ID* 50), may refer to this king as may also the TN Straton's Tower (*Caesarea).

Elayi, J. (1981) *BaM*, 12, 139-150; Elayi, J. (1988) *BaM*, 19, 549-555.

5. Son of GERASTRATOS, king of *Arwad. In 333/332 BCE, while his father was among the fleet commanded by the Pers. admiral Autophradates, S. went to meet Alexander the Great and offered him a gold crown as well as the submission of Arwad, Marathos (*Amrit), Sigona, Mariamme and other lands under their control. Main sources: Arr. *An.* 2,13,7-8; Curt. 4,1,6.

Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans.* 19. Pendé, 156ff.162ff.

6. S. of *Berytus, a doctor mentioned by Galenus (12, 749; 13, 290.303 Kühn). Probably, S. is to be kept distinct from his namesake, who was a pupil of Eratosthenes of Cyrene, and may have been active in around the mid-1st cent. CE. He is known to have

written prescriptions against eye diseases and intestinal pains. A preparation used by S. was called Βηρύτιον.

RE IV/A1 s.v. (20) col. 317 (F. E. Kind).

G. MINUNNO

Suba see ASASIS

SUNIATUS

Lat. form of *šmnytn*, “Eshmun has given”, a very common theophoric PN in Phoen. and Pun. *Onomastics.

According to Justinus (20,5,1-13, our only source), a certain S. – whose origin is unknown – was a political opponent of HANNO (7). He was condemned as a traitor due to his relations with Dionysius I of *Syracuse.

PNPPI, 71f.279; DCPPI, s.v. (E. Lipiński); Geus, K. (1994), 202.

P. XELLA

SURATA

Akk. *Sú-ra-ta*, *Sú-ra-a-tum*, Indo-European PN. Ruler of *Akko mentioned in the Amarna letters (EA 8.85.232.245.366) (*Tell el-Amarna).

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 16f.156ff.291.299f.364; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 135f., no. 143; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei “Piccoli Re”*. Brescia, 134ff. and *passim*.

P. XELLA

SYCHAEUS

Probably an abbreviated form of the theophoric Phoen. PN *z/skrb'l* (→ZAKARBAAL).

According to our only source, Silius Italicus (*Pun.* 3,245-248; 4,825; 5,460-474.496-500; 5,517-529.602), he was the commander of the Carthag. troops stationed in Aspis (Clupea: see *Kelibia) during the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS). S.’s historicity is very dubious and he may be a literary fabrication.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 215f.

P. XELLA

SYMAETHUS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 9,410 (cf. also 14,231).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 216; Stocks, C. (2014) *The Roman Hannibal: Remembering the enemy in Silius Italicus’ Punica*. Liverpool, 121.

SYNALOS

The Gk PN Σύναλος may be related to the very common Phoen. and Pun. theophoric PN *šmnhls*, “Eshmun delivered/saved”; the Lat. PN *Synhalus* (Sil. *Pun.* 5,352 and 363; cf. Vattioni [1980], 37) also supports this interpretation.

PNPPI, 70f.312.

1. Character of unknown origin, military commander of *Heraclea Minoa, who hosted Dio, the brother-in-law of Dionysius II of *Syracuse, in 357 BCE. According to some modern scholars, he was Greek, not Phoenician.

Sources: Diod. 16,9,4-5; 10,3; Plut. *Dio.* 25,12-26,3; 29,7.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 202f.

2. Carthag. politician mentioned together with BOMILCAR (1) among the ambassadors present in Athens (*IG* II-III² 418; *Attica, 330-300 BCE).

Huss, W. (1985), 194; DCPPI, s.v. (E. Lipiński).

A. ERCOLANI

SYPHAX

Pun. *š(y)pq*; Gk Σύφαξ, Σόφαξ; Lat. *Syphax*.

Prince of the Numid. tribe of the MASAESYLII, between 214 and 213 BCE he fought against the Carthaginians in Africa, taking advantage of assistance from the Romans, who supplied him with military advisers and promised to support his territorial ambitions (Liv. 24,48 and App. *Hisp.* 15-16). However, after being defeated by MASSINISSA (1) – a young prince of the Numid. tribe of the MASSYLII, incited against him by the Carthaginians – for a time

S. had to take refuge in the more west. parts, among the MAURI (Liv. 24,49). In the following years, though, he succeeded in regaining control of his kingdom. After resuming the war against the Carthaginians, after a series of successes in Iberia, in 210 S. asked for formal recognition of friendship which he was given by the Rom. Senate (Liv. 27,4,5-8). However, in subsequent years, perhaps also due to the temporary defeat of the Romans in Iberia, S. sided with the Carthaginians. The new alliance was sealed in 206 by his marriage with SOPHONIBAAL (3), daughter of HASDRUBAL (8) (Liv. 28,17; 29,23). With Pun. support, S. was able to interfere in the dynastic struggle that had flared up in the neighbouring kingdom of the Massylii on the death of king GAIA (1). He succeeded in seizing their territory and expelling Massinissa, the son of the dead king, who reversing his father's politics, had allied himself with the Romans (Liv. 29,29-33). On the coinage of S. [FIG. 62], which goes back to these years, the legend is in Phoenician rather than in Libyan and the king is shown in profile, wearing a diadem, just like a Gk prince. The court, at first residing in *Siga (Plin. *Nat.* 5,19, Str. 17,3,9), moved to Cirta (*Constantine) in this period

(Liv. 30,12,5). In 205, at the start of Scipio's African campaign (→SCIPIONS [5]), S. sided with the Carthaginians, while agreeing to put himself forward as a mediator with the Rom. (Liv. 29,23-24), relying on his private friendship with Scipio, who in the past had been his guest in Cirta (Liv. 28,17-18; App. *Hisp.* 6,29-30). However, the negotiations proved to be fruitless (Plb. 14,1-3; Liv. 30,3-4). In the winter of 203, in a night raid, Scipio burned the camps of both S. and HASDRUBAL (8) and shortly after routed their troops at the battle of the *Campi Magni* (Plb. 14,4 and 7-8; Liv. 30,5 and 8,3). Having taken refuge back in his kingdom, S. was pursued by an enemy army led by LAELIUS (1) and Massinissa, who confronted and defeated him near Cirta (Plb. 15,4; Liv. 30,11-12; App. *Pun.* 26; Ov. *Fast.* 6,769; Oros. 4,18,20). S. himself was taken prisoner during the conflict. His defeat was followed by the surrender of the cities in the east. part of his kingdom, which were re-assigned to Massinissa by the Romans (Plb. 15,4,4; App. *Pun.* 27). His son VERMINA, having rushed to support HANNIBAL (9), was also defeated. Deported to Italy, S. died in 201 at Tibur (Tivoli), even before the African triumph of Scipio was celebrated (according to Liv. 30,45,4; the tradition handed down in Plb. 16,23,6 is different). Some ancient historians (Liv. 30,45,4; Val. Max. 5,1,1), probably erroneously, maintain that in ROME he was honoured by a funeral at public expense. S. is mentioned in Sil. *Pun.* 16,171 and *passim*.

Mazard, J. (1955) *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*. Paris, 18ff.; Radnorthy-Alföldi, M. (1979) Die Geschichte des numidischen Königreiches und seiner Nachfolger. In: Horn, H. G. and Rüger, C. B. (eds) *Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara*. Köln, esp. 46-48; Thompson, L. A. (1981) *Historia*, 30, 120-126; Huss, W. (1989) Der 'Panafrikanische' Gedanke im Zweiten Römischen Krieg. In: *StPhoen* 10, 185,191; Baldus, H. R. (1991) Die Münzen der Numiderkönige Syphax und Vermina. *Prägungen vom Ende des zweiten punischen Krieges*, 218-201 v. Chr. In: Noeske, H.-Ch. and Schubert, H. (eds) *Die Münze: Bild – Botschaft – Bedeutung: Festschrift für Maria Alföldi*. Frankfurt am Main, 26-34; Blasi, M. (2008) *ŽAnt*, 58, 1-15; Burton, P. J. (2011) *Friendship and empire. Roman diplomacy and imperialism in the Middle Republic (353-146 BC)*. Cambridge, 94-102.

U. LIVADIOTTI

SYRTICUS

A Carthag. soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 5,243. The name means "The man from Syrtis".

Geus, K. (1994), 216.



Fig. 62. Bronze coins of Syphax (Cirta and Siga)

T

TABHAPI

An indigenous Tripolitanian name, which is written as *ṭbhpy* in Pun. and as *Tapapius* or *Tafapius* in Lat. T. was the *nomen* of a famous family of *Leptis Magna. Its members were remembered for having financed important public monuments and for the honorary titles they received in the space of one cent. Due to the possible presence of the theophoric element Apis in this name, E. Lipiński proposed that the family came from *Egypt. The available evidence suggests that T. was perhaps the most important family in the city between the 1st cent. BCE and the 1st cent. CE. The T. were among the major promoters of local culture, but, at the same time, they were attached to their traditions, as shown by the preservation of the *nomen* and the use of Punic in texts concerning them. E.g. the bilingual (Pun./Lat.) inscription *IPT* 21 (= *KAI* 120 [FIG. 63]) records that *ḥnb'l bn ḥmlkt ṭbhpy rwps bn ṛm* contributed from his own purse to the care of part of the market (the same character is mentioned in *IPT* 24 a2 b2 [= *KAI* 121]); see also *s'ṛ' ṭbh[py]* (*IPT* 11,2 and 28); *'bdmlqrt ṭbhpy* (*IPT* 17,1 [= *KAI* 130]); *bdmlqrt bn bdmlqrt ṭb*ḥpy []ryql'* (*IPT* 22,3); *ytbn'l bn ṛš ṭbhpy s'byn'* (*IPT* 23,1 [= *KAI* 123]), occurring in Lat. as *Ithymbal Arinis filius Sabinus Tapapius* (*IRT* 341); Lat. *Iddibal Magonis f(ilius) Tapapius* (*IRT* 237).

Amadasi Guzzo, M. G. (1983) Una grande famiglia di Leptis in rapporto con la ristrutturazione urbanistica della città (I sec. a.C. - I sec. d.C.). In: *Architecture et société. De l'archaïsme grec à la*



Fig. 63. Bilingual inscription of Tabhapi (Leptis Magna)

fin de la République romaine. Actes du Colloque international organisé par le Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique et l'École Française de Rome (Rome 2-4 décembre 1980). Paris/Rome, 377-385; IPT, passim; DCP, s.v. (E. Lipiński).

P. XELLA

TABNIT

Phoen. PN *tbnt* (with conventional vocalization, based on Hebrew) of a king of *Sidon; its etymology is uncertain. Various proposals have been made but the most commonly accepted is “figure”, “model”, which would refer to the king as an image of the deity.

T. reigned in about the second half of the 6th cent. BCE, very probably for a short period. He is the son of ESHMUNAZOR I (1), king of Sidon, who married Emmiashtart, his own father's daughter, possibly a step-sister. He is the father of ESHMUNAZOR II (2). A funerary inscription of T. has been preserved, inscribed on a sarcophagus made of black basalt, of Egypt. manufacture, discovered in 1887 during excavations by Hamdy-Bey in the necropolis of Ayya (*KAI* 13 = *TSSI* III, 27; now in Istanbul Museum [FIG. 64]). Originally it belonged to the Egypt. general Pen-Ptah, who had it engraved with two hieroglyphic inscriptions. T. is also mentioned in the funerary inscription of his son, Eshmunazor. It is presumed that the sarcophagi of T. and Eshmunazor were brought to Sidon following the campaign of Cambyses in *Egypt of 525 BCE, in which the Phoen. fleet took part. From the two inscriptions mentioned it appears that T. and his father were “priests of Astarte”, a title that precedes the royal title (→*Priesthood). They also show that T. must have died young, because his son who succeeded him had probably just been born. He came under the regency of his mother, who had the title of “queen”. It has been proposed, incorrectly, that king Tennes of Sidon, mentioned by Diodorus (16,42,2; 43,1-4; 45,1-6), had the Phoen. name T. However, the abbreviation of the Phoen. name Tennes on coins consists of the letters T', which do not correspond to the consonants of the name T. The existence of another king, T. II, as a successor of Eshmunazor II, has also been proposed (Jacobs) but the arguments are not conclusive.



Fig. 64. Sarcophagus of king Tabnit (Sidon)

PNPPI, 186.428; Hamdi Bey, O. and Reinach, Th. (1892) *Une nécropole royale à Sidon*. Paris; Galland, K. (1963) *ZDPV*, 79, 140-151; Peckham, J. B. (1968) *The development of the late Phoenician scripts*. Cambridge (MA), 78-87; Dunand, M. (1975-1976) *MUSJ*, 49, 489-500; Xella, P. (1982) *UF*, 14, 295-302; Catastini, A. (1984) *RSF*, 12, 9-12; Coacci Polsell, G. (1984) *RSF*, 12, 169-173; Garbini, G. (1984) *RSF*, 12, 3-7; Kelly, Th. (1987) *BASOR*, 268, 30-56; *DCPP*, s.v. (J. Elayi – E. Lipiński); Elayi, J. (2004) *Trans*, 27, 9-28; Bommas, M. (2006) *Or*, 75, 1-15; Elayi, J. (2006) *Trans*, 32, 11-43, esp. 14-21; Jacobs, B. (2006) *Neue Überlegungen zu Genealogie und Chronologie der 'Eshmun'azar-Dynastie von Sidon*. In: Rollinger, R. and Truschneegg, B. (eds) *Altertum und Mittelmeerraum: Die antike Welt diesseits und jenseits der Levante. Festschrift für Peter W. Haider*. Stuttgart, 133-150; Elayi, J. (2008) On dating the reigns of Phoenician kings in the Persian period. In: Sagona, C. (ed.) *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician chronology*. ANES, Suppl. 28. Leuven/Paris/Dudley (MA), 97-112; Zamora López, J. Á. (2008) Epigrafía e historia fenicias: Las inscripciones reales de Sidón. In: Justel, J. J., Vita, J. P. and Zamora, J. Á. (eds) *Las culturas del Próximo Oriente Antiguo y su expansión mediterránea*. Zaragoza, 211-228.

M. G. AMADASI GUZZO

Tacfarinas see PTOLEMY

Taharqa see ESARHADDON; SEA PEOPLES

TARTESSIANS

In Gk and Lat. sources, this ethnonym denotes the inhabitants of *Tartessus (or Tartessos), the name used by the Greeks, from the 7th cent. BCE, for an area located in the SW of the *Iberian Peninsula, beyond the Straits of *Gibraltar, as well as for the river known in the Rom. period as *Baetis* and now as Guadalquivir. It is conjectured that there was an indigenous root (*trt*) for the name of the region, from which were derived both Gk Tartessos and biblical *Tarshish. References to Tartessus and the T. have

varied over time, ranging from an actual place with which the Greeks were in direct contact between the 7th and 6th cent., down to the Rom. period, when the name Tartessus was considered as belonging to the past and the ethnonym 'Tartessian' was connected with the city of Gades (modern *Cádiz).

In historical and archaeological scholarship the concept of 'Tartessian culture' has been coined. It developed in the SW of the Peninsula – around present day provinces *Huelva, *Sevilla and Cádiz – due to the merging of the local population in the LBA with the Phoen. communities who had settled in the S of the Iberian Peninsula, with Cádiz as their centre. The historical process of Tartessus, characterized by the export of precious metals, and for its orientalizing aristocracies, begins at the start of the 1st mill. BCE, declining later in the 6th cent. BCE in the SW of the Peninsula. However, there is evidence for the development of features typical of Tartessian culture in the central valley of the river Guadiana, in Extremadura, as late as the 4th cent. BCE.

Wagner, C. G. (1995) *TP*, 52, 109-126; Campos, J. M. and Alvar, J. (2013) *Tarteso: el emporio del metal*. Córdoba; Celestino, S. and López-Ruiz, C. (2016) *Tartessos and the Phoenicians in Iberia*. Oxford.

M. ÁLVAREZ MARTÍ-AGUILAR

TAURUS

Gk Ταῦρος.

Platonic philosopher of the 2nd cent. CE. The names T. of *Tyre, T. of *Sidon, and T. of *Berytus, mentioned by various sources, presumably indicate one and the same individual from *Phoenicia. He taught in Athens, where possibly he was then the most important representative of Platonism. Aulus Gellius was among his disciples. Although T. is known to have written many works, only fragments of his commentaries on Plato are preserved. Other works by T. are *On the difference between the doctrines of Plato and of Aristotle* and *On corporeal and incorporeal things*.

RE V/A,1, s.v. "Tauros" (11) cols 58-68 (K. Praechter); Lakmann, M.-L. (1994) *Taurus* (L. Calvenus). In: Goulet, R. (ed.) *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques*, 6. Paris, 713-722; Lakmann, M.-L. (1995) *Der Platoniker Taurus in der Darstellung des Aulus Gellius*. Leiden; Petrucci, F. M. (2018) *Taurus of Beirut. The other side of Middle Platonism*. Abingdon.

G. MINUNNO

Tennes see TABNIT

TERENTIUS VARRO, CAIUS

Member of the Varrones family, belonging to the *gens plebeia* Terentia of Sabine origin, he was the first in his family to hold the highest office of the *cursus honorum*: as a *consul*, he led the Rom. army against HANNIBAL (9) at Cannae in 216 BCE, during the II Punic War (→PUNIC WARS) together with his colleague L. AEMILIUS PAULUS (2). The sources make him responsible for the defeat (Plb. 3,110,113-116; Liv. 22,25-26; 39; 44-45; Val. Max. 3,4; 4,5), but it is plausible that this negative assessment comes from an aversion to him in the pro-aristocratic Rom. annalists, who accused him of demagoguery. Later sources seem influenced by this: in the course of his work, Livy himself gives the same evaluation of T. V. as did the Senate and the Rom. *plebs*. He took part in clashes against Hannibal's allies, first in Picenum, and then in Etruria (208-206), probably as a *propraetor* (cf. Liv. 27,24,1; 28,10,11). In 200 he was part of an embassy sent to *Carthage (to protest against the failure of the peace treaty clauses) and to MASSINISSA (1) (cf. Liv. 31,11,17ff.). In the same year he was the head of a commission in charge of strengthening the colony of Venusia, heavily damaged by Hannibal's forces (Liv. 31,49,6).

RE V/A,1, s.v. (83) cols 680-690 (F. Münzer); Vallet, G. (1964) C. Terentius Varro ou l'expression d'une antipathie chez Tite-Live. In: Durry, M. (ed.) *Hommages à J. Bayet*. Bruxelles, 707-717.

A. ERCOLANI

Teresh see SEA PEOPLES

Terillus see HAMILCAR (1)

TETRAMNESTOS

Gk Τετραμνήστος.

Among the allies fighting alongside the Pers. king XERXES in the battle of Salamis (490 BCE), is a certain T. of *Sidon, the son of Anyosos, mentioned by Herodotus (7,98), without attributing any particular function to him. It has been proposed that he was a king of that Phoen. city, since he appears in a list of

kings. However, this is far from certain, because elsewhere Herodotus (7,67-68) also mentions T. together with foreign tyrants (including Phoen. kings) and commanders of vessels (who are not necessarily kings). The proposed identification of T. with TABNIT, king of Sidon, therefore, is very hypothetical, because he was the son of ESHMUNAZOR I (1), a name which is hard to match with Gk Anyosos.

Hauben, H. (1970) *AncSoc*, 1, 1-8; Garbini, G. (1984) *RSF*, 12, 3-7; Kelley, T. (1987) *BASOR*, 168, 39-56; Elayi, J. (2006) *JAOS*, 126, 411-418; Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cite phénicienne du Nord*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 19. Pendé, 135.

P. XELLA

TEUCER

Of unknown origin, he was a Carthag. mechanical engineer, a student of Archytas of Tarentum according to Diogenes Laertius (8,82). He may be the T. whom Dionysius I of Syracuse wanted at his service in about 400 BCE.

Geus, K. (1994), 203f.

A. ERCOLANI

THAPSUS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in Sil. *Pun.* 2,160 and 4,635. The name is to be connected with the homonymous TN.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 216.

THEFARIE VELIANAS

Supreme magistrate of the Etr. city of Cerveteri (*Caere) and the author of the monumental sanctuary complex of Uni/*Astarte, located in the *epineion* of *Pyrgi (Santa Severa, Rome).

His name is mentioned three times in an exceptional historical document dating to 500 BCE, i.e. three gold plaques inscribed in Etruscan and Phoenician. They were discovered in Pyrgi in 1964, and had been buried in antiquity in a container found next to Temple 'B' (in Area 'C') [FIG. 65]. Originally, these plaques had been affixed by nails onto the battens or onto the sides of the door-frame of the cella in temple 'B'. The name is spelled variously in the Etr. inscriptions (in

lines 4-5 of plaque 'A' it appears as *thefariei velianas*; in plaque 'B', instead, in lines 1-2, it is written as *thefarie veliunas*). The document reflects the philo-Carthag. attitude of foreign policy in the Etr. city of Caere at the close of the 6th cent., a period to which the historian Polybius dates the first Rom.-Carthag. treaty (→TREATIES). Therefore, T. V.'s personal and official life is set in the turbulent years of the fall of Tarquin the Proud in ROME, marked by complex diplomatic events involving *Carthage, Cerveteri and Rome. Not by chance (according to Liv. 1,60,2 and 2,3-4), the deposed Rom. tyrant found refuge in Cerveteri, probably at T. V.'s court. However, he did not succeed in securing the military operation to regain power. The exceptional inscription brought to light in Pyrgi commemorates an important initiative by T.V.: the dedication of a sanctuary to a goddess, called Astarte in the Phoen. text and Uni in the Etr. texts, together with her cult statue [FIG. 65]. In the view of the excavator (Colonna), it was the foundation act of the cult practised in the great sanctuary of Pyrgi. It comprised the whole *temenos* with annexes (outbuildings) for cult and service (the temple with its

cella, altars and various fixtures) and entailed entrusting the cult to foreign priestesses from Carthag. *Sicily (cf. *Eryx). For other scholars, the extent of T. V.'s contribution should be reduced because all that was dedicated at Pyrgi was a small building in honour of Astarte, with her cult image. The recognition of the modest scale of the construction that T. V. had built, which was not actually the whole sanctuary complex, has not prevented it from being seen as a "specifica installazione riservata alla devozione delle genti semitiche" [specific installation reserved for Sem. peoples to worship in], who patronised the Etr. sanctuary (so Xella), as part of syncretistic cultic practices. The matter is controversial and for the time being is determined by the interpretation given to 'technical' Phoen. and Etr. terms used in the Pyrgi plaques (*tw* – 'šr *qdš* – *bt*; *tamera* – *tmia* – *heramašva* respectively). In the hypothesis that has the most productive implications for the Etr. architectural lexicon, they would mean "cella", "temple" and "sanctuary". At all events, it seems certain that T. V. portrays himself as directly responsible for the Pyrgi initiative by virtue of a kind of divine appointment. Direct evidence for



Fig. 65. The gold plaques of Pyrgi (S. Severa, Rome)

this is the decorative plan of temple 'B', which focuses on the paradigmatic apotheosis of *Heracles, the Gk hero who became a god with Hera's assistance. The sophisticated propaganda operation initiated by T. V. at Pyrgi was based on the connection between politics and divine approval, also present in Rome (Servius Tullius, for example). This is explicitly suggested by the reference in the plaque inscribed in Phoen. to the feast of the "burial of deities" (→**miqim elim*), with the correct date in the calendar (→**Calendar*). It may allude to the episode involving *Melqart, Astarte's chosen consort in myth and ritual, behind whom, according to some scholars, there lies concealed the very real practice of sacred marriage, with T. V. as the protagonist. From this aspect, although with some uncertainty, the picture emerging from the documents in Pyrgi may confirm the hypothesis that, in Etr.-Lat. quarters, a new Or. ideology of royalty was taking root as part of a deep transformation of that institution. Yet again, the plaques from Pyrgi supply invaluable information on this crucial point. In effect, the official dating formulae used in these documents are still rooted in the supreme office of T. V., who in the plaque written in Phoenician is defined as *mlk 'l kyšry*, i.e. "king of Caere" (lit. "reigning over Caere"). Instead, in the Etr. plaques, like a magistrate, he is given the title *zilac* (originally "king"), followed by an adjective of obscure meaning, *seleita*. Since T. V.'s office of *zilac* seems to depict a supreme political power that differs from the ancient monarchy, nowadays it is believed that his office was pluriannual rather than royal, but different again from the supreme eponymous magistracy of the Etr. state. Ultimately, it is a sovereign magistracy wielded over the whole territory of the city-state. The asymmetry of the official titles in the plaques from Pyrgi may also indicate, however, that the power held by T. V. – although limited by being subject to renewal, even pluriannually – would appear to a Carthag. reader as similar to a monarch's. The social base of T. V.'s personal power has been identified as the dynamic Caeretan 'middle class', with the social groups organized in cliques and very close to the tyrant at its core. Certainly, by virtue of this authority and the consensus he enjoyed, T. V. could initiate the imposing new construction work, not only of the north. sanctuary of Pyrgi, using "his own (financial) means" – as indicated by a passage in the plaques of Pyrgi re-examined by Rix – but also of several sanctuaries in the metropolis. These have provided eloquent archaeological evidence of rebuilding

work in the late archaic period, including the sanctuary of Heracles at S. Antonio. According to a recent hypothesis (Colonna), an unusual Caeretan chamber tomb in the necropolis of Banditaccia, which has several wall inscriptions, may be the burial place of T. V.'s family. His father Larice may be buried there but not Thefarie himself, probably because, having lost power, he was forced to go into exile. From archaeology, T. V.'s departure from the scene can be dated to ca 485/480, when the Tuscan temple was dedicated to the Etr. agrarian triad of deities, in the urban heart of Caere. A few years later, the temple of Thesan (the Etr. goddess of dawn) was founded in the chief sanctuary at Pyrgi. There are explicit signs that the ideology of personal power embodied by the philo-Carthag. tyrant had been swept away, both in the metropolis and in the port, to be replaced by sanctuary complexes reflecting the growth of cults with strong civil and democratic significance. In fact, after the first half of the 5th cent., the rare Etr. gentile Velianas is not documented at Caere, whereas the equally unusual first name Thefarie occurs at least up to the Hellenist. period.

Pallottino, M. *et al.* (1964) *ArchCl*, 16, 49-117; *CIE*, 6314-6316; *Le lamine di Pyrgi*. Rome 1968; Neppi Modona, A. and Prayon, F. (eds) (1981) *Die Göttin von Pyrgi*. Tübingen; Weeber, K.-W. (1985) *AW*, 16, 29; Cristofani, M. (1989) *Ripensando Pyrgi*. In: *Miscellanea ceretana I*. Rome, 85-93; Garbini, G. (1989) *RSF*, 12, 179-187; Colonna, G. (1989-1990) *ScAnt*, 3-4, 197-216; Garbini, G. (1994) *Culti fenici a Pyrgi*. In: *La religione dei Fenici in Occidente*. Rome, 157-166; Xella, P. (1994) *Pyrgi*. In: Ribichini, S. and Xella, P. *La religione fenicia e punica in Italia*. Rome, 127-136; Schmitz, P. C. (1995) *JAOS*, 115, 559-575; Bonnet, C. (1996), 120-125; Menichetti, M. and Torelli, M. (1996) *Riflessi in Etruria del mondo fenicio e greco d'Occidente*. In: *Magna Grecia Etruschi Fenici. Atti del XXXIII Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia (Taranto 1993)*. Naples, 233-291; Maggiani, A. (1998) *StEtr*, 62, 95-138; Morandi, A. (1998) *RBPhH*, 76, 125-158; Colonna, G. (2006) *La tomba delle iscrizioni graffite*. In: Pandolfini Angeletti, M. (ed.) *Archeologia in Etruria meridionale. Atti delle giornate di studio in ricordo di Mario Moretti (Civita Castellana 2003)*. Rome, 419-468; Colonna, G. (2007) *Novità su Thefarie Velianas*. In: Della Fina, G. (ed.) *Etruschi Greci Fenici e Cartaginesi nel Mediterraneo centrale. Atti del XV Convegno internazionale. Orvieto 24-26 novembre 2006*. *AnnFaina*, 14, 9-17; Maras, D. F. (2009) *Il dono votivo. Gli dei e il sacro nelle iscrizioni etrusche di culto*. Pisa/Rome, 349-354; Colonna, G. (2010) *A proposito del primo trattato romano-cartaginese (e della donazione pyrgense ad Astarte)*. In: *La grande Roma dei Tarquini. Atti del Convegno (Orvieto 2009)*. *AnnFaina*, 17, 275-296; Bellelli, V. (2008 [2011]) *StEtr*, 74, 91-124; Santoro, P. and Baglione, M. P. (2013) *Caere et Pyrgi: la figure de Thefarie Velianas*. In: Gaultier, F. *et al.* (eds) *Les Étrusques et la Méditerranée. La cité de Cerveteri. Catalogue de l'exposition*. Paris, 149f.; Xella, P. (2013) *Les lamelles de Pyrgi: le texte punique*. In: Gaultier, F. *et al.* cit., 220; Baglione, M. P. and Michetti, L. M. (eds) (2016) *Le lamine d'oro a cinquant'anni*

dalla scoperta. *Dati archeologici su Pyrgi nell'epoca di Thefarie Velianas e rapporti con altre realtà del Mediterraneo*. *ScAnt*, 21.12 (2015) Rome; Bellelli, V. and Xella, P. (eds) (2016) *Le lamine di Pyrgi. Nuovi studi sulle iscrizioni in etrusco e in fenicio nel cinquantenario della scoperta*. *SEL*, 32-33. Verona.

V. BELLELLI

THULIS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in *Sil. Pun.* 7,60, possibly derived from the root *tll*.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 216; *NAN*, 142 (s.v. “thululem”).

THUNGER

Numid. soldier (*maurus*) in *Sil. Pun.* 7,682.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37.

THURIS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in *Sil. Pun.* 7,598.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 216.

Thutmoses III see SEA PEOPLES

THYRUS

A soldier in the army of HANNIBAL (9) in *Sil. Pun.* 2,110, who dies during the siege of *Saguntum.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 216.

THYSDRUS

A soldier in the Pun. army in *Sil. Pun.* 15,448. His name is related to the African TN Thysdrus (*El-Djem).

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37; Geus, K. (1994), 216.

TIBURNA

Wife of MURRUS, in *Sil. Pun.* 2,229ff.552ff. During the siege of *Saguntum, the goddess Juno, disguised as T., sent Tisiphon to convince the inhabitants of

Saguntum to build a pyre and throw themselves on top of it. This episode may be connected with the traditions of self-immolation known from the literary sources concerning *Carthage, starting with the suicide of *Elissa/Dido.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12,37; Asso, P. (2003) *Vichiana*, 5, 229-248; Pomeroy, A. (2010) To Silius through Livy and his predecessors. In: Augoustakis, A. (ed.) *Brill's companion to Silius Italicus*. Leiden/Boston, 43.

A. ERCOLANI

Tigillas see BA(A)NNO

TIGLATH-PILESER

Akk. *Tukultī-apil-Ešarra*, “My trust is in the heir of Ešarra (= Ashur temple)”. The name of three Ass. kings, two of whom went on expeditions on several occasions to the regions of the Mediterr. Levant, which specifically involved the more important Phoen. cities (→ASSYRIANS).

1. T. I. King at the end of the Middle Ass. period (1114-1076 BCE), he reigned for almost 40 years, taking Assyria to one of its highest levels of power and expansion. Evidence for his connections with the Phoen. region comes from some commemorative inscriptions and from accounts of the expeditions, although their exact chronology cannot be determined. Such references indicate the substantially non-aggressive nature of these first expeditions. In fact, they seem to have been missions for acquiring tribute and supplies of raw materials rather than real military incursions. Indeed, there are no explicit references to skirmishes or to looting and devastation, even if terms such as “conquest” or “tribute”, which – at least in this phase – seem to belong to stereotyped rhetorical and triumphant terminology, are used. Indeed, as yet in this period such terminology does not imply anything specific in terms of politics or war, since there was not much more than a single episode, remote from a more considered political or military strategy. The Phoen. cities involved were specifically *Arwad, *Sidon and *Byblos (there is absolutely no mention of *Tyre). From these the Ass. king received tribute and gifts, the most outstanding of which was a fishing trip to catch dolphins from ships belonging to Arwad. Besides this limited evidence, there is no further

information about the reign of T. I. Also, Assyria was going through a deep crisis which did not allow it to appear in the regions of the Mediterr. Levant for over a century.

Liverani, M. (1988) *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia*. Rome/Bari, 759-765; PNA 3/II, 1328f., s.v. “Tukultī-apil-Ešarra” (1) (H. D. Baker).

2. T. III. King in the Neoass. period (745-727 BCE), possibly a usurper but endowed with a strong and innovative personality. He imprinted his expeditions with the resolute attitude of annexing (more) territory. During the 3rd year of his reign (743), in a decisive engagement at the battle of Kishtan, he defeated a sort of coalition of rebel states, which included the Urtians and a series of Aramaean states (→ARAMEANS) and cities on the Phoen. coast. The defeat transformed the region into an Ass. province, with local rulers, in many cases, being replaced by Ass. governors. These reorganized the region, with their own structure and administration. This certainly happened to Sumur (*Tell Kazel), since a fragment in the annals mentions its name explicitly. Byblos is also mentioned among the cities included in the territory made into a province by the Assyrians. However, in other passages it seems to have enjoyed partial autonomy, even though its king, Sibitti-bi’li, still paid tribute to the Mesop. empire. Therefore, the Ass. annexation under T. III seems to concern the north. area of the Phoen. coast right up to Byblos, and perhaps even to Arwad. It seems also that Arwad enjoyed some relative independence since the Ass. annals do not explicitly include it among the kingdoms annexed directly, even if its king, MATTANBAAL (2), is among those who sent precious gifts as tribute and in homage. In this period Tyre seems to have retained its own sovereignty. Its king HIRAM II certainly paid tribute to the Ass. king, but kept a pre-eminent position in the region. This can be shown by a Phoen. inscription from *Cyprus in which the local governor calls himself “servant of Hiram, king of the Sidonians”. It seems, therefore, that in this period Tyre included Sidon in its sphere of influence, although the cuneiform sources concerning T. III make absolutely no mention of it.

Weippert, M. (1973) *ZDPV*, 89, 26-37; Borger, R. (1984). In: *TUAT I*, 376-378; Liverani, M. (1988) *Antico Oriente. Storia, società, economia*. Rome/Bari, 792-797; Saporetti, C. (1990)

Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L’VIII e il VII secolo a.C.*, Pisa, 21-34.117-148; PNA 3/II, 1329-1331, s.v. “Tukultī-apil-Ešarra” (3) (H. D. Baker); RINAP 1.

F. MAZZA

TIMOLEON

Gk Τιμόλεων.

Corinthian politician and general (ca 409-335 BCE). In 345, by then advanced in years, he was sent to *Sicily at the head of a small expeditionary force, originally intended to help stabilize the Syracusan political situation, thrown into confusion by the struggle between Dionysius II, the tyrant of the city, and his opponents. However, T. found himself facing an even more complex situation than had been envisaged. In fact, in the meantime HICETAS of Leontini, with his entourage of exiled Syracusan oligarchs, had seized *Syracuse, restricting Dionysius to the small fortified island of Ortigia. Furthermore, Hicetas had asked for support from *Carthage. They had agreed by sending a fleet under HANNO (9), who took up position in the Straits of Messina to prevent T. from landing in Sicily. T. succeeded in breaking that blockade and in the following weeks, even though always at the head of a numerically much smaller force, gained several military victories. He was able to arrange what amounted to an anti-Carthag. alliance between the Gk cities (Diod. 16,66-68; Plut. *Tim.* 8-11). Dionysius himself, besieged in the citadel of Ortigia by the Pun. forces brought by HICETAS to Syracuse (Diod. 16,69 and Plut. *Tim.* 17 speak of 50-60,000 men and 150 ships) was prepared to make an agreement with T. (Plut. *Tim.* 13). By means of sorties and diversionary tactics and by transporting provisions by sea, T. was able to support the besieged, to the point that the Carthag. general MAGO (3) chose to abandon Syracuse and retire to the West (Plut. *Tim.* 20). So in 343/342 T. captured Syracuse, where he carried out democratic reforms and encouraged the repopulation of Sicily. In the following years, T. began an ever-increasing series of raids in the territory controlled by the Carthaginians, finally succeeding in taking *Entella in 341 (Diod. 16,73). T.’s successes made possible the vast egalitarian league composed of free and autonomous Gk, Elymian and Siceliote cities (to which even Hicetas belonged: Diod. 16,77; Plut. *Tim.* 24). Carthage responded by sending a contingent that Gk sources describe as numbering more than 50,000 men (mostly mercenaries but

which also included a ‘sacred battalion’ made up of Carthag. citizens), war machines and 150 triremes, under the command of HASDRUBAL (3) and HAMILCAR (2) (Plut. *Tim.* 25; the numbers are even higher in Diod. 16,77). The engagement between the allied forces led by T. (comprising only 12,000 men according to the sources) and the Pun. army took place near the river Crimisus. Both the actual river and the date (341? 339?) are uncertain. For the Carthaginians, attacked suddenly while wading through the stream, it was a disaster, made worse by the river overflowing its banks and engulfing some of the troops (Diod. 16,78-80, Plut. *Tim.* 26-29). But T.’s success was followed by the sudden break-up of the league, possibly due to the change in T.’s own attitude. He may have favoured the Syracusan hegemony over both the non-Hellenic and the Hellenic peoples, so inducing several tyrants (Hicetas of Leontini, Mamercus of Catania, Hippo of Messana) to defect. They formed an alliance of forces hostile to Syracuse, supported by the Carthaginians (Plut. *Tim.* 30).

However, after some initial defeats, T. succeeded in getting the better of Hicetas and Mamercus, forcing the Pun. general GISGO (2) to ask for and obtain a separate peace. The treaty (→TREATIES) required that the river Halikos (modern Platani) should once again mark the frontier between Carthag. and Gk areas of influence, that Carthaginians were forbidden to support tyrants in any war against Syracuse and that anyone had the right to move from an area under Pun. influence to one under the Greeks (Diod. 16,82,3; Plut. *Tim.* 34,2). With the Carthag. front now at peace, T. was able to weaken the tyrants still opposed to him and conclude the plan of internal reforms in Syracuse, implementing a further programme of Pan-Hellenic reform in the Sicilian hinterland. In 337/336, worn down by age and severe sight problems, T. took his leave of strategy and retired to private life, remaining in Syracuse. He died shortly after, in about 335. Throughout the whole Sicilian campaign, T. had the support of Andromachus, tyrant of Tauromenium, whose son Timaeus was the historian to whom we owe most of the information about him that has reached us (through historians of later periods). Main sources: Diod. 16,65-70; 72-73; 77,4-8; 82-83; 90,1 and the biographies by Nepos and Plutarch.

Westlake, H. D. (1949) *AJPh*, 70, 65-75; Sordi, M. (1961) *Timoleonte*. Palermo; Talbert, R. J. A. (1974) *Timoleon and the revival of Greek Sicily 344-317 B.C.* London; Bicknell, P. J.

(1984) *ClQ*, 34, 130-134; Santagati Ruggeri, E. (2003) *Timoleonte e le popolazioni anelleniche*. In: *Quarte giornate internazionali di studi sull’area elima (Erice 1-4 dicembre 2000)*. Atti. Pisa, 1149-1161; Sánchez, V. (2011) *Anotaciones sobre las campañas de Timoleón en Sicilia*. In: Cortés Copete, J. M., Muñiz Grijalvo, E. and Gordillo Hervás, R. (eds), *Grecia ante los Imperios: V Reunión de historiadores del mundo griego*. Sevilla, 131-140.

U. LIVADIOTTI

Tjek(k)er see SEA PEOPLES

TREATIES

Agreements drawn up in writing are one of the instruments used most by the PHOENICIANS and Carthaginians for regulating relationships with other ancient Near Eastern or Mediterr. powers. The only direct evidence for such pacts in the Phoen. cities of the motherland – notoriously involved in intense diplomatic relations with Israelite kings as well as in anti-Ass. alliances with other towns of *Syria and *Palestine – is the one between king BAAL of Tyre and the Ass. king ESARHADDON (→ASSYRIANS). It ratified severe limitations to the power of the Phoen. king, mentioned several times as a “slave”. From the few clauses that have survived, this king retained his throne but was not allowed to receive foreign ambassadors or to read the content of messages sent to him by Esarhaddon if the Ass. governor was not present. An essential part of the text concerns the regulation of routes for Tyrian merchant ships. They were allowed to berth in *Byblos and in the section of coast under Ass. control as well as in the ports of *Akko and Dor (*Tel Dor). In view of the undoubted severity of such clauses for the king of *Tyre, scholars have considered that the document must date to the years following the revolt against Assyria, therefore presumably, after 674 BCE.

There is much more information on the foreign policy of *Carthage than for the motherland, as transmitted by the sources. Of the more significant international agreements, those stipulated by ROME have caused many problems of interpretation. For example, the discrepancy in the sources concerning the actual number of treaties before the PUNIC WARS, has led to significant uncertainty. Polybius only knows of three, whereas Livy mentions four, in line with most modern historians.

The first treaty (Plb. 3,22,4-13), usually dated to 508 BCE, forbade the Romans from sailing further than the “Fair Promontory” (modern *Cap Bon), but allowed them to trade in *Sardinia and Libya in the presence of Carthag. officials. In addition, it stipulated that in the part of *Sicily controlled by Carthage and also in Carthage itself, Romans enjoyed the same rights as Carthaginians. For the latter, instead, no navigational limits were set, but they were forbidden either to sack Lat. cities or to construct fortifications in Latium.

In the second treaty (Plb. 3,24,3-13), dating to 348, Carthaginians were associated with Tyrians, the inhabitants of *Utica and their allies. It contained even more restrictive conditions for the Italic contracting party, namely a total ban on trade in Sardinia and Libya and on sailing beyond the “Fair Promontory” and “Mastia Tarseion” for trade, looting or founding cities. On the other hand, Carthaginians had to return any cities they had captured in Latium to the Romans. Instead, the same conditions of the preceding treaty applied to west. Sicily and the metropolitan area of Carthage. In the absence of precise indications by Polybius regarding the location of “Mastia Tarseion”, it is generally placed in the Iberian Peninsula, based on information from Stephen of Byzantium. However, according to a recent proposal by D. F. Maras, the TN may be identified as two Sannite towns (*Mystia* and *Tyrseta*) mentioned by Philistus of Syracuse. Viewed in this way, the treaty was not drawn up to protect Carthag. interests in the region of the Straits of *Gibraltar but to bar the Romans from having access to east. Sicily. This interpretation seems all the more likely in the light of subsequent agreements, which reflect the growing importance of that island on the international political scene.

The third treaty, dating to 306, is usually identified as the so-called treaty ‘of Philinus’ (Plb. 3,26,1-7; Liv. 9,43,26). Even though its historical accuracy has been denied by Polybius, it was probably agreed with the reciprocal obligation on Carthaginians and Romans not to interfere in Italy and Sicily. In that perspective, the attitude of the historian of Megalopolis may have been motivated by the desire to eliminate a legal argument that put the Romans at a disadvantage in the dispute as to who was responsible for the I Punic War. Finally, this 306 pact would also explain better the 279 agreement against PYRRHUS (Plb. 3,25,1-9; Liv. *Perioch.* 13), possibly signed in

order to prevent his armed intervention in Sicily. After the PUNIC WARS began, further agreements were encouraged by Carthage, either with their direct foes or with temporary Gk or Italic allies.

Besides the 241 treaty (Plb. 1,62,7-9), which ratified the loss of Sicily after the I Punic War, the treaties of 225 and 201 are particularly important. The first (Plb. 2,13,7), which established the river Ebro as the border of the Carthag. eparchy in Spain, constituted the legal basis for the opening events of the ‘Hannibalic War’. The second (Plb. 15,18,1-8; Liv. 30,37,1-6) is connected with the Tyrian colony finally relinquishing its own expansionist aims beyond the borders of Africa. Furthermore, the alliance treaty known as the ‘Oath of Hannibal’ is of considerable interest for the history of religions, as evidence for syncretism between Pun. and Gk deities. In 215 HANNIBAL (9) made this treaty with PHILIP V of Macedonia (Plb. 7,9,1-9) in order to obtain military support in the war with Rome then in progress. On the Sicilian front, also, Carthage signed several peace treaties during the long conflict while defending its own sphere of influence from the territorial ambitions of *Syracuse. The first such treaty (Diod. 13,114), signed with Dionysius in 405, put an end to a war that had begun in 409, with the Carthaginians capturing *Selinus and *Himera and was followed, in the next few years by their capture of *Agrigentum, *Gela and *Camarina. With this treaty, for the first time after its defeat by Himera in 480, Carthage regained its hegemony over west. Sicily, also forcing the defeated Gk cities to pay tribute. However, the effects of that agreement did not last long. Perhaps already by 400, in fact, hostilities had resumed, at the instigation of Dionysius, who saw anti-Carthag. propaganda as a means of reinforcing his own political position. According to Diodorus (14,96,4), the new agreement, reached in 392, had similar conditions to the previous one. It confirmed the delimitations of the respective areas of influence but probably also allowed Dionysius to expand his domains in east. Sicily with the acquisition of the territory of the Siceliots, who until that moment had been allies of Carthage. Even so, in 383 the armed conflict between the two powers resumed and continued with varying outcomes for about a decade. After the important victory of the North African army at Kronion, the new treaty of 374 (Diod. 15,17,5) in fact sanctioned the birth of the Carthag. *epikrateia* (→EPARCHY). It established the river Halykos (possibly the Salso)

as the east. limit of the Pun. domain, which included both the city and the *chora* of Selinus as well as part of the *chora* of Agrigentum. We know nothing about a further agreement made with Dionysus II at the end of the war started by his father in 368. However, we know much more about the pact concluded with TIMOLEON in 339 (Diod. 16,82,3; Plut. *Tim.* 34,2), after the heavy Carthag. defeat at Crimisus. It shifted the border between Pun. and Syracusan properties to Lykos (present day Platani) but also stipulated the liberation of all the Gk cities of the island and a ban on Carthage providing help for the enemies of Syracuse. The final treaty with the Corinthian colony was agreed by Carthage at the close of the war with AGATHOCLES (310-305), who in 310 had come to lay siege to his rival after landing in Africa with his troops. The peace agreement, sealed in 305 (Diod. 20,79,5), conceded a substantial restoration of the *status quo antea* to the Carthaginians in exchange for payment of 300 talents of silver and 20,000 medimnes of grain.

Scardigli, B. (1971) *I trattati romano-cartaginesi*. Pisa; Parpola, S. and Watanabe, K. (eds) (1988) *Neo-Assyrian treaties and loyalty oaths*. Helsinki [no. 5, Treaty of Esarhaddon with Baal king of Tyre]; *DCPP*, s.v. “Traité” (E. Lipiński); Na’aman, N. (1994) *RSF*, 22, 3-8; Maras, D. F. (2007) La posizione della Sicilia nel secondo trattato romano-cartaginese. In: Della Fina, G. (ed.) *Etruschi, Greci, Fenici e Cartaginesi nel Mediterraneo centrale. Atti del XIV Convegno Internazionale di Studi sulla storia e l’archeologia dell’Etruria*. AnnFaina, 14, 405-429; Anello, P. (2008) *Punici e Greci dal 405/4 a.C. all’età timoleontea*. In: Congiu, M. et al. (eds) *Greci e Punici in Sicilia tra V e IV sec. a.C.* Caltanissetta/Rome, 81-100; Erdkamp, P. (2009) *CIPhil*, 104, 495-510; Scornaiench, F. (2011) Il trattato di Filino e la questione della responsabilità. In: Intrieri, M. and Ribichini, S. (eds) *Fenici e Italici, Cartagine e la Magna Grecia. Popoli a contatto, culture a confronto. Atti del convegno internazionale, Cosenza, 27-28 maggio 2008*. II. *RSF*, 37. Pisa/Rome, 231-241; Kitchen, K. A. and Lawrence, P. J. N. (2012) *Treaty, law and covenant in the Ancient Near East*. Wiesbaden [Esarhaddon and Baal of Tyre: I, 957-962; Hannibal and Philip V of Macedonia: I, 1075f.]; De Vincenzo, S. (2013) *Tra Cartagine e Roma. I centri urbani dell’eparchia punica di Sicilia tra VI e I sec. a.C.* Topoi 8. Berlin, 14-28; Ribichini, S. (2013) *Annibale e i suoi dèi, tradotti in Magna Grecia. Un approccio comparativo*. In: De Sensi Sestito, G. (ed.) *La Calabria nel Mediterraneo. Flussi di persone, idee e risorse. Atti del Convegno di Studi (Rende, 3-5 giugno 2013)*. Soveria Mannelli, 33-34; Dudziński, A. (2014) *Indicating borders or defining sphere of influence? The Carthaginian position in the Western Mediterranean in light of its treaties with Rome*. In: Janković, M. A., Mihajlović, V. D. and Babić, S. (eds) *The edges of the Roman world*. Cambridge, 105-116.

TURDETANIANS

At the beginning of the conquest of Spain, Rom. sources used the name T. for a people in the Iberian Peninsula, of uncertain location. From this name, the Gk geographer, Strabo, created the concept of Turdetania as an historical and geographical construct that included the area around the valley of the river Guadalquivir – called *Baetis* in antiquity – broadly speaking equivalent to the Rom. province of Baetica. Therefore, Turdetania is a literary construct that is geographical and assumes a political, administrative and historical function in the framework of Rom. control over the S. of Iberia. The generic name of T., derived from Strabo’s Turdetania, includes various peoples in the S of the Peninsula, such as Bastetani, Oretani, Celts, and Turduli as well as the T. themselves.

Strabo makes the legendary kingdom of *Tartessus the brilliant forerunner of the Turdetania of the Rom. period, and credits the T. with the use of writing and of having ancient laws (composed) in verse. The concepts of ‘Turdetanian horizon’ and ‘Turdetanian culture’ were coined by modern scholars, in spite of the original meaning of that adjective, to refer to the material culture of the SW of the Iberian Peninsula from the fall of Tartessus, in the 6th cent. BCE, until complete Rom. domination, in the 1st cent.

García Fernández, F. J. (2002) *Numismatica e Antichità Classiche*, 31, 191-202; Cruz Andreotti, G. (2007) *Acerca de Estrabón y la Turdetania-Bética*. In: Cruz Andreotti, G., Le Roux, P. and Moret, P. (eds) *La invención de una geografía de la Península Ibérica, II. La época imperial*. Málaga/Madrid, 251-270; Moret, P. (2011) *¿Dónde estaban los Turdetani? Recovecos y metamorfosis de un nombre, de Catón a Estrabón*. In: Álvarez, M. (ed.) *Fenicios en Tartessos: nuevas perspectivas*. Oxford, 235-248.

M. ÁLVAREZ MARTÍ-AGUILAR

TYRES

Nasamon soldier in the battle of Lake Trasimeno in Sil. *Pun.* 6,44.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37.

U

ULPIANUS, GNAEUS DOMITIUS ANNIUS

U. was a jurist born in *Tyre about 170 CE. In his *De censibus* (Dig. 50,15,1pr.) U. proudly describes his home town, where an inscribed column dedicated to him was found (AE 1988.1051). He is probably not to be identified with the Ulpianus featuring in Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*, but could well have belonged to the same Tyrian family. His career in Rom. administration culminated with his appointment as a praetorian prefect, an office he held when he was murdered during a riot by the praetorians, in 223 or 224. In 226, U. was one of the five outstanding jurists chosen as authorities by the "Law of Citations". U.'s writings largely contributed to Justinian's *Digest*.

RE V,2, s.v. "Domitius" (88) cols 1435-1509 (P. Jörs); Honoré, T. (2002²) *Ulpian. Pioneer of human rights*. Oxford.

G. MINUNNO

UMMAHNU

Akk. *Um-ma-ah-nu*, etymology uncertain.

A priestess (→*Priesthood) mentioned in several Amarna letters (*Tell el-Amarna) as the "Servant of the Mistress of Byblos" (EA 83-86). She had to pray to the *Baalat of *Byblos in favour of the Pharaoh. Her husband was a certain Milkuru ("The king/*Mlk* is [my] light"), but there is no further information about him.

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 153-159; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 164, no. 167; Xella, P. (1994) Pantheon e culto a Biblo. In: Acquaro, E. et al. (eds) *Biblo. Una città e la sua cultura*. CSF 34. Rome, 195-214, esp. 200f.; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei "Piccoli Re"*. Brescia, 189-194.

P. XELLA

UNAMON

Egypt. *wn-îmn*.

The story of U.'s travel is a literary work written in Late Egyptian. It is presented as a report of the vicissitudes faced by the protagonist, sent by the High Priest of *Thebes to the king of *Byblos to procure wood for the sacred boat of *Amon. The story is

probably fictitious, but it is based on precise knowledge of the Phoen. environment. U. starts his journey in 1064 BCE (at the beginning of the XXI dynasty); first he reaches Tanis, meeting Pharaoh Smendes (1069-1043) and his spouse Tanetamon, then he lands in Dor (*Tel Dor), where he meets king *Bdr*. At that point he is robbed of everything by one of his sailors, makes a stop in *Tyre and then reaches Byblos. There, he receives nothing from the local king, ZAKARBAAL, who, instead, claims gifts that U. no longer possesses, as the price of the required timber. U. must therefore send letters to *Egypt and only when he had received the gifts was he able to return home, having accomplished his mission, after being driven up to *Alashiya (*Cyprus) by a storm.

This work shows that at the beginning of the XXI dynasty (1069-945), the relationship between the PHOENICIANS and Egypt was no longer one of vassalage and that Egypt. culture remained alive in that context. In fact. U. usually writes in Egypt. and the king of Byblos remembers past contacts with Egypt, describing in detail the maritime trade relations between the land of the Nile and Phoen. towns (Tyre, *Sidon, Byblos itself). At the Byblian court, a seer defends U. and seems to have the role of a prophet. The text also informs us that the Tjekker (→SEA PEOPLES) had settled in Dor.

Goedicke, H. (1975) *The Report of Wenamun*. Baltimore; Cody, A. (1979) *JEA*, 65, 99-106; Bettrò, M. (1990) *Racconti di viaggi e d'avventura*. Brescia, 59-73; Egberts, A. (1998) *ZÄS*, 125, 93-108; Spens, R. de (1998) *Droit international et commerce au début de la XXI^e dynastie*. Analyse juridique du rapport d'Ounamon. In: Grimal, N. and Menu, B. (eds) *Le commerce en Égypte ancienne*. BdÉ 121. Cairo, 105-126; Schipper, B. U. (2005) *Die Erzählung des Wenamun. Ein Literaturwerk im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Geschichte und Religion*. OBO 209. Freiburg/ Göttingen; Di Biase-Dyson, C. (2013) *Foreigners and Egyptians in the Late Egyptian stories: Linguistics, literary and historical perspectives*. Probleme der Ägyptologie 32. Leiden; Vandersleyen, C. (2013) *Le rapport d'Ounamon (vers 1065 av. J.-C.): analyse d'une mission manquée*. Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne 15. Bruxelles; Van Rinsveld, B. (2015) *ChrÉg*, 90, 306-311.

V. P.-M. LAISNEY

URIKKI

PN probably of Hurrian (→HURRIANS) origin, which corresponds to Awarikas/Awariku in hieroglyphic Luwian (→LUWIANS) and to (')*wr(y)k* in Phoenician.

1. U. occurs as the name of a king of the Danunians, i.e. of Que (*Cilicia Campestris) in the second half of the 8th cent. BCE in the Phoen. inscription from *Hassan-Beyli and the Luwian-Phoen. bilingual inscriptions from *Çineköy and *Karatepe. In the form ‘Urikki’, Ass. sources date him about 738-709 (→ASSYRIANS). He rallied – apparently voluntarily – to the Neoass. empire of TIGLATH-PILESER III and SARGON II, and boasted of having expanded “the house of MOPSOS”, developing it from military and economic point of view. He declared himself as belonging “to the lineage of Mopsos” (Çineköy, line 2). AZITAWADA, the author of the Karatepe inscriptions, recognizes that it was he who made him powerful (line 2).

2. Another king U. (*wryk*), towards the end of the 7th cent. BCE, is mentioned in the Phoen. inscription of *Cebel Ires Dağı (line 8) as the king of a state situated at the boundary between Pamphylia and Cilicia Aspera. He may have given his name to the town of “Urikkiya” (line 3), perhaps his capital city.

3. A third U. (*wrk*) may occur on a seal from the Karaman region (Turkey), now in the Ereğli Museum, dated about 600 BCE.

4. A fourth U. (*wryk*) is probably mentioned in a 7th cent. BCE inscription on a pithos from *Amathus (Cyprus).

Goetze, A. (1962) *JCS*, 16, 48-58, esp. 5; Forlanini, M. (1966) *Hethitica*, 13, 13-15; Bron, F. (1979) *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe*. HEO 11. Genève/Paris, 160-169; Lemaire, A. (1997) *EpAn*, 29, 123-125; Lanfranchi, G. B. (2005) The Luwian-Phoenician bilingual of Çineköy and the annexation of Cilicia to the Assyrian Empire. In: Rollinger, R. (ed.) *Von Sumer bis Homer. Festschrift für Manfred Schretter*. AOAT 325. Münster, 481-496; Lemaire, A. (2006) *Res Antiquae*, 3, 99-107; Puech, E. (2009) L’inscription phénicienne du pithos d’Amathonte et son contexte. In: Schleen, J. D. (ed.) *Exploring the Longue Durée. Essays in honor of Lawrence E. Stager*. Winona Lake, 391-401; Simon, Z. (2014) *ZA*, 104, 91-103; Hawkins, J. D. (2017) Çineköy. In: Younger, K. L. (ed.) *The context of Scripture IV. Supplements*. Leiden/Boston, 67f.; Lemaire, A. (2017) The Phoenician inscription of Çineköy. In: *ibid.*, 77.

A. LEMAIRE

URIMILK

Phoen. and Pun. *ʾrmlk*; Akk. *Ú-ru-mil-ki*. Theophoric PN, “Light of the (divine) king” or “The (divine) king is (my) light”.

PNPPI, 64.274.

1. King of *Byblos, who was forced to pay tribute to →SENNACHERIB in 701 BCE, as a result of the defeat of an anti-Ass. coalition of Phoen. and Syro-Palest. cities supported by *Egypt.

Luckenbill, D. D. (1924) *The Annals of Sennacherib*. Chicago, 30, lines 50ff.; Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L’VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 74.185; *DCPP*, s.v. (1) (E. Lipiński); Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 15. Paris, 224f. and *passim*; *RINAP* 3, I-II, 4 36; 16 iii 18; 17 ii 78; 22 ii 53; 23 ii 50,9; 23 60B; 140 obv. 19.

2. King of Byblos, who lived at the beginning of 5th cent. BCE. He was the grandfather of king →YEHAW-MILK, who mentions him in his dedicatory inscription (*KAI* 10 = *TSSI* III, 25), engraved on a stela found in 1869 in the courtyard of the sanctuary of *Baalat of Byblos.

DCPP, s.v. (2) (E. Lipiński).

F. MAZZA

Urkattel see BARKATEL

Urumilk see URIMILK

V

VALERIUS LAEVINUS, MARCUS

A member of the Rom. patrician nobility, V. L. was *consul* in 220 and in 210 BCE. In 215, after the battle of Cannae (→PUNIC WARS), as a *praetor*, he led military actions in Hirpinia (Liv. 23,37,12-13). Between 241 and 211 he was successfully active in the Adriatic Sea against PHILIP V of Macedonia who had allied with HANNIBAL (9). In 210, elected *consul* for the second time, he organized some extraordinary fundraising to finance the construction of a fleet that he was to take to *Sicily (the loans were to be returned in 204). His command on that island was extended also for the following three years. During this period, V. L. obtained a series of good results: in 210 he conquered *Agrigentum (Plb. 9,27,1-11; Liv. 26,40,1-18; Eutr. 3,14,4; Oros. 4,18,2); in 208 and 207, at the head of 100 ships, he successfully conducted two raids on the African coast (Liv. 27,29,7-8 and 28,4,5-6). On his return to Italy, in 205, due to the arrival of MAGO (6) in Liguria, he was sent to Arezzo to guard that region (Liv. 28,46,13). Subsequently, he took part in diplomatic missions in the East. In 203, in the Rom. Senate debate on the Carthag. peace proposals, he supported the intransigent party (Liv. 30,23,5-6). V. L. died in 200.

RE XV,2, s.v. "Valerius" (211) cols 45-49 (H. Volkmann); Ducin, S. (2002) *Marcus Valerius Laevinus: specjalizacja dowódców rzymskich flot wojennych okresu republiki*. In: Morawiecki, L. (ed.) *Graecorum et Romanorum memoria*. II. Res Historica 14. Lublin, 67-85.

U. LIVADIOTTI

Valerius Probus see PROBUS OF BERYTUS

VERMINA

Lib. (and Pun.) *wrmnd*; Gk Οὐερμινᾶς; Lat. *Vermina*. The son of SYPHAX; he took part, together with his father, in the temporary victory over MASSINISSA I (1) and, subsequently, in the mobilisation against the Romans, when they disembarked in Africa 204 BCE (Liv. 29,33; see App. *Pun.* 59). He did not participate in the battle of *Zama, but was defeated by the enemy on December 17th, 202, while he was approaching *Carthage at the head of a Numid. army

(→NUMIDIANS). According to Livy (30,36,7-9 and 30,40,3) the total number of dead was 15,000. At any rate, he managed to escape and in 200 he sent ambassadors to ROME in order to ask the Senate to be officially recognized as a king who was an 'ally and friend' of the Romans. The task of defining the terms of this title was delegated to the senatorial commission preparing to travel to North Africa to evaluate other problems (Liv. 31,11,13-28 and 31,19). We do not know for how long he reigned, although his reign was much shorter than his father's. According to Polybius (15,5,13), Massinissa immediately succeeded Syphax. The date of V.'s death is also unknown. His bronze and silver coins bearing the Neopun. legend *wrmnd hmmlkt* ("Vermina the king") depict a beardless young prince wearing a diadem on the obverse and a galloping horse on the reverse. V.'s *Mausoleum has been identified near *Siga: it was a building with a hexagonal plan, possibly intended as a dynastic tomb.

Mazard, J. (1955) *Corpus nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*. Paris, 21f.; Vuillemot, G. (1964) *CRAI(BL)*, 108, 71-95; Radnóthy-Alföldy, M. (1979) Die Geschichte des numidischen Königreiches und seiner Nachfolger. In: Horn, H. G. and Rüger, C. B. (eds) *Die Numider. Reiter und Könige nördlich der Sahara*. Köln, 50f.; Baldus, H. R. (1991) Die Münzen der Numiderkönige Syphax und Vermina. Prägungen vom Ende des zweiten punischen Krieges, 218-201 v. Chr. In: Noeske, H.-C. and Schubert, H. (eds) *Die Münze: Bild – Botschaft – Bedeutung. Festschrift für Maria Alföldi*. Frankfurt am Main, 26-34; Prados Martínez, F. (2008) Arquitectura púnica. Los monumentos funerarios. In: *Anejos de AEA*, 44. Madrid, 170-172.

U. LIVADIOTTI

VOLUX

1. The son of BOCCHUS (1), king of the MAURI. In 106 BCE, during the Jughurthine war, together with his father, he took part in the battle of Cirta (*Constantine) against the Romans. Subsequently, he escorted Sulla and the Rom. troops to his father's court (Sal. *Jug.* 101.105-107).

RE, VIII,B, s.v. cols 907f. (H. Gundel).

2. A character named *Volunx*, probably a variant of V., is mentioned in Sil. *Pun.* 5,261.

Vattioni, F. (1980) *StMagr*, 12, 37.

U. LIVADIOTTI

W

WARUWAZAT

Pun. *wrwzt*, Lib. PN of a character mentioned on a votive inscription from the *tophet of El-Hofra (*Constantine) (*EH* 89) [Fig. 66]. He held the apparently important office of *'l mqr*m, “responsible for sources/wells”.

EH, 77, no. 89; *DNWSI* II, s.v. *mqr*, 681.

P. XELLA

Wen-amon see OUNAMON

Weshesh see SEA PEOPLES



Fig. 66. Inscribed stela of Waruwazat from the tophet of El-Hofra (Constantine)

X

XANTHIPPIUS

Gk Ξανθίππος.

Spartan general, whom the Carthaginians placed in total command of their army after M. ATILIUS REGULUS landed in Africa and their defeat at Adys in 256 BCE. X. managed to defeat the Romans at Tynes and, as a consequence, helped to rally *Carthage in the war. See also HASDRUBAL (4), BOSTAR (1) and esp. HAMILCAR (7).

Huss, W. (1985), 236.

A. ERCOLANI

XERXES

King of Persia (486-465 BCE) (→PERSIANS). He had to quell revolts in *Babylonia and in *Egypt. During the II Persian War, S. led a fleet against Greece that included many Phoen. contingents, among whom were TETRAMNESTOS of *Sidon, Mattan of *Tyre and MAHARBAAL (2) of *Arwad. The PHOENICIANS distinguished themselves by digging a navigable canal through the promontory of Athos (Hdt. 7,23) and

building a bridge (Hdt. 7,25). S. habitually used a ship from Sidon for journeys by sea (Hdt. 7,128,2). According to rumours collected by Herodotus, X. had some Phoenicians beheaded who had blamed the Ionians for the disastrous defeat suffered at *Salamis in 480 (Hdt. 8,90). He also decapitated the steersman of the Phoen. ship that had brought him back from Europe to Asia, as he was guilty of being caught by a storm (Hdt. 8,118). However, the image of X. as despotic and cruel that emerges from the classical sources is probably a distortion of the historical facts. According to another tradition, X. intended both the Pers. attack against Greece and the offensive by *Carthage in *Sicily (culminating in the battle of *Himera in 480, the same year as Salamis) to be simultaneous, as they wanted to keep the Greeks in Sicily, so preventing them from coming to the aid of (mainland) Greece (*FGrHist* 70 F 186; Diod. 11,1,4).

Meister, K. (1970) *Historia*, 19, 607-610; Briant, P. (2002) *From Cyrus to Alexander. A history of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake, 515-568; Stoneman, R. (2015) *Xerxes. A Persian life*. New Haven/London.

G. MINUNNO

Y

YADAMILK

Phoen. theophoric PN *yd'mlk* combining the element *mlk* (“[divine] king” [or perhaps occasionally an abbreviation of *Melqart]) and the verb *yd'*, “to know”. The name occurs only once in Phoen. and Pun. *Onomastics.

The person with this name is mentioned in the inscription engraved on a gold medallion from a Carthag. tomb in the necropolis of Dermech-Douïmès (→*Carthage; →*Funerary World), discovered by sieving soil from the tomb [FIG. 67]. The grave was found and excavated in 1894 by A. L. Delattre, and is commonly called the ‘Tomb of Yadamilk’, solely on the basis of the person mentioned in the inscription. Even though it is not proved beyond any doubt that the tomb belonged to Y., this hypothesis remains possible. This is why it is worth trying to establish who he could be, on the basis of both the inscription and the funerary context, although the presence or absence of grave goods is not always a reliable indicator of social status.

The text of the inscription on the medallion (*CIS* I, 6057 = *KAI* 73 = *TSSI* III, 18) can be read easily enough, but is very difficult to understand, as shown by the various interpretations that have been proposed. The inscription opens with an invocation to *Astarte and *Pygmalion (the translation “Astarte of Pygmalion” does not seem likely), followed by the name Y., the son of *Pdy(hls)* (?). The final part of the text is cryptic and open to various interpretations. In any case, it concerns the “salvation” or “liberation” of this person, granted by the god(s). The mention of Pygmalion had led some scholars to propose a Cypr. provenance for the object, but a local origin seems to have stronger arguments in its favour. In terms of palaeography, the inscription can be dated to the end of 8th or the 7th cent. BCE, although more reliable dating indicators can be derived from the grave and its archaeological evidence.

The tomb itself contained two skeletons and, consequently, Y. (if it is he) was buried with someone else. In the absence of osteo-anthropological data, it is impossible to determine whether one of the two skeletons was female (his wife, perhaps?), whilst the grave goods are not gender-specific. The grave is of the ‘built tomb’ or ‘tombeau bâti’ type (Bénichou-

Safar’s ‘Type X’), which is somewhat unusual (only 100 of about 3000 excavated Carthag. graves are in this category).

The inventory of the tomb is more or less standard for this kind of burial, but has some significant extras. Interestingly, except for a Proto-Corinthian *kytyle* produced in *Corinth around the middle of the 7th cent. BCE, all the other vessels were household *Ceramics. In all, the tomb contained four amphorae – three for transporting goods and one used as an urn (7th-end of 6th cent.) – three jugs (7th-6th cent.), two small pots (7th-5th cent.), one lamp (7th-6th cent.) and various items of jewellery. These were: one bangle, one gold finger ring, one small cylindrical emerald (in situ on one of the two skeletons); then, two spherical gold pendants, one rosette, one gold bead (from 7th cent. onwards), one gold case (‘etui’), one scarab (26th dynasty: 663-525) and the gold medallion. The emerald, the rosette, the bead, the case and the medallion were probably part of a single chain (according to C. Kunze). The presence of a silver bowl and an *Ostrich egg (covering the urn) must also be reported. As a whole, the tomb can be dated to the 7th or the beginning of the 6th cent.



Fig. 67. Gold medallion from the ‘Tomb of Yadamilk’ (Carthage)

Taking into account all the data, it must have been the burial of a special person: Y. (if correctly identified) may have been of very high rank, even though as yet our knowledge of archaic Carthag. society and its classes is too scant for any certainty.

PNPPI, 127.321f.; Berger, P. (1894) *CRAI*, 453-458, esp. 448ff.; Delattre, A. L. (1897) *Cosmos*, 46, 13-18; Delattre, A. L. (1897) *Missions Catholiques*, 485-516; Delattre, A. L. (1897) *MSNAF*, 56, 255-395; Ferron, J. (1958-1959) *CB*, 8, 45-56; Garbini, G. (1967) *RSO*, 42, 6-8; Ferron, J. (1968) *Mus*, 81, 255-261; Peckham, J. B. (1968) *The development of the late Phoenician scripts*. Cambridge (MA), 119-124; Maass-Lindemann, G. (1974) *MM*, 15, 122-135; Bénichou-Safar, H. (1982) *Les tombes puniques de Carthage*. Paris; Müller, H.-P. (1988) *Or*, 57, 192-205; Gros, M. and Duboeuf, P. (2002) *L'architecture de la tombe de Yada'milk à Carthage. Essai de restitution*. In: Amadasi Guzzo, M. G., Liverani, M. and Matthiae, P. (eds) *Da Pyrgi a Mozia. Studi sull'archeologia del Mediterraneo in memoria di Antonia Ciasca*. *VO Quaderni*, 3/1. Rome, 253-267; Kunze, C. (2002-2003) *Talanta*, 34-35, 1-41; Schmitz, P. C. (2008) *Maarav*, 15, 165-173.

P. XELLA

YAHARBAAL

Phoen. *yḥrb'l* (reading to be preferred to *yḥdb'l*, proposed by E. Puech), theophoric PN of uncertain interpretation, as far as the verbal element is concerned (possibly from *yḥr*, “to become furious”, a meaning well suited to the god *Baal, or, less plausibly, from *ḥrr*, “to be free”), perhaps corresponding to a H/IARBAS.

Father of YEHAWMILK, king of *Byblos, mentioned in the latter's inscription (*KAI* 10). Probably he never actually reigned.

PNPPI, 128.322; Puech, E. (1981) *RSF*, 9, 152-158; Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos, cité sacrée (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 15. Paris, 141.

P. XELLA

YAHIMILK

Phoen. theophoric PN *yḥmlk*, “The King/(god) *mlk* lives”; Akk. *ḫa-(a)-ḫi-mil-ki*.

PNPPI, 128.308f.345.

1. King of *Byblos around the mid-10th cent. BCE (the precise dates are still the subject of discussion). Probably the founder of a new dynasty (→DYNASTIES) following that of AHIROM, he was the father of



Fig. 68. Inscription of Yahimilk I king of Byblos (Byblos)

ELIBAAL and perhaps of ABIBAAL, and the grandfather of SHAPATBAAL I (1) (see *KAI* II, 7). Y. was the author of an inscription (*KAI* 4 = *TSSI* III, 6) engraved on a limestone block, which may bear traces of another inscription in the so-called Byblian pseudo-hieroglyphic script [FIG. 68]. The text with the first use of the definite article in Phoenician commemorates the reconstruction of (probably) sacred buildings and contains a request for a long life made to *Baal Shamem, to the *Baalat (or *Baal?) of Byblos and to all the gods of the city, as a reward for Y.'s merits as a “just and rightful king” (*mlk šdq w mlk yšr*). It is an expression that stresses his legitimacy as a sovereign and, as has been proposed, implements the royal tradition of freeing subjects from debt on his ascent to the throne.

Montet, P. (1929) *CRAI(BL)*, 250; Dunand, M. (1930) *RB*, 39, 321-331; Dunand, M. (1939) *Fouilles de Byblos I*. Paris, 30, Atlas, Pl. XXX; Martin, M. (1961) *Or*, 30, 46-78, esp. 63ff.; Liverani, M. (1971) *Sydyk e Misor*. In: *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra*. VI. Milan, 55-74; Bonnet, C. (1993) *UF*, 25, 25-34; Schade, A. (2006) *Maarav*, 13, 119-122; Rollston, C. R. (2008) *Maarav*, 15, 57-93; Green, D. J. (2010) *I Undertook Great Works. The ideology of domestic achievements in West Semitic royal inscriptions*. Tübingen, 90-94; Elayi, J. (2013) *Histoire de la Phénicie*. Paris, 189; Sass, B. (2017) *Semitica*, 59, 109-141.

2. The son of king BAAL I (1) of *Tyre and probably a hereditary prince at the time of ASHURBANIPAL's siege of the city (662 BCE). He was sent as a hostage to the Ass. court, but was sent back by the king. Nothing further is known about him.

Borger, R. (1996) *Beiträge zum Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*. Wiesbaden, A II J4 II' 7.

M. G. AMADASI GUZZO

YAKINBAAL

Phoen. *yknb'l*, “Baal will establish”; Gk Ἐκνίβαλος. Theophoric PN of the son of a certain Baalshillek (Gk Βασλήχος). According to Josephus (*Ap.* 1,157) he held the post of *dikastes* (“judge”, or “Suffete”) (*Suffetes) in *Tyre for two months, after the death of king BAAL II, who ruled for 10 years between 573/572 and 564/563 BCE. An important chronological reference for these dates is the siege of Tyre by NEBUCHADNEZZAR II, which lasted 13 years (585-572 BCE), during the reign of ITTOBAAL III (591/590-573/572), the predecessor of Baal II.

PNPPI, 332; Thackeray, H. St. J. (1966) *Josephus, The Life. Against Apion I.* London/Cambridge (MA), 224f.; Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre.* Jerusalem, 325ff.333f.340.349; Troiani, L. (1977) *Commento storico al “Contro Apione” di Giuseppe.* Pisa.

F. MAZZA

YAKINLU

Phoen. theophoric PN *ykn'l*, “El/the god will establish”; Akk. *Ia-ki-in-lu-u'ú*; *Ik-ki/ka-lu-u'ú*.

PNPPI, 332.

King of *Arwad in the time of ASHURBANIPAL, he succeeded MATTANBAAL III (3) (his father?) between 670 and 660 BCE. According to the cuneiform sources, Y. was intolerant of Ass. domination. Therefore, feeling relatively secure, he pursued his own commercial interests at the expense of those of Assyria (→ASSYRIANS). In fact, Y. was known to be a rebel. This can be deduced from the correspondence sent to Ashurbanipal, which contains several allegations against him by an officer named Itti-Shamash-balaṭu, who was assigned to the province of Šumur (*Tell Kazel) or to somewhere near Arwad. The name Y. appears on the list of the 22 coastal kingdoms paying (annual?) tribute to Assyria: as a consequence, Y. rebelled at first but then he was subjugated. One of his daughters entered the harem of the Ass. court, bringing a rich dowry. Y. was murdered, leaving ten sons: AZ(Z)IBAAL, ABIBAAL (4), ADONIBAAL (2), SHAPATBAAL (4), BODBAAL, BAALYASOP, BAALHANON, Baalmalok (see BAALMILK [1]), ABIMILK (1), AHIMILK (1). They attended the

Ass. court with rich gifts, and were welcomed and honoured by Ashurbanipal. He then appointed Az(z)i-baal, as Y.'s heir, to the throne of Arwad.

Saporetti, C. (1990) Appendice I. In: Botto, M. *Studi storici sulla Fenicia. L'VIII e il VII secolo a.C.* Pisa, 84.87.222ff.231ff.; DCP, s.v. (E. Lipiński); PNA 2/I, 488f., s.v. “Iakīn-Lû” (J. S. Tenney); Elayi, J. and Elayi, A. G. (2015) *Arwad, cité phénicienne du Nord.* Suppl. to *Trans.* 19. Pendé, 106-113 and *passim*.

F. MAZZA – P. XELLA

YANTIN-ADDA

Akk. *Ia-an-ti-na-du*, “(H)Addu has given”.

Name of a citizen of *Byblos mentioned in the Amarna letter EA 123 (*Tell el-Amarna) as held in *Egypt perhaps as a hostage together with ABDI-IRAMA and Abdi-milk (see ABDI-MILKI).

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters.* Baltimore/London, 202; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names.* Winona Lake, 165f., no. 178; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna.* 1. *Le lettere dei “Piccoli Re”.* Brescia, 215f.

P. XELLA

YAPAH-ADDA

Akk. *Ia-ap-pa-aḥ-(H)Addu*, “(H)Addu has appeared”.

1. Name of a ‘prefect’ of *Berytus, mentioned in the Amarna letters (EA 83.85.97-98.103.105-106.113-114.116-117.119-120) (*Tell el-Amarna).

Katzenstein, H. J. (1973) *The history of Tyre.* Jerusalem, 41f.; Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters.* Baltimore/London, 153f. 170ff. and *passim*; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names.* Winona Lake, 85f., no. 83; Na‘aman, N. (1996) *RA*, 90, 145-159; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna.* 1. *Le lettere dei “Piccoli Re”.* Brescia, 220ff. and *passim*.

2. Name of a king of *Sidon in the LBA, mentioned in two Akk. letters from *Ugarit (RS 25.430A: RSOu 14, p. 321 and RS 94.2369: RSOu XXIII, III:61).

Arnaud, D. (2001) *Textes de Bibliothèque.* In: Yon, M. and Arnaud, D. (eds) *Études Ougaritiques I. Travaux 1985-1995.* RSOu 19. Paris, 321; Lackenbacher, S. and Malbran-Labat, F. (2016) *Lettres en Akkadien de la “Maison d’Urtēnu”.* RSOu 23. Paris, 105f.

P. XELLA

Yatanmilk see YATONMILK

Yatonbaal see ASEPT; GERASTRATOS (3)

YATONMILK

Phoen. *ytnmlk*, “The (divine) king/*Mlk* has given”, theophoric PN of a member of the Sidonian royal family. A series of inscriptions by king →BODASH-TART (*KAI* 16) in the sanctuary of *Eshmun at Bostan esh-Sheikh, near *Sidon, mention Y. as his “legitimate son” (*bn šdq*). It is not known whether he ever became king.

PNPPI, 130; Zamora, J. Á. (2008) Epigrafía e historia fenicias: las inscripciones reales de Sidón. In: Justel, J. J., Vita, J. P. and Zamora, J. Á. (eds) *Las culturas del Próximo Oriente Antiguo y su expansión mediterránea. Textos y materiales de los cursos de postgrado del CSIC en el Instituto de Estudios Islámicos y del Oriente Próximo (2003-2005)*. Zaragoza, 211-228; Xella, P. and Zamora, J. Á. (2013) Découvertes épigraphiques récentes dans l’aire du sanctuaire d’Eshmoun à Sidon. In: *APC* 6, 223-236, esp. 226-231.

G. MINUNNO

YEHAWMILK

Phoen. theophoric PN *yḥwmlk*, “The king/(The god) *Mlk* has caused to live”.

PNPPI, 127.308.345.

1. Y. is a king of *Byblos during the 5th cent. BCE, son of YAHARBAAL and grandson of URIMILK. His inscription is engraved on a limestone stela discovered in 1869 not far from the crusader castle (*CIS* I, 1 = *KAI* 10 = *TSSI* III, 25), in an area where later the sanctuary of the ‘Lady of Byblos’ was excavated [FIG. 69]. About 60 years afterwards, during excavations by M. Dunand, the lower left corner was found containing the last part of the text. On the stela is a relief of the goddess of Byblos seated on a throne in a chapel with the king facing her, in Pers. dress, in the attitude of a person making an offering. The text is a detailed record of work on the sanctuary of the ‘Lady of Byblos’, possibly an entrance and certainly a portico, commissioned by Y. in return for a favour that was granted, very probably his kingship over Byblos: in fact, whereas Y.’s father did not have the title of king, his grandfather did.



Fig. 69. Inscription of Yehawmilk king of Byblos (Byblos)

2. See IOMILKOS.

De Vogüé, M. (1875) *CRAI(BL)*, 24-49; Dunand, M. (1939) *Fouilles de Byblos* I. Paris, 56f.; Dunand, M. (1941) *BMB*, 5, 57-85; Dupont-Sommer, A. (1950) *Semitica*, 3, 35-44; Puech, É. (1981) *RSF*, 9, 158-161; Gubel, E. (1986) Une nouvelle représentation di culte de la Baalat Gebal? In: *StPhoen* 4, 95, no. 12; *DCPP*, s.v. (J. Elayi); Bordreuil, P. and Gubel, E. (2002) Stèle de Yehawmilk. In: *Art phénicien*, 64ff., no. 50; Rossi, M. (2007) *RSF*, 35, 57-84, esp. 65ff.; Elayi, J. (2009) *Byblos citée sacrée (8^e-4^e s. av. J.-C.)*. Suppl. to *Trans*, 15. Paris, 14ff. 140ff. and *passim*; Jenni, H. (2013) *ZDMG*, 163.309-339.

M. G. AMADASI GUZZO

Yehimilk see YAHIMILK

YIDYA

Akk. *Yi-id-ia*, etymology uncertain.

Ruler of *Ashkelon mentioned in the Amarna letters (*EA* 320-326.370) (*Tell el-Amarna).

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 350-354.367; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 167f., no. 181; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna*. 1. *Le lettere dei “Piccoli Re”*. Brescia, 69f.

P. XELLA

Z

Zakarbaal: King of *Byblos during the 11th cent. BCE, mentioned in the Egypt. story of →UNAMON.

Zakkur see ARAMAEANS

ZARZAS

Lib. *zrbts* (?); Gk Ζάρζας.

Prominent Lib. leader who, during the revolt of the MERCENARIES, allied with the rebels against *Carthage. Captured by HAMILCAR (9) while negotiations were on-going, he was crucified (*Crucifixion) (Plb. 1,84-86).

Huss, W. (1988) *SM*, 38, 30-33; Loreto, L. (1995) *La grande insurrezione libica contro Cartagine del 241-237 a.C. Una storia politica e militare*. CEFR 211. Rome, esp. 108f.; Pelegrín Campo, J. (1999) *Polis*, 11, 161-195; Hoyos, D. (2007) *Truceless war. Carthage's fight for survival, 241 to 237 BC*. Leiden/Boston.

U. LIVADIOTTI

Zatatna see SATATNA

ZELALSEN

Lib. and Pun. *zllsn*.

Z. was the father of two kings of the MASSYLII, namely GAIA and OEZALCES. In the bilingual (Pun./Lib.) inscription from Dougga (KAI 101 = RIL 2), Z. is mentioned as a Suffete (*Suffetes) and not as a king. Consequently, neither his actual power nor his relationship with *Carthage is clear.

Khanoussi, M. and Maurin, L. (eds) (1977) *Dougga (Thugga). Études épigraphiques*. Ausonius 1. Paris, 42.

U. LIVADIOTTI

ZENO OF KITION

Gk Ζήνων.

Philosopher, a disciple of Crates, before founding his own school of Stoicism. Z. was born in *Kition (in the third quarter of the 4th cent. BCE), a son of Mnaseas (or Demeas). Mnaseas is said to have regularly

brought him books on philosophy from Athens, while he was only a child. According to one tradition (Diog. Laert. 7,1), Z. was involved in the purple trade from *Phoenicia when his ship wrecked near *Piraeus. Z., who was already thirty years old, settled in Athens (where he would live to a ripe old age), dedicating himself to philosophy. He probably invested his money in maritime loans, but also accepted money from his disciples (Quint. *Inst.* 12,7,9). One person even imputed a “Barbaric stinginess” (Diog. Laert. 7,16) to Z. In fact, his foreign origin was commonly acknowledged: Crates called Z. a “little Phoenician”, as did Cicero (*Fin.* 4,5,6: *Poenulus*), who also called him “a stranger” (*Tusc.* 5,34: *advena*); Polemon accused Z. of stealing his ideas and disguising them as Phoen. (Diog. Laert. 7,25). However, Z. was highly honoured by the Athenians, who probably also offered him their citizenship, which he refused out of respect for his own hometown (Plut. *De Stoic. re.* 1034a). Z. is said to have been very proud of his origin; he once asked for his origin to be added to his name and profession in an inscribed list. Likewise, Z.’s fellow-citizens took pride in him, both those living in Kition, who erected a statue to him, and those living in *Sidon. Some scholars have tried to detect Oriental influences in the thought of Z. and his school. None of his work has survived.

RE X/A, s.v. “Zenon” (2) cols 83-121 (K. von Fritz); Graeser, A. (1975) *Zenon von Kition. Positionen und Probleme*. Berlin/New York; Mazza, F. (1996) *Zenone di Cizio. Un fenicio alle origini del pensiero stoico*. In: *Studi Moscati*, 297-305; Yon, M. (1997) *CCEC*, 27, 165-172.

G. MINUNNO

ZENO OF SIDON

Gk Ζήνων.

1. Stoic philosopher who lived in the 3rd-2nd cent. BCE. The son of a certain Mousaios, Z. was a student of Diodorus Cronus together with ZENO OF KITION, before becoming the latter’s disciple. Z. wrote an *Apology for Socrates* and *Sidoniakà*.

RE X/A, s.v. “Zenon” (3) cols 121f. (K. von Fritz).

2. Epicurean philosopher who lived in 2nd-1st cent. BCE. He was a disciple of Apollodorus and wrote several works, the clarity of which was very much appreciated. Cicero had the opportunity to hear him in Athens (Diog. Laert. 7,35; 10,25; v. Cic. *Tusc.* 3,17,38; *Fin.* 1,16). Philo of Larissa called Z. the ‘coryphaeos’ of the Epicureans (Cic. *Nat. D.* 1,21,59). Cicero considered him contentious (*Nat. D.* 1,33,93); Demetrius the Magnesian even reported that a certain Theotimus, who wrote several books against Epicurus, was accused by Z. and put to death (Athen. 13,612b). Posidonius wrote an entire book against Z.’s criticism of contemporary geometry, which was probably later used by Proclus.

RE X/A, s.v. “Zenon” (5) cols 122-138 (K. von Fritz); Vlastos, G. (1966) Zeno of Sidon as a critic of Euclid. In: Wallach, L. (ed.) *The classical tradition. Literary and historical studies in honor of Harry Caplan*. Ithaca (NY), 148-159.

G. MINUNNO

Zilalsen see ZELALSEN

ZIMRIDA

Akk. *Zi-im-ri-da*, “(H)Addu is my protection”. Name of a ruler of *Sidon, mentioned in the Amarna letters (EA 83.103,105f.114.144-147.149.151f.154.288.329.333) (*Tell el-Amarna) [FIG. 70].



Fig. 70. Letter of Zimrida ruler of Sidon to the Pharaoh (EA 144)

Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna letters*. Baltimore/London, 153f. 176ff. and *passim*; Hess, R. S. (1993) *Amarna personal names*. Winona Lake, 169f., no. 184; Liverani, M. (1998) *Le lettere di el-Amarna. 1. Le lettere dei “Piccoli Re”*. Brescia, 160 ff. and *passim*.

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After: Fontan, E. and Le Meaux, H. (eds) (1998) *Liban, l'autre rive. Catalogue de l'Exposition à l'Institut du monde arabe du 27 octobre 1998 au 2 mai 1999*. Paris: Flammarion, p. 25.

(Istanbul, Archaeological Museum).

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(Paris, Musée du Louvre).

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After: *UeA*, no. 1, Pl. XXXIX,8 (CNR Archive).

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After: *ICO Spa 10B*, Fig. 17, Tab. LIX (CNR Archive).

(Alicante, Archaeological Museum).

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From: Xella, P. and Zamora, J. Á. (2018) Inscriptions sur pierre. B.3. In: Xella, P. and Zamora, J. Á. (eds) *Inscriptions phéniciennes inédites ou peu connues dans la collection de la Direction Générale des Antiquités du Liban*. BAAL Hors Série 15. Beirut, Fig. 3, p. 18.

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After: van de Mieroop, M. (2016³) *A History of the Ancient Near East ca. 3000-323 BC*. Malden (MA)/Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, Fig. 13.1, p. 234.

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From: Bellelli, V. and Xella, P. (eds.) (2016) *Le lamine di Pyrgi. Nuovi studi sulle iscrizioni in etrusco e in fenicio nel cinquantenario della scoperta*. SEL 32-33. Verona: Esedue Edizioni: Tavola I.

Courtesy “Soprintendenza Archeologia Belle Arti e Paesaggio per l’Area Metropolitana di Roma, la Provincia di Viterbo e l’Etruria Meridionale”.

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After: Fontan, E. and Le Meaux, H. (eds) (2007) *La Méditerranée des Phéniciens: de Tyr à Carthage*. Paris: Somogy: Institut du Monde Arabe, p. 48, Cat. 67.

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2. PLATES

Plate 1. The Luwian – Aramaic Princedoms ca 900 BCE.

After: Niehr, H. (ed.) (2014) *The Aramaeans in Ancient Syria*. HdO Sect. 1., Ancient Near East. Leiden/Boston: Brill, Tab. 1. Courtesy Prof. Herbert Niehr.

Plate 2. The Ancient Near East in the 1st millennium BCE.

After: Frahm, E. (ed.) (2017) *A Companion to Assyria*. Malden (MA): Wiley Blackwell, Fig. 01, p. 3.

Plate 3. Iron Age Levant.

After: Routledge, B. (2004) *Moab in the Iron Age. Hegemony, polity, archaeology*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, Fig. 1.1, p. 4.

Plate 4. Phoenicia and the Ancient Mediterranean.

Plate 5. Carthage and the Central-Western Mediterranean.

N.B. In addition to what has already been reported on p. XXII, also these Plates – like the other illustrations in the body of the text – are strictly functional to the content of this volume and have no claims to be complete. As regards Plates IV and V in particular, it was necessary to reach a compromise to reconcile the spelling of ancient toponyms (Phoenician, Greek, Latin etc.) with modern English names, but without complete consistency.

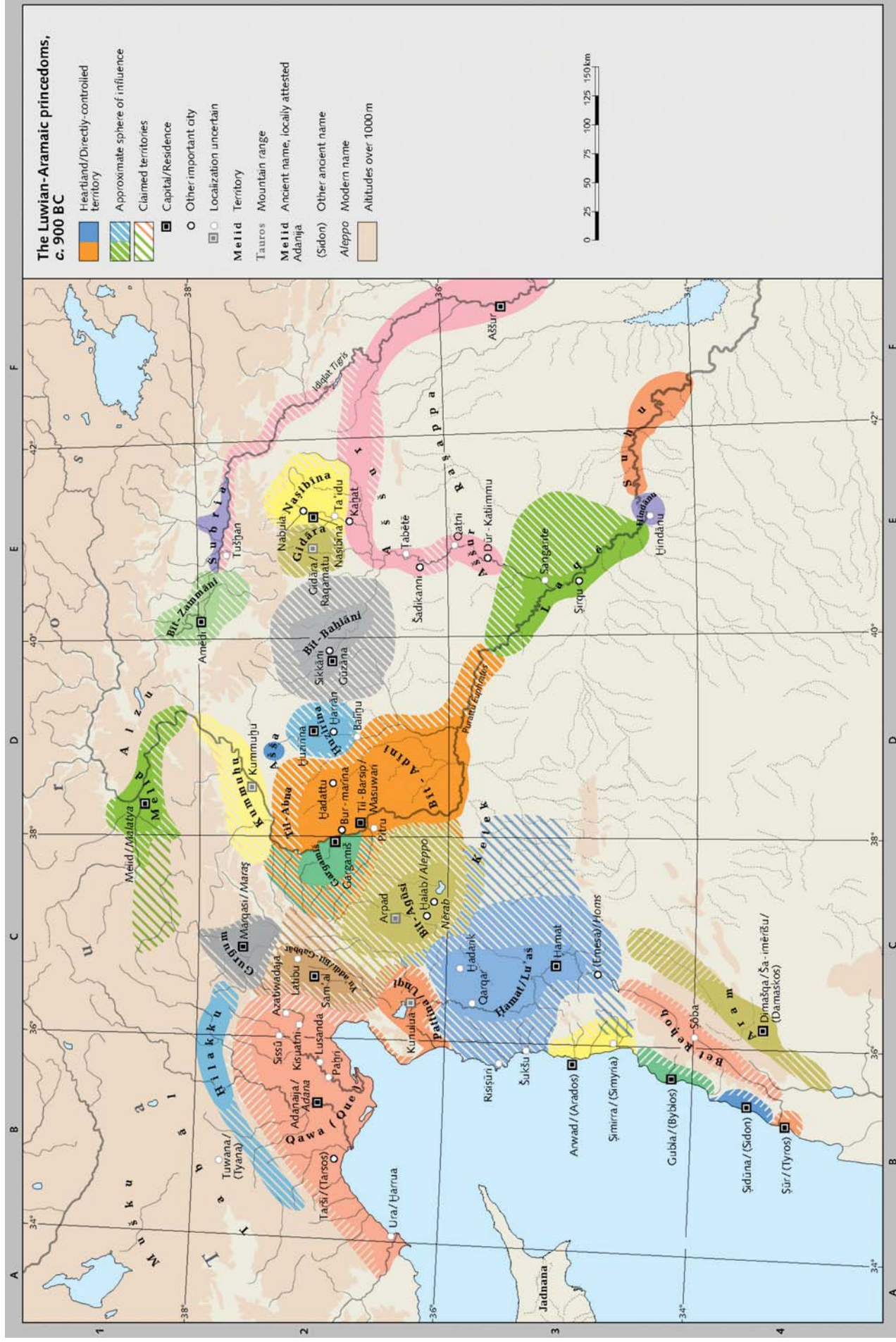


Plate 1. The Luwian-Aramaic Princedoms (ca. 900 BCE)



Plate 2. The Ancient Near East in the 1st millennium BCE



Plate 3. Iron Age Levant



Plate 4. Phoenicia and the Ancient Mediterranean



Plate 5. Carthage and the Central-Western Mediterranean